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In This Issue

Our first essay is the Presidential Address of **Thomas C. Holt**.

Starting with W. E. B. Du Bois's and Franz Fanon's struggles to make sense of the imposed racial identity with which they were marked, Holt maps the received views of how racism is produced, including the idealist, materialist, psychological, and culturalist. While valuing the insights in the best work based on these conceptual schemes, Holt finds the schemes inadequate. In compensation, he develops an analysis based on the practices of everyday life in which racism is reproduced and naturalized through subtle and not-so-subtle markings of the racial Other, markings that allow ordinarily rational people to commit irrational acts and, under certain stimuli, extraordinary acts of outrage. After working through the intellectual roots of this type of analysis in European history and philosophy, Holt turns to an examination of specific American mechanisms in the shaping of racial identity, giving particular attention to minstrelsy and other enduring expressions of popular culture. He describes the appropriation of African-American life and creativity by the dominant culture in order to resolve tensions in its own adjustment to rapid change and notes that this use of racist images powerfully reinforced stereotypes of blacks and institutionalized racist identities. Holt ends his address with some observations on the difficulties of emancipating ourselves from these markings, especially when conservative national leaders trivialize attempts to alter the everyday behaviors that stigmatize minority groups.

Fashion and aesthetic self-presentation are occupying an ever more important place in mainstream history writing. **Mary W. Blanchard** points out that by looking more closely than we have at the female realm through popular sources on the decorative arts we can reorient thinking about past artistic eras. Blanchard deploys such sources to challenge the established notion that aesthetic modernism during the 1870s and 1880s was associated primarily with male artists in the public sphere. Women did not stay confined to an interior space during this era but participated in a vogue for "aesthetic" dress and appeared in public wearing non-corseted garments described by writers of the time as works of art akin to painting and sculpture. At the same time, some men moved to interior spaces to experiment with new possibilities for male dress and adornment. Secondary arts of dressmaking and bodily ornamentation rose to high art and created a cultural space for

experimentation with sexual boundaries. Women could flirt with bohemian theatricality, while men could model themselves on the dress and posturing of the “invert” Oscar Wilde. A reaction in the 1890s returned male fashion to the “manly” values of the imperialist age; in the female realm, aesthetic dress became mainstream and lost its critical bite.

Gilberto Freyre was a major figure in the study of comparative slave societies and a foundational writer in Brazilian historiography and social science. The United States played a crucial role in his intellectual development. Freyre was schooled in an American Baptist mission institution in his native Recife and then moved to the United States, where he received his higher education and taught in American universities before returning to a Brazil in social and political turmoil that he could not accept and that he attempted to transcend in his historiography. According to **Jeffrey D. Needell**, Freyre’s major writings were efforts to account for and defend his personal and national origins through a glorification of Brazil’s traditional plantation society. He created an anti-modernist myth of Brazil based in the supposedly organic, racially adaptive, and patriarchal plantation life of colonial times. His vision was constructed in gendered terms that reflected his own ambivalent sexuality, reversed racist thinking about Brazil’s miscegenation, and included in its antagonism toward modernism an explicit anti-Semitism.

Ralph V. Turner looks at a pre-nationalist vision of political unity that has been obscured because of the emphasis of English and French historians on modern nation-building. Turner examines the sources of strength, unity, and potential long-term survival of the Angevin empire of the twelfth century. While he finds evidence of a vision of empire based in a loose family alliance system, Turner also notes the many obstacles to the realization of this scheme, obstacles both self-inflicted by enmities within the Angevin family and externally applied by the power of the rival Capetian monarchy.

Wen-hsin Yeh’s essay on the Bank of China in Shanghai describes what at first looks like a typical case of Western corporate paternalism imported quite naturally into China’s most westernized city. As she examines the everyday life and workplace relationships of the middle-class professional employees of this Western-style institution, she makes clear that it differed in important ways from its Western model. Senior

executives, heavily influenced by Neo-Confucian notions of patriarchy, used moral injunctions to guide the conduct of junior employees and imposed discipline through living arrangements in communal compounds and a rigid scheduling of collective activity. According to Yeh, this corporately sponsored communalism prefigured key features of the socialist work-unit system adopted by state-run industries after the revolution. Yeh points to the political significance of this continuity between pre-revolutionary and postrevolutionary China.

Presidential Address

- Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History
BY THOMAS C. HOLT 1

Articles

- Boundaries and the Victorian Body: Aesthetic Fashion in Gilded Age America
BY MARY W. BLANCHARD 21

- Identity, Race, Gender, and Modernity in the Origins of Gilberto Freyre's *Oeuvre*
BY JEFFREY D. NEEDELL 51

- The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire":
Henry II's and His Sons' Vision versus Late Twelfth-Century Realities
BY RALPH V. TURNER 78

- Corporate Space, Communal Time: Everyday Life in Shanghai's Bank of China
BY WEN-HSIN YEH 97

Featured Reviews

- Fergus Millar
The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.–A.D. 337
BY GUY MACLEAN ROGERS 123

- Pamela H. Smith
The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire
BY MARGARET C. JACOB 125

- David Blackbourn
Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany
BY JONATHAN SPERBER 127

Dominick LaCapra

Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma

By JOHN E. TOEWS

128

Julia A. Clancy-Smith

*Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters
(Algeria and Tunisia, 1800–1904)*

By IRA M. LAPIDUS

130

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

STEPHEN D. BENIN. *The Footprints of God: Divine Accommodation in Jewish and Christian Thought.*
By Karl F. Morrison 133

BENJAMIN HARSHAV. *Language in the Time of Revolution.*
By David Biale 134

STEVEN J. ZIPPERSTEIN. *Elusive Prophet: Ahad Ha'am and the Origin of Zionism.*
By Jacques Kornberg 135

JACQUES KORNBORG. *Theodor Herzl: From Assimilation to Zionism.*
By Steven Beller 136

GERHARD DOHRN-VAN ROSSUM. *Die Geschichte der Stunde: Uhren und moderne Zeitordnung.*
By James K. Otte 137

HOWARD MARGOLIS. *Paradigms and Barriers: How Habits of Mind Govern Scientific Beliefs.*
By Michael E. Gorman 137

RUGGIERO ROMANO. *Conjonctures opposées: La "crise" du XVII^e siècle en Europe et en Amérique ibérique.*
By William J. Callahan 138

GEORGE BRANDON. *Santeria from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories.*
By Robert J. Stewart 139

SHU GUANG ZHANG. *Deterrence and Strategic Culture: Chinese-American Confrontations, 1949–1958.*
By June Grasso 139

ANCIENT

ROBERT DREWS. *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.*
By Carol G. Thomas 140

ALAN WATSON. *International Law in Archaic Rome: War and Religion.*
By Richard E. Mitchell 141

MEDIEVAL

PETER CRAMER. *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–c. 1150.*
By Joseph H. Lynch 142

PETER HAIDU. *The Subject of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State.*
By Richard W. Kaeuper 142

ROBERT BARTLETT. *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350.*
By William D. Phillips, Jr. 143

MICHAEL HARSGOR. *Un très petit nombre: Des oligarchies dans l'histoire de l'Occident.*
By Charles Tilly 144

ILLUMINATO PERI. *Villani e cavalieri nella Sicilia medievale.*
By David Abulafia 145

MICHEL SOT. *Un historien et son Église au X^e siècle: Flodoard de Reims.*
By John J. Contreni 145

GERD TELLENBACH. *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century.*
By Thomas F. X. Noble 146

BENOÎT-MICHEL TOCK. *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XII^e siècle: Le cas d'Arras.*
By Theodore Evergates 147

WILLIAM H. TeBRAKE. *A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323–1328.*
By Paul Freedman 147

JÉRÔME BASCHET. *Les justices de l'au-delà: Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e–XV^e siècle).*
By Michael Camille 148

HERIBERT MÜLLER. *Kreuzzugspläne und Kreuzzugspolitik des Herzogs Philipp des Guten von Burgund.*
By James M. Powell 148

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN. *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile.*
By James W. Brodman 149

MIGUEL ÁNGEL LADERO QUESADA. *Fiscalidad y poder real en Castilla (1252–1369).*
By Donald J. Kagay 150

BIRGIT SAWYER and PETER SAWYER. *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800–1500.*
By Ruth Mazo Karras 150

BARBARA HARVEY. *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience.*
By Constance B. Bouchard 151

BRUCE M. S. CAMPBELL et al. *A Medieval Capital and Its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c. 1300.*
By Kathleen Biddick 151

ROBERT C. PALMER. *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348–1381: A Transformation of Governance and Law.*
By Franklin J. Pegues 152

MODERN EUROPE

- R. J. SCHOECK. *Erasmus of Europe: The Making of a Humanist, 1467–1500.*
By James D. Tracy 153
- MARGARET ASTON. *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion, 1350–1600.*
By Roger B. Manning 154
- SAUL JARCHO. *Quinine's Predecessor: Francesco Torti and the Early History of Cinchona.*
By Clifford M. Foust 154
- BRIGITTE MAZOHl-WALLNIG. *Österreichischer Verwaltungsstaat und administrative Eliten im Königreich Lombardo-Venetien 1815–1859.*
By Lawrence Sondhaus 155
- JOHN HATCHER. *The History of the British Coal Industry.*
By James Jaffe 156
- ROBERT BRENNER. *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1650.*
By David Levine 156
- JEROME FRIEDMAN. *The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies: Miracles and the Pulp Press during the English Revolution.*
By William G. Bittle 158
- N. A. M. RODGER. *The Insatiable Earl: A Life of John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich, 1718–1792.*
By Julian Gwyn 158
- JOHN LANDERS. *Death and the Metropolis: Studies in the Demographic History of London, 1670–1830.*
By James C. Riley 159
- ADRIAN DESMOND. *The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine, and Reform in Radical London.*
By Jo Hays 160
- NORMAN GASH. *Robert Surtees and Early Victorian Society.*
By David C. Itzkowitz 161
- A. BOWDOIN VAN RIPER. *Men among the Mammoths: Victorian Science and the Discovery of Human Prehistory.*
By Harriet Rivo 161
- A. JAMES HAMMERTON. *Cruelty and Companionship: Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Married Life.*
By M. Jeanne Peterson 162
- ELLEN ROSS. *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870–1918.*
By Susan Kingsley Kent 163
- JOSE HARRIS. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870–1914.*
By Harold Perkin 164
- JOHN LOWERSON. *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870–1914.*
By Kathleen E. McCrone 164
- JO VELLACOTT. *From Liberal to Labour with Women's Suffrage: The Story of Catherine Marshall.*
By Harold L. Smith 165
- KEVIN MORGAN. *Harry Pollitt.*
By John F. Naylor 166
- ROBERT COLE. *A. J. P. Taylor: The Traitor within the Gates.*
By John D. Fair 166
- ALEX DANCHEV. *Oliver Franks: Founding Father.*
By Roger Adelson 167
- W. H. McDOWELL. *The History of BBC Broadcasting in Scotland, 1923–1983.*
By D. L. Le Mahieu 168
- PHILIP BENEDICT. *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority.*
By A. N. Galpern 168
- W. GREGORY MONAHAN. *Year of Sorrows: The Great Famine of 1709 in Lyon.*
By Robert A. Schneider 169
- NEIL MCWILLIAM. *Dreams of Happiness: Social Art and the French Left, 1830–1850.*
By Jonathan Beecher 170
- ROGER L. WILLIAMS. *Napoleon III and the Stoffel Affair.*
By Richard D. Challener 170
- CHARLES E. FREEDEMAN. *The Triumph of Corporate Capitalism in France, 1867–1914.*
By Gary Cross 171
- ARTHUR LAYTON FUNK. *Hidden Ally: The French Resistance, Special Operations, and the Landings in Southern France, 1944.*
By Colin F. Baxter 171
- CATHERINE WILKINSON-ZERNER. *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain.*
By James S. Ackerman 172
- OLE FELDBÆK. *Danmarks økonomisk historie 1500–1840 [Denmark's Economic History, 1500–1840].*
By Lee Sather 173
- CLAUS-PETER CLASEN. *Streiks und Aufstände der Augsburger Weber im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.*
By Gerald L. Soliday 174
- REED BROWNING. *The War of the Austrian Succession.*
By Claude C. Sturgill 174
- THOMAS STAMM-KUHLMANN. *König in Preussens grosser Zeit: Friedrich Wilhelm III.; Der Melancholiker auf dem Thron.*
By Eric Dorn Brose 175
- HEINZ GOLLWITZER. *Ein Staatsmann des Vormärz: Karl von Abel 1788–1859; Beamtenaristokratie—monarchisches Prinzip—politischer Katholizismus.*
By Loyd E. Lee 176
- KENNETH L. CANEVA. *Robert Mayer and the Conservation of Energy.*
By Jed Z. Buchwald 176
- ALAN J. ROCKE. *The Quiet Revolution: Hermann Kolbe and the Science of Organic Chemistry.*
By Jeffrey Allan Johnson 177
- JOACHIM REMAK. *A Very Civil War: The Swiss Sonderbund War of 1847.*
By Jonathan Sperber 178
- HANNU SALMI. *“Die Herrlichkeit des deutschen Namens . . .”: Die schriftstellerische und politische Tätigkeit Richard Wagners als Gestalter nationaler Identität während der staatlichen Vereinigung Deutschlands.*
By Michael Meyer 179
- STANLEY PIERSON. *Marxist Intellectuals and the Working-Class Mentality in Germany, 1887–1912.*
By Kenneth R. Calkins 180
- GEORGE STEINMETZ. *Regulating the Social: The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany.*
By Andrew Lees 180

THOMAS HAUSMANNINGER. *Kritik der medienethischen Vernunft: Die ethische Diskussion über den Film in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert.*

By Robert E. Sackett 181

RICHARD BESSEL. *Germany after the First World War.*

By James M. Diehl 182

THEO BALDERSTON. *The Origins and Course of the German Economic Crisis: November 1923 to May 1932.*

By Barry Eichengreen 183

ELIZABETH HARVEY. *Youth and the Welfare State in Weimar Germany.*

By Derek S. Linton 184

DONNA HARSCH. *German Social Democracy and the Rise of Nazism.*

By Dan S. White 185

IRMGARD WEYRATHER. *Muttertag und Mutterkreuz: Der Kult um die "deutsche Mutter" im Nationalsozialismus.*

By Ann Taylor Allen 186

HANS SLUGA. *Heidegger's Crisis: Philosophy and Politics in Nazi Germany.*

By Richard Wolin 187

GÖTZ ALY and SUSANNE HEIM. *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung.*

By Charles W. Sydnor, Jr. 188

JEFFREY M. DIEFENDORF. *In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II.*

By Manfred J. Enssle 188

PETER H. MERKL. *German Unification in the European Context.*

By F. Roy Willis 189

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By Benjamin G. Kohl 190

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By Philip Gavitt 191

NUNZIO PERNICONE. *Italian Anarchism, 1864–1892.*

By Alexander De Grand 192

DAVID I. KERTZER. *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control.*

By Mary Gibson 192

PATRIZIA GUARNIERI. *A Case of Child Murder: Law and Science in Nineteenth-Century Tuscany.*

By Jill Harsin 193

W. BRUCE LINCOLN. *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians.*

By Steven G. Marks 194

HEATHER HOGAN. *Forging Revolution: Metalworkers, Managers, and the State in St. Petersburg, 1890–1914.*

By Alfred J. Rieber 194

ANNA GEIFMAN. *Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia, 1894–1917.*

By Deborah Hardy 195

LOREN R. GRAHAM. *The Ghost of the Executed Engineer: Technology and the Fall of the Soviet Union.*

By Hiroaki Kuromiya 196

ROBERT V. DANIELS. *The End of the Communist Revolution.*

By Robert Edelman 196

NEAR EAST

PALMIRA BRUMMETT. *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery.*

By Robert Olson 197

BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN. *The Crystallization of the Arab State System, 1945–1954.*

By Rashid I. Khalidi 198

BENNY MORRIS. *Israel's Border Wars, 1949–1956: Arab Infiltration, Israeli Retaliation, and the Countdown to the Suez War.*

By Ian S. Lustick 199

JACOB M. LANDAU. *The Arab Minority in Israel, 1967–1991: Political Aspects.*

By Laurie A. Brand 199

AFRICA

EUGENIA W. HERBERT. *Iron, Gender, and Power: Rituals of Transformation in African Societies.*

By J. Vansina 200

SARA BERRY. *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa.*

By Leroy Vail 201

ANDARGACHEW TIRUNEH. *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974–1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy.*

By Edmond Keller 201

GEORGE E. BROOKS. *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630.*

By Donna J. E. Maier 202

JAMES F. SEARING. *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860.*

By Joseph C. Miller 203

CHARLES W. WEBER. *International Influences and Baptist Mission in West Cameroon: German-American Missionary Endeavor under International Mandate and British Colonialism.*

By Felix K. Ekechi 204

RICHARD RATHBONE. *Murder and Politics in Colonial Ghana.*

By John Flint 205

JEAN MARIE ALLMAN. *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana.*

By Sandra E. Greene 206

PAUL E. LOVEJOY and JAN S. HOGENDORN. *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897–1936.*

By Patrick Manning 206

JEREMY KRIKLER. *Revolution from Above, Rebellion from Below: The Agrarian Transvaal at the Turn of the Century.*

By Kenneth P. Vickery 207

ASIA

SUZANNE B. CAHILL. *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China.*

By John B. Henderson 208

MARILYN A. LEVINE. *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties.*

By Lee Feigon 209

POSHEK FU. *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937–1945.*

By Christian Henriot 210

- PHILIP C. BROWN. *Central Authority and Local Autonomy in the Formation of Early Modern Japan: The Case of Kaga Domain.*
By Constantine N. Vaporis 210
- GARY P. LEUPP. *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan.*
By James E. Ketelaar 211
- PETER NOSCO. *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan.*
By Stephen Vlastos 212
- RICHARD M. EATON. *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760.*
By Richard W. Bulliet 213
- BRIAN K. SMITH. *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origins of Caste.*
By George W. Spencer 214
- MICHAEL H. FISHER. *Indirect Rule in India: Residents and the Residency System, 1764–1858.*
By N. K. Wagle 215
- PETER WARD FAY. *The Forgotten Army: India's Armed Struggle for Independence 1942–1945.*
By Raymond Callahan 216
- ANTHONY REID. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680.*
By Edwin J. Van Kley 217
- LEONARD Y. ANDAYA. *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period.*
By Frank Broeze 218
- ARIFFIN OMAR. *Bangsa Melayu: Malay Concepts of Democracy and Community 1945–1950.*
By J. Norman Parmer 218
- UNITED STATES
- LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN. *Crime and Punishment in American History.*
By Robert M. Mennel 219
- FRANK RICHARD PRASSEL. *The Great American Outlaw: A Legacy of Fact and Fiction.*
By Beverly A. Smith 220
- ROBERT S. KUENNE. *Economic Justice in American Society.*
By Stewart Burns 221
- JACK P. GREENE. *The Intellectual Construction of America, Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800.*
By E. Brooks Holifield 221
- RICHARD J. ELLIS. *American Political Cultures.*
By John Patrick Diggins 222
- VERA NORWOOD. *Made from This Earth: American Women and Nature.*
By Charlotte M. Porter 222
- SUSAN WARE. *Still Missing: Amelia Earhart and the Search for Modern Feminism.*
By Sara Alpern 223
- GEORGE HARWOOD PHILLIPS. *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769–1849.*
By Sherry L. Smith 223
- E. JOHN B. ALLEN. *From Skisport to Skiing: One Hundred Years of an American Sport, 1840–1940.*
By Odd S. Lovoll 224
- NORMAN M. KLEIN. *Seven Minutes: The Life and Death of the American Animated Cartoon.*
By Karal Ann Marling 225
- BERNARD ROSENTHAL. *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692.*
By Larry Gragg 225
- A. G. ROEBER. *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America.*
By James C. Juhnke 226
- ANDREAS BRINCK. *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts.*
By Walter D. Kamphoefner 227
- DONALD E. CHIPMAN. *Spanish Texas, 1519–1821.*
By John L. Kessel 227
- KEVIN MULROY. *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas.*
By Kathryn E. Holland Braund 228
- GILBERT C. DIN. *Francisco Bouligny: A Bourbon Soldier in Spanish Louisiana.*
By Helen Hornbeck Tanner 229
- KERRY S. WALTERS. *Rational Infidels: The American Deists.*
By Nian-Sheng Huang 229
- DOUGLAS R. EGERTON. *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802.*
By John C. Willis 230
- SPENCER C. TUCKER. *The Jeffersonian Gunboat Navy.*
By Robert Erwin Johnson 231
- LEE A. CRAIG. *To Sow One Acre More: Childbearing and Farm Productivity in the Antebellum North.*
By Mark Friedberger 231
- S. CHARLES BOLTON. *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800–1940.*
By Ronald L. F. Davis 232
- DAVID REMLEY. *Bell Ranch: Cattle Ranching in the Southwest, 1824–1947.*
By Darlis A. Miller 232
- DONALD B. COLE. *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson.*
By Robert McColley 233
- DONNA DICKENSON. *Margaret Fuller: Writing a Woman's Life.*
By Joyce W. Warren 234
- GEORGE MARTIN. *Verdi at the Golden Gate: Opera and San Francisco in the Gold Rush Years.*
By Barbara L. Tischler 235
- WILLIAM DEVERELL. *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850–1910.*
By Don L. Hofsommer 235
- BETTY G. FARRELL. *Elite Families: Class and Power in Nineteenth-Century Boston.*
By Wendy Gamber 236
- GERALD G. EGGERT. *Harrisburg Industrializes: The Coming of Factories to an American Community.*
By James A. Ward 237
- SPENCER KLAU. *Without Sin: The Life and Death of the Oneida Community.*
By Robert David Thomas 237
- CARLETON MABEE. *Sojourner Truth: Slave, Prophet, Legend.*
By Victoria E. Bynum 238
- WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR. *Black Belt Scalawag: Charles Hays and the Southern Republicans in the Era of Reconstruction.*
By Terry L. Seip 238

HOWARD L. SACKS and JUDITH ROSE SACKS. <i>Way Up North in Dixie: A Black Family's Claim to the Confederate Anthem.</i> By Dickson D. Bruce, Jr.	239	DANIEL W. BJORK. <i>B. F. Skinner: A Life.</i> By Theodore M. Brown	253
JANET E. STEELE. <i>The Sun Shines for All: Journalism and Ideology in the Life of Charles A. Dana.</i> By Kenneth Cmiel	240	WILLIAM URICCHIO and ROBERTA E. PEARSON. <i>Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films.</i> By Steven J. Ross	254
ROBERT STANLEY. <i>Dimensions of Law in the Service of Order: Origins of the Federal Income Tax.</i> By Samuel T. McSeveney	240	JAMES S. MOY. <i>Marginal Sights: Staging the Chinese in America.</i> By Shih-shan Henry Tsai	254
JEFFREY OSTLER. <i>Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892.</i> By Norman Pollack	241	NAZLI KIBRIA. <i>Family Tightrope: The Changing Lives of Vietnamese Americans.</i> By Maxine S. Seller	255
MARIAN J. MORTON. <i>And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland, 1855-1990.</i> By Richard A. Meckel	242	WILLIAM L. O'NEILL. <i>A Democracy at War: America's Fight at Home and Abroad in World War II.</i> By George Q. Flynn	255
REGINA G. KUNZEL. <i>Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945.</i> By Marian J. Morton	242	LILLIAN HODDESON, PAUL W. HENRIKSEN, ROGER A. MEADE, and CATHERINE WESTFALL. <i>Critical Assembly: A Technical History of Los Alamos during the Oppenheimer Years, 1943-1945.</i> By Barton C. Hacker	256
MARGARET C. JONES. <i>Heretics and Hellraisers: Women Contributors to The Masses, 1911-1917.</i> By Leslie Fishbein	243	ROGER L. GEIGER. <i>Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II.</i> By John R. Thelin	257
KATHERINE JELLISON. <i>Entitled to Power: Farm Women and Technology, 1913-1963.</i> By Virginia Scharff	243	CARL ABBOTT. <i>The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West.</i> By Lawrence H. Larsen	257
ORLAN J. SVINGEN. <i>The Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, 1877-1900.</i> By William E. Unrau	244	CHRISTOPHER J. CASTANEDA and JOSEPH A. PRATT. <i>From Texas to the East: A Strategic History of Texas Eastern Corporation.</i> By Roger M. Olien	258
RICHARD J. PERRY. <i>Apache Reservation: Indigenous Peoples and the American State.</i> By Robert A. Trennert	245	CARL HUSEMOLLER NIGHTINGALE. <i>On the Edge: A History of Poor Black Children and Their American Dreams.</i> By Arnold R. Hirsch	259
VIRGINIA LANTZ DENTON. <i>Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement.</i> By Raymond Wolters	245	CHARLES T. BANNER-HALEY. <i>The Fruits of Integration: Black Middle-Class Ideology and Culture, 1960-1990.</i> By Willard B. Gatewood	259
JACQUELINE GOGGIN. <i>Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History.</i> By Alfred A. Moss, Jr.	246	JAMES R. RALPH, JR. <i>Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago, and the Civil Rights Movement.</i> By Joseph L. Arnold	260
KENNETH ROBERT JANKEN. <i>Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual.</i> By Louis R. Harlan	247	DAVID H. WELBORN. <i>Regulation in the White House: The Johnson Presidency.</i> By Robert M. Collins	261
E. F. RIVINUS and E. M. YOUSSEF. <i>Spencer Baird of the Smithsonian.</i> By Mary P. Winsor	247	ROBERT D. KAPLAN. <i>The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite.</i> By James F. Goode	261
JANE AIKIN ROSENBERG. <i>The Nation's Great Library: Herbert Putnam and the Library of Congress, 1899-1939.</i> By Michael H. Harris	248	BRENDA GAYLE PLUMMER. <i>Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment.</i> By Thomas Schoonover	262
HUGH HAWKINS. <i>Banding Together: The Rise of National Associations in American Higher Education, 1887-1950.</i> By Sol Cohen	248	ALLAN R. MILLETT. <i>In Many a Strife: General Gerald C. Thomas and the U.S. Marine Corps, 1917-1956.</i> By Edgar F. Raines, Jr.	263
WILLIAM LEACH. <i>Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture.</i> By Alan Trachtenberg	250	H. W. BRANDS. <i>The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War.</i> By John Lewis Gaddis	263
JOHN D. FAIRFIELD. <i>The Mysteries of the Great City: The Politics of Urban Design, 1877-1937.</i> By David Schuyler	251	FEDERICO ROMERO. <i>The United States and the European Trade Union Movement, 1944-1951.</i> By Chiarella Esposito	264
CLIFTON HOOD. <i>722 Miles: The Building of the Subways and How They Transformed New York.</i> By Mark S. Foster	251	HOWARD B. SCHAFER. <i>Chester Bowles: New Dealer in the Cold War.</i> By Gary R. Hess	265
BERNICE KERT. <i>Abby Aldrich Rockefeller: The Woman in the Family.</i> By Barbara J. Howe	252	FREDERICK W. MARKS III. <i>Power and Peace: The Diplomacy of John Foster Dulles.</i> By Anna Kasten Nelson	265

DAVID M. BARRETT. <i>Uncertain Warriors: Lyndon Johnson and His Vietnam Advisers.</i> By Andrew J. Rotter	266	KEVIN GOSNER. <i>Soldiers of the Virgin: The Moral Economy of a Colonial Maya Rebellion.</i> By Paul Sullivan	271
LUCIEN S. VANDENBROUCKE. <i>Perilous Options: Special Operations as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy.</i> By Richard H. Immerman	267	SUSAN DEANS-SMITH. <i>Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico.</i> By John Jay TePaske	272
CANADA			
GARTH STEVENSON. <i>Ex Uno Plures: Federal-Provincial Relations in Canada, 1867–1896.</i> By P. B. Waite	267	DANIEL NUGENT. <i>Spent Cartridges of Revolution: An Anthropological History of Namiquipa, Chihuahua.</i> By John Tutino	273
BARRY FERGUSON. <i>Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O. D. Skelton, W. C. Clark, and W. A. Mackintosh, 1890–1925.</i> By Michiel Horn	268	DANA MARKIEWICZ. <i>The Mexican Revolution and the Limits of Agrarian Reform, 1915–1946.</i> By Heather Fowler-Salamini	274
JAMES NAYLOR. <i>The New Democracy: Challenging the Social Order in Industrial Ontario, 1914–1925.</i> By Bryan D. Palmer	269	DAVID E. LOREY. <i>The University System and Economic Development in Mexico since 1929.</i> By John A. Britton	275
J. L. GRANATSTEIN. <i>The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War.</i> By W. A. B. Douglas	270	JOANNE RAPPAPORT. <i>Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History.</i> By Thomas A. Abercrombie	275
LATIN AMERICA			
FRANCISCO MARTÍN HERNÁNDEZ. <i>Don Vasco de Quiroga (Protector de los indios).</i> By Stafford Poole, C.M.	271	DESMOND GREGORY. <i>Brute New World: The Rediscovery of Latin America in the Early Nineteenth Century.</i> By Doris Sommer	276
		ENRIQUE TANDETER. <i>Coercion and Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosí, 1692–1826.</i> By Richard L. Garner	277
		PAUL GOOTENBERG. <i>Imagining Development: Economic Ideas in Peru's "Fictitious Prosperity" of Guano, 1840–1880.</i> By Nils Jacobsen	278
Collected Essays	280	Communications	301
Documents and Bibliographies	293	Index of Advertisers	34(a)
Other Books Received	295		

Topical Table of Contents

Administration 150, 155, 184, 210, 261	Business 156, 171, 194, 196, 232, 237, 250, 258
Agriculture 201, 231, 232, 241, 243, 272, 274	Civil Wars 178
Anthropology 200, 275	Class 236, 259
Architecture 172, 188	Colonialism 130, 204, 205, 206, 215, 216, 218, 226, 271, 277
Art 170, 252	Comparative 138
Biography 136, 149, 154, 158, 166, 167, 175, 176, 177, 179, 196, 223, 229, 234, 238, 240, 245, 246, 247, 252, 253, 263, 265, 271	Constitutional 267

- Crime and Violence
 - 188, 193, 195, 205, 219, 220, 271
- Cultural
 - 127, 134, 139, 142, 148, 150, 158, 168, 181, 186, 200, 208, 213, 214, 220, 225, 235, 239, 250, 254, 259, 275, 276
- Demography
 - 151, 159, 168, 231
- Economics
 - 138, 150, 151, 156, 171, 173, 174, 183, 197, 203, 217, 221, 232, 233, 236, 240, 272, 275, 277, 278
- Education
 - 190, 245, 248, 257, 268, 275
- Empire
 - 143, 194, 215
- Environment
 - 202, 222
- Ethnicity
 - 134, 139, 199, 206, 218, 227, 246, 254, 255
- Exploration
 - 194
- Family
 - 162, 163, 192, 231, 236, 255, 259
- Film
 - 181, 225, 254
- Foreign Relations
 - 139, 155, 167, 197, 198, 217, 218, 261, 262, 264, 265, 267
- Gender
 - 200, 208
- Historiography
 - 166
- Immigration
 - 226, 227, 276
- Institutions
 - 184, 248, 275
- Intellectual
 - 125, 127, 128, 133, 134, 137, 180, 187, 209, 210, 212, 214, 221, 222, 229, 247, 268
- Journalism
 - 158, 168, 240
- Labor
 - 174, 194, 211, 237, 264, 269, 272
- Legal
 - 141, 152, 240
- Literature
 - 142, 161, 212, 234, 276
- Medicine
 - 154, 160
- Methods
 - 123, 128
- Military
 - 140, 158, 170, 171, 174, 178, 216, 231, 263, 270
- Music
 - 179, 235, 239
- Nationalism
 - 135, 179, 186, 206, 212, 216
- Philanthropy
 - 151, 191, 252
- Philosophy
 - 187
- Political
 - 123, 148, 156, 165, 166, 176, 180, 185, 189, 192, 196, 199, 201, 205, 210, 218, 222, 229, 233, 238, 241, 244, 245, 261, 263, 264, 266, 267
- Psychology
 - 253
- Race Relations
 - 223, 228, 230, 238, 239, 244, 245, 246, 254, 259, 260
- Radicalism
 - 180, 209, 237, 243
- Religion
 - 127, 130, 133, 136, 139, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 151, 153, 154, 168, 204, 208, 213, 214, 225, 226, 229, 237
- Revolution
 - 147, 192, 194, 195, 201, 273, 274
- Rural
 - 161, 207, 273
- Science and Technology
 - 125, 137, 154, 160, 161, 176, 177, 243, 247, 256
- Sexuality
 - 242
- Slavery
 - 203, 206
- Social
 - 144, 145, 150, 164, 169, 170, 174, 180, 182, 201, 211, 242
- Sports
 - 164, 224
- Trade
 - 202, 203, 217
- Transportation
 - 235, 251
- Urban
 - 169, 188, 251, 257
- Wars
 - 140, 174, 199, 255, 263, 266
- Women
 - 162, 163, 165, 186, 192, 222, 223, 234, 238, 242, 243, 252

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Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History

THOMAS C. HOLT

How does it feel to be a problem? . . . a strange experience,—peculiar even for one who has never been anything else . . . It is in the early days of rollicking boyhood that the revelation first bursts upon one, all in a day, as it were. I remember well when the shadow swept across me . . . up in the hills of New England . . . In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card,—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out of their world by a vast veil.¹

“Dirty nigger!” Or simply, “Look, a Negro!”

I came into the world anxious to have it yield to me the meaning in things, my spirit filled with the desire to be at the source of the world, and then I found that I was an object in the midst of other objects.

Enclosed within that crushing objecthood, I begged the Other for recognition. Its liberating look, running over my body, suddenly freed it of differentiating marks, endowing me once more with the agility that I had thought lost, and by taking me out of the world, restores me to it. But just as I rebounded almost to the summit, I stumbled, and the others by movements, attitudes, glances fixed me, as one fixes a photograph in a developing bath. I was indignant; I demanded an explanation. Nothing happened. I exploded. And finally, here are the fragments reunited by another me.²

THOUGH SEPARATED BY AN OCEAN IN DISTANCE and nearly half a century in time, Du Bois and Fanon articulate strikingly similar descriptions of their discovery of a racial self. It is important to note that theirs is in fact a *discovery* of race, for their “race” inheres neither in biology nor in culture but must be summoned to consciousness by their encounters in social space and historical time. To Du Bois, this racially polarized world “yields no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world.” It is “a double-consciousness,” he writes, a “sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes

I wish to thank Leora Auslander and Rebecca J. Scott for their critical readings of early drafts of this essay, and Hannah Rosen and Laurie Green for their assistance with the research.

¹ W. E. B. Du Bois, “Of Our Spiritual Strivings,” in *Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903), 1–2.

² Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris, 1952), 88. Please note that my translation is a modified rendering of *Black Skin, White Masks: The Experiences of a Black Man in a White World*, Charles Lam Markmann, trans. (New York, 1967). I am indebted to Jean-Claude Zancarini for his invaluable assistance in translating this passage.

of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity."³ To Fanon, self-consciousness is not double but multiply fragmented. The problem begins with his very corporeal existence: "The Black has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the White." "In the white world the man of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema." It is difficult to compose a self, a physical body in nature, space, and time. There is "a historico-racial schema," wherein the white Other creates his image of the Negro from "a thousand details, anecdotes, stories." Finally, there are the encounters in the outer world, like Fanon's with the little girl who called him "nigger," the "racial epidermal schema." Thus assaulted from all sides, he was made not a double but "a triple person": "I was responsible at the same time for my body, for my race, for my ancestors."⁴

These stories play powerfully on the cultural and perhaps personal memories of anyone who has experienced that special alienation that separates one not only from the world—its resources, its means of production, its fellowship and sociability—but from one's very own being. Although each of these narratives is in some sense idiosyncratic, representing the experience of black males of a particular class and political orientation, their form and essential content are nonetheless part of a more general pattern found in the autobiographies and memoirs of countless black men and women of diverse origins. For Anna J. Cooper or Ned Cobb, no less than Du Bois or Fanon, there comes some traumatic confrontation with the Other that *fixes* the meaning of one's self before one even has had the opportunity to *live* and *make* a self more nearly of one's own choosing. This confrontation with a racialized self may not appear in dramatic street encounters but in the quiet stories of one's parents—or in their silences—about a painful past.⁵ Indeed, the latter are probably more common, more accurate representations of such racial learning than the dramatic vignettes found in authors such as Du Bois and Fanon.

Still, these powerful, even archetypal, narratives remind us how deeply impersonal racism is, how automatically, unreflectively, race and racism are learned, but they also reveal how strong and tenacious is the struggle to be freed of its imprisoning constructs. Du Bois sought to merge the two selves severed by his racializing encounters into "a truer and better self." Reuniting the fragments of his exploded self into what he called "another me," Fanon sought again to be an unmarked part of human existence; he sought acceptance as a contributor to the common struggles, aspirations, and destiny of humankind.

³ Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 3. For an interesting discussion of the formative experience of Du Bois's childhood in Great Barrington, see David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race* (New York, 1993).

⁴ Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, 89–90.

⁵ African-American autobiographies abound with such moments when a member of the older generation falls silent about racializing encounters in the past but in ways that communicate much about that past. It is a theme that may be well worth investigating more systematically. For examples of stories and silences, see Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (1940; rpt. edn., New York, 1980), 11, 15–16, 20–23; Thordis Simonsen, ed., *You May Plow Here: The Narratives of Sara Brooks* (New York, 1986), 63; Gloria Wade-Gayles, *Pushed Back to Strength: A Black Woman's Journey Home* (Boston, 1933), 2; Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice from the South* (1892; rpt. edn., New York, 1988), 94–99; and Nate Shaw [Ned Cobb], *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw*, Theodore Rosengarten, comp. (New York, 1974), 8, 27–34, 83, *passim*.

I would like to focus attention on this problem and attempt to delineate its problematic because it is so ubiquitous in African-American life and letters, because I think it offers potential clues about how to think about the problem of race and racism, and because it articulates with our more general concerns about how history should be written—and made. I use marking here in a doubled sense—as the act of representation that is the marking of race and as the act of inscription that is the marking of history. In both senses, this marking pervades not only the dramatic and global phenomena of our world but is part of the “ordinary” events of everyday life and is perpetrated by “ordinary” people. In all of this, it joins issues about the philosophy and practice of our craft, about the intellectual and formal politics of our times, and about the lived experience of a generation seeking to evade the curse of modernity—the alienation of work from life.

THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE DIVERSE DIMENSIONS of our inquiry is captured best, perhaps, by Du Bois. Describing in *Dusk of Dawn* his intellectual odyssey of fifty-odd years, he noted that upon his graduation from Harvard in the 1890s, he had thought of “[t]he Negro problem [as] a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation.” Consequently, he decided to address the problem by studying “the facts, any and all facts, . . . and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalization which I could.” But soon,

there cut across this plan which I had as a scientist, a red ray which could not be ignored . . . a poor Negro in central Georgia, Sam Hose, had killed his landlord’s wife. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to the Atlanta *Constitution* office . . . I did not get there. On the way news met me: Sam Hose had been lynched, and they said that his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store farther down on Mitchell Street, along which I was walking . . . I turned back to the University. I began to turn aside from my work.⁶

Du Bois’s turning away—which involved also a turning from the task of explanation—is emblematic perhaps of our own turning; for despite the many important and seminal works on the problem of race in American life, scholars—in historical as well as other social science and humanistic studies—have yet to unravel the mysteries that events like the Sam Hose lynching pose. Much like Du Bois, we, too, are stopped in our tracks, “turned back” and “turn[ed] aside” from our work by the sheer incomprehensibility of racist phenomena such as these. One result of this turning, it has been noted, is that racism is often treated as if it were somehow outside normal historical and social processes, as if “trans-

⁶ W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York, 1940), 51, 58, 67.

historical,” or epiphenomenal.⁷ Consequently, even as the concept of race becomes historicized, our notions of racism become naturalized.

In fact, of course, Du Bois did not actually turn away from his confrontation with race, either in thought or praxis, either then or later. Instead, within a lifetime stretching from slavery emancipation to the apogee of the Civil Rights Movement, Du Bois tested, intellectually and practically, a whole range of approaches to the problem of explaining race. Indeed, his usefulness to us today may lie in the fact that the various paradigms by which he sought to explain racism—idealism, materialism, the psychological, and the cultural—are all approaches that in one way or another still inform contemporary historical scholarship.⁸ Although each of these approaches has made some useful contributions to our understanding of racial phenomena, each approach also fosters a mode of analysis or set of assumptions, often unstated, about human behavior that ultimately risks undermining the efficacy or comprehensiveness of the explanations offered.

For example, the substantive findings of research into the intellectual history of racism are often intriguing and useful. At its best, such research can demonstrate the temporality of ideas and their roots in specific historical processes or conjunctures; it can illuminate roads not taken and the limits of contemporaneous imaginations.⁹ But, even at its best, this approach, directly or indirectly, tends also to imply that racism is largely a consequence of bad ideas, a product of thought; as such, one can trace it to its source in some intellectual wrong turn, perhaps in philology, or nineteenth-century historicism, or the Aryan myth. All too often, however, the causal links between ideas and material phenomena are ambiguous and ill defined. Do racist ideas merely rationalize behavior or cause it? And what are the mechanisms for social change? Do good ideas inevitably chase out the bad? Is change simply a matter, as Du Bois put it, of showing the world through scientific investigation that it was wrong about race? Du Bois abandoned any such illusions before the end of the last century, and it is doubtful that any serious historian or social scientist would embrace a purely idealist position in the waning years of the present century; nonetheless, it often appears as an unstated assumption underpinning much of our popular and academic discourse about racial matters.

The economic or materialist paradigms are perhaps the most familiar and easily grasped by lay opinion. In contrast to the fuzziness of idealism, they appear hard-headed, with feet planted firmly on the ground. Actually, these paradigms

⁷ This point has been made most eloquently by Barbara Jeanne Fields in “Race and Ideology in American History,” *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds. (New York, 1982), 143–77; and again in “Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America,” *New Left Review*, no. 181 (1990): 95–118.

⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the historiography sketched below, see my “Explaining Race in American History,” unpublished paper prepared for the Conference on the State of Historical Writing in North America, San Marino, Italy, June 5–11, 1995. For a critical discussion of Du Bois’s various proposals for combating racism, see Thomas C. Holt, “The Political Uses of Alienation: W. E. B. Du Bois on Politics, Race, and Culture, 1903–1940,” *American Quarterly*, 42 (June 1990): 301–23.

⁹ For one of the better examples of the genre, see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

embrace a number of very different—sometimes conflicting—explanatory schemes, each arguing in one way or another that racism is a function of economic drives, of either exploitation or fear of competition. But such accounts tend to turn on the assumption of a rational calculation of ends in relation to means, with the consequence that any purely materialist explanation soon confronts the inexplicable excesses of racial phenomena, their seeming irrationality. Indeed, it was precisely such an excess that Du Bois confronted with the Sam Hose lynching. To kill an economic competitor or make an example of a recalcitrant worker was one thing; to mutilate him—to exhibit the grisly trophies of that mutilation in a grocery store—appears to be something else altogether.

It was this excess that led Du Bois to muse about the possible psychological sources of racial antagonism. Although a consistent theme in his lifetime of writings was that race was linked to the unfolding of the global structures of power and privilege that the rise of capitalism had wrought, he also recognized that “in the fight against race prejudice, we were not facing simply the rational, conscious determination of white folk to oppress us; we were facing age-long complexes sunk now largely to unconscious habit and irrational urge.”¹⁰ Like many historical scholars to follow, however, Du Bois invoked the psychological paradigm rather than subject its explanatory mechanisms to rigorous examination or elaboration. All too often, such attempts at explanation are less than rigorous theoretically and less than useful in determining how to combat racist phenomena. Those who take Freudian theory most literally are especially prone to naturalize racist behavior; that is, generalized over time and space, the presumably innate processes of child development come to function much like biological explanations.¹¹ Thus, at a time when we have finally come to see race as socially constructed rather than biological, we are asked to reverse field and explain racism in terms of innate human processes.

In what I have called the cultural paradigm, racism is traced to some aspect of the specific cultural or social formation in a given society or to the evolution of society as a whole. Racism is seen to be embedded in a social formation that is materially, culturally, and historically specific.¹² But even in this work there is often vagueness about the meaning or location of its key concept—“culture.” How is culture best defined, as a way of life, as symbols, as artifacts, as beliefs, or as all of the above? Are the practices and beliefs of the elite or the non-elite most salient? Like the other models discussed above, this approach also fails to locate the tie that binds the individual to the social order or to explain how social change

¹⁰ Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 296.

¹¹ One example of the kind of approach I am criticizing here is that of Joel Kovel, whose work has been influential among historians and other students of race. Kovel traces racism's origins in part to pathologies in the unconscious and/or conscious minds of individuals, arguing that the “natural” association of blackness with dirt and excrement together with sexual anxieties stemming from our childhood development—if unresolved—will be projected onto black people as objects of fantasy and invention, and that this helps explain racist impulses. Despite his gestures toward relating these purely individual traumas to the larger social and cultural order, the basic form of Kovel's explanation is a kind of *metaphorical* extension of individual, psychological phenomena to the social level. Kovel, *White Racism: A Psychohistory* (New York, 1971), 46–105.

¹² Best examples of such approaches are Ronald T. Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1980); and Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (London, 1986).

occurs. Is it a matter of a hegemonic elite that tells the majority what to think and what to value? Or is it popular spasms among the envious masses, seeking revenge or scapegoats? How is racism's reproductive cycle to be aborted?

Nothing that I have said is intended to suggest that the best work within these paradigms has not produced valuable contributions to our understanding of race in particular or history in general. Admittedly, for the purposes of this analysis, I have somewhat artificially isolated approaches that are more often used conjointly. I would argue, nonetheless, that those inadequacies cannot be compensated for by a salad bowl approach—say two parts job competition and one part psyche predisposition—which leaves the linkage between social context and individual actor unresolved. I am convinced that only this linkage can explain to us Sam Hose's burned and mutilated body or the more general problem of marking elaborated by Du Bois and Fanon. And, for us, no less than for Du Bois, this is not merely an academic issue: our failure to explain leaves a void filled by those who would see racism as an innate quality of people born white—"white devils"—or by others who see the stubborn persistence of racism as the natural distinction of the haves over the have-nots in a struggle of the fittest, a struggle in which the victims are held responsible for their victimization. Given these stakes, the task is truly an urgent one.

Having found our problem sketched in its sharpest outlines in Du Bois's writings, perhaps we can return to them for one final insight into the possible sources for a solution. Du Bois's analysis of the causes of the race riot in East St. Louis in 1917 brings into sharp focus his intuitions about the social construction of race. A war-induced boom, he writes, had produced a historic conjunction in that city of northern capitalists, eastern poor white labor, and southern impoverished blacks. The latter two groups might have logically found common cause and community in their basically similar relation to capital, but instead white labor came to see its interests and itself as somehow fundamentally different from those of black labor. "They saw something at which they had been taught to laugh and make sport; they saw that which the heading of every newspaper column, the lie of every cub reporter, the exaggeration of every press dispatch, and the distortion of every speech and book had taught them was a mass of despicable men, inhuman; at best, laughable; at worst, the meat of mobs and fury."¹³

Envisioned here is a subtle interaction between various levels and terrains of human experience. First, white and black workers had been *brought* to their fateful confrontation in East St. Louis in response to choices made in a context of global economic and political forces. Second, white workers had already been prepared to *interpret* that encounter in racial terms by various media of communication—newspapers, books, political speeches, and, one might add, stories and songs—that told them who black workers were. But, ultimately, theirs was not merely a matter of overdetermined responses; they had a choice. Some inner need or disposition made possible the transition from laughing at "a mass of despicable men" to treating them as "the meat of mobs and fury."

Although Du Bois does not push his inquiry as far as identifying what that inner

¹³ W. E. B. Du Bois, "Of Work and Wealth," in *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil* (1920; rpt. edn., New York, 1921), 88.

need or disposition was, his analysis implies a global vision in which issues of world economy are related directly to issues of ordinary everyday life, to issues of representation, and thus necessarily to issues of self-consciousness and identity. In a discussion of the roots of World War I in colonialism and imperialism, he makes these connections more explicit.

One cannot ignore the extraordinary fact that a world campaign beginning with the slave-trade and ending with the refusal to capitalize the word "Negro," leading through a passionate defense of slavery by attributing every bestiality to blacks and finally culminating in the evident modern profit which lies in degrading blacks,—all this has unconsciously trained millions of honest, modern men into the belief that black folk are sub-human.¹⁴

Implicated in this statement is a very complex and profound problem of social analysis, what I will call "the levels problem," that is, the problem of establishing the continuity between behavioral explanations sited at the individual level of human experience and those at the level of society and social forces. The fundamental problem articulated here is one of linkages. The everyday acts of name calling and petty exclusions are minor links in a larger historical chain of events, structures, and transformations anchored in slavery and the slave trade. Together, they nourish the racial knowledge that produces and sustains the mentalities or subjectivities capable of engaging in the brutal, wholesale destruction of other human beings.

Du Bois's analysis presupposes the foundational issue of human subjectivity: first, how one comes to know and define a self and then, how that self is consolidated or transformed as it acts in the world and is acted upon. These questions are fundamental to any analysis of human thought and behavior; and, to address them, historians—no less than other analysts of human life—need an approach that bridges the global and the local, the societal and the individual. I believe some elements of that approach are offered by the concept of a study of everyday life and "everydayness." It is at this level, I will argue, that race is reproduced via the marking of the racial Other and that racist ideas and practices are naturalized, made self-evident, and thus seemingly beyond audible challenge. It is at this level that race is reproduced long after its original historical stimulus—the slave trade and slavery—have faded. It is at this level that seemingly rational and ordinary folk commit irrational and extraordinary acts. It is precisely at this level that Du Bois in his schoolyard or Fanon on a Parisian street was marked, marked in ways that both summarized and actuated the global historical processes of the worlds they inhabited. At this level is produced that chain of signifiers that end—as Du Bois suspected—with the pogrom at St. Louis or, three decades later, mass murder at Auschwitz.

"THE EVERYDAY" EMERGED AS A PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPT in that vital period separating World War I and the Holocaust, gained purchase within the social sciences during the postwar era, and, almost simultaneously, took renewed force and form in the French student-worker rebellion in France in 1968 and in the

¹⁴ W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Hands of Ethiopia," in *Darkwater*, 72–73.

German academic and political movements that sought to come to grips with the national nightmare of Nazism. Not surprisingly, given these diverse origins and contexts, the concept of everydayness has come to evoke an array of meanings, references, and approaches. Often, it simply designates that part of human activity and consciousness left over after politics, wars, and the other big subjects and events have been addressed. It can be taken to refer to either cyclical, repeated phenomena, such as the *longue durée* patterns of weather and economics, or to aspects of the human life-cycle. It can mean the unexceptional, day-to-day arrangements and ordeals of individual existence, such as leisure, private life, or forms of passive resistance to authority. Temperamentally, it might be associated with what was once called “history from the bottom up,” or the history of the “inarticulate.” Methodologically, it, like some genres of social and cultural studies, seeks to ferret out sources for the experiences and voices of non-elites, of the popular and the relatively powerless.¹⁵

There is, however, another conceptual trajectory within this literature—rooted in some of its earliest formulations, though often appearing only faintly in many contemporary discussions—that is more directly relevant to our explorations of the problem of race and racism. It is a trajectory captured most succinctly by Leora Auslander in her forthcoming study of the role of consumption in fashioning modern French political identities:

The challenge . . . is to simultaneously grasp the manifestations of the very large and abstract structures and transformations of the world in the small details of life; to re-capture people’s expressions—in all media—of their experiences of those abstractions, while also attempting to understand the forces shaping the multiple grids mediating those expressions; and, finally, to analyze how concrete and mundane actions in the everyday may themselves transform the abstract structures of polity and economy.¹⁶

The crucial injunction here is not that we should privilege the study of everydayness over other aspects of human experience but, rather, elaborate the nexus between the remote or global levels of that experience and its immediate or micro-local expressions. The task of sorting out how these different levels of analysis are linked—that is, understanding how the large and “important” are articulated with and expressed through the small and “unimportant,” and vice versa—requires that we explicate more precisely the relation between individual agency and structural frameworks, on the one hand, and that we conceptualize more clearly just how one’s consciousness of self and other are formed, on the other.

The issue of understanding the formation of the human subject is clearly fundamental to such an inquiry and perhaps the least well investigated by historians. Among the diverse approaches to this question, I find Martin Heideg-

¹⁵ This literature is vast, and I will not attempt to provide a bibliography here. Perhaps the practitioner best known to and most influential among American historians is Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1984). For an example of de Certeau’s influence among African-Americanists, see Robin Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South,” *Journal of American History*, 80 (June 1993): 75–112. (The approach discussed below is quite different from de Certeau’s, however.)

¹⁶ Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., forthcoming, 1995), quoted by permission of the author.

ger's exploration of the philosophical puzzle of existence a provocative and stimulating place to begin, especially for historians.¹⁷ In the process of reengaging the age-old ontological problem of being, Heidegger elaborated a notion of "the everyday" and, through it, a painstaking epistemological reconstruction of how we come to know ourselves as conscious beings. In his inquiry, the everyday is merely part of the method of inquiry, an illustration and instrument of his chain of reasoning, but it underscores and demonstrates, nonetheless, the fact that conscious human selves are socially formed and revealed.¹⁸ One of the primordial ways in which the self is knowable or realized—and thus one might say constituted—is through its interactions with everyday life, where other entities and other selves are encountered. The predominant mode of one's conscious living is within and through the physical "out-there" and in relation to the common mass of humanity. Moreover, through one's everyday encounters with existence, through one's consciousness of one's own mortality and selfhood, is disclosed something about the nature and limits of actual human existence. With these insights, Heidegger lays a theoretical basis for our understanding that human experience, motivations, and behaviors must ultimately be understood as grounded in social processes and framed by historical moments. Thus models of human thought and behavior deduced from the premise of an isolated individual—a constellation of emotions, psychology, material aspirations, or rather one whose behavior and motivations are reducible to those terms—are inadequate at best; at worst, simply false.

Any model of social action, moreover, must be historical. Historicity is crucial both in the sense of personal and collective memory and in terms of the constructs of the "non-self" that take shape within its space. Indeed, one cannot even conceptualize an individual consciousness, a self continuous from one time point to another, without a concept of history, of memory.¹⁹ To think "I am" requires "I was," which needs in turn a narrative of "they" and/or "we."²⁰ Such narratives link the succession of events, experiences, and persons that constitute any self in any time-present, which is to say in one's consciousness. A self is knowable, then—even to itself—only in terms of its history. If this premise is true, it follows that one cannot explain human behavior and desire absent the social and historical contexts within which they are grounded. More specifically, one must seek explanations for the reproduction of racist belief and behavior not in

¹⁷ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, trans. (San Francisco, 1962). I am aware that the recent exposure of Heidegger's complicity with Nazism has discouraged engagement with his work. For a student of racism to apply such a standard would be counterproductive, however, since so many of the world's great thinkers (Aristotle, Locke, Hegel, for example) held unsavory racial views. I would argue that works fundamental to our effort to comprehend issues like those raised here should be studied despite (and perhaps in some cases because of) their author's politics.

¹⁸ I recognize that Heidegger's work is strictly a philosophical treatise that in no way claims to be an analysis of actual human societies, but his phenomenological method provides a virtual sociology of how subjectivity is formed, nonetheless. See esp. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 96, 152–54, 164.

¹⁹ Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 241. See also commentary by Michael Gelven, *A Commentary on Heidegger's Being and Time*, rev. edn. (De Kalb, Ill., 1989), 182.

²⁰ In a different context but vividly expressive of the general point I wish to make here, Heidegger writes: "Only he who already understands can listen." *Being and Time*, 208.

individual pathologies but in social formations at specific historical moments that shape and make both self and other knowable.

All of which brings us back to the original problem of conceptualizing the linkage between the social and the individual levels of existence. We return, however, armed with the knowledge that the individual self is already imbricated in the social—it being the condition of possibility for individual self-knowledge—and that the self is fashioned in social space, in relation to others, and in relation to historical time.

Henri Lefebvre, a pioneer in the sociology of the everyday, pushes us further.²¹ The global and the everyday, which he calls the macro and micro levels of human experience, are interactive and mutually constituted, and neither takes causal priority over the other. At any *given* historical moment, the everyday has already been created within a determined global space, and global relations are already the product—at least in part—of everyday existence.²² It is at the global level that human activity achieves its greatest efficacy and most enduring significance. It is at the level of the everyday that global phenomena are enacted. The everyday is “the living root of the social,” he writes; it is where “social labor is organized,” where “norms and images are elaborated.”²³

Major activities are born of germs contained in everyday practice, because it is at that level that the group and the individual can and must plan and organize their time and apply their means. A woman buying a pound of sugar, for example, has a doubled aspect: hers is at once a simple gesture but one within which are inscribed complex social relations.²⁴ Her action not only expresses but makes possible a global structure of imperialist politics and labor relations that racialize consumption as well as production. The analysis of such an act must not simply collapse the one level into the other, however, but begin with the recognition of their essential reciprocity. Power can only be *realized* at the level of everyday practice, and it is dependent—ultimately and inherently—on the reproduction of the relations, idioms, and the world-view that are its means of action. In short, the everyday is where macro-level phenomena—politics, economics, ideologies—are lived.

The two levels are mediated by material conditions, symbolic gestures, and discursive action; mediated, for example, by money and by language, each with its

²¹ The following discussion is drawn primarily from the second volume of Lefebvre's three-volume work, full citations of which are: Henri Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne: Introduction* (Paris, 1958); *Critique de la vie quotidienne: Fondements d'une sociologie de la quotidienneté* (Paris, 1961); and *Critique de la vie quotidienne: De la modernité au modernisme (pour une métaphilosophie du quotidien)* (Paris, 1981).

²² It is important, moreover, not to confuse the everyday with the merely popular or non-elite. Every institution, class, or power also has its “everyday”; it is a level of experience and analysis, not an aspect of social hierarchy. Thus Lefebvre writes of the state having its everyday in the bureaucracy, the army in the routines of peacetime, and science in its training regimes, conventions, and institutional milieu. Although the issues of hegemony and agency raised in studies of popular culture are salient here, too, the *quotidien* approach should not be reduced to what is merely a feature and not its essence. To confine the analysis of the everyday solely to a populist terrain risks portraying a dynamic and ever-changing relation as immutable and ahistorical. Rather, the analysis of social phenomena must explore the nexus between the everyday and the global, or what Lefebvre calls micro and macro sociological levels. Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 2: 47, 50–51, 142–46.

²³ Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 2: 145.

²⁴ Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 1: 66–67.

own potential for being naturalized, fetishized, and thus rendered capable of obscuring and mystifying essential features of the original relationship. At the macro level, such phenomena can become abstract; at the micro level, ambiguous, even mystical. Thus Wall Street stock traders speak learnedly about an anthropomorphic “market” that fears, hopes, and desires such things as higher interest rates and government policies that beggar the poor. But when a more specific assignment of responsibility for recession or unemployment is called for, this singular market becomes an “invisible hand” made up of thousands of other hands acting in guileless unison.

Methodologically speaking, this means that one can neither proceed by simply aggregating the minutiae of human activity—the sociology of the *poubelle* (trash can), Lefebvre calls it—nor withdraw to the Olympian heights of abstraction.²⁵ Within everydayness, one finds relations of kin, neighbors, and allies elaborated and reproduced, while at more global levels, these same relations become cultural rules, territorial boundaries, and class solidarities or conflicts. Similarly, the conditions of possibility for intimacies like marriage, kinship, and social boundaries of all kinds are established by church, state, and economic arrangements. Any social analysis, therefore, must build on the mutual interdependence between these levels, must recognize their “conflictual, polyvalent, mobile, multiformed” relations.²⁶

Neither level can be fully understood separate from the other. Privileging the macro level—“which would absolutely define the daily by the global”—yields atrophied, lifeless, passionless depictions and the incalculability that are not only the fated conditions of human existence but possibly essential resources in struggles for self-realization and defense. Isolating micro-level phenomena, on the other hand, renders human behavior simply unknowable.²⁷

Knowability must commence by acknowledging and marking the areas of seeming incalculability in human behavior. And it is precisely in the everyday that one encounters *lived* contradictions and contingencies. One must think of the everyday, Lefebvre warns us, as at once “the modality for the empirical organization of human life” and a repertory of “representations which mask that organization.”²⁸ Within this doubled aspect as modality and representation, he seems to suggest, one might discover means for a dialectical analysis of the structuring principles of the human condition and of social action. His image of structure intends to project dynamism rather than stasis, however. Structures are constituted of the mutable linkages between entities, processes, forces, and events, where the links are cultural elements—signs, symbols, images, proverbs, myths, and stories—that mediate the different parts of the whole.²⁹ However fragmentary, inaccurate, and incomplete, they form the information and memory—collective and individual—that blend into the material and imaginary furnishings of everyday life. They are nothing less than resources for living, the tools for shaping a world for good or ill.

²⁵ Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 2: 49.

²⁶ Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 2: 140–44, quote on 144.

²⁷ Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 2: 143–44.

²⁸ Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 2: 141.

²⁹ Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, 2: 161, 288.

Again, what all this suggests for the protocols of studying racism is that we look to the entities that mediate between the individual and his/her social life; that is, precisely to Du Bois's stories, songs, symbols, and myths by which people shape and reflect their being, their understanding of self and of how the world is. As for the thing itself—racism's powerful hold, its tenaciousness—it appears to arise not from some parasitic attachment on the surface of an otherwise healthy body politic but from viral growths within the living whole. Race yet lives because it is part and parcel of the *means* of living.

This is, of course, a bleak, even horrifying, metaphor. It explains the tenacity and power of racism at the risk of rendering it immutable—beyond the reach of ordinary human will to change. It need not be so, however. Within this seemingly closed system are the means for emancipatory action. The problem—emotional as well as intellectual—is that one must hold both ends of the polarity within the same uncertain grasp.

Clues to how that problem might be approached, I would suggest, could be found in some of the studies of that other twentieth-century instance of a seemingly irrational, racist excess: German Nazism. Indeed, the efforts to come to grips with the Nazi phenomena have produced perhaps the broadest and deepest application of the concept of everyday life to a concrete historical moment. As with race, these scholars also confront the compelling question of how “ordinary” people come to participate in or tolerate extraordinary acts of human cruelty and depravity.³⁰

What studies of everyday life under Nazi rule make clear are the technologies of power by which Nazi authorities monitored and sought to control—without uniform or consistent success—the everyday lives of German workers, youths, and women. The most dramatic aspect of this system of control is very familiar: the selective application of terror and intimidation against Jews, gypsies, leftists, homosexuals, and anyone who dared defend these stigmatized groups. Less dramatic, but perhaps equally effective, was the regime's seduction of the German middle classes, catering—in a discourse eerily familiar to us today—to the notion that there was some moral injury in the fact that they were experiencing social and economic decline, were no longer assured of ever-expanding material prosperity, were witnessing the ostensible rejection of their traditional values, were fearful of a genetically inferior underclass in their midst.³¹

But what is immediately relevant to the present inquiry is how these global ideological claims unfolded at the local level, how they were interpreted, reproduced, or parried in the hands of ordinary people. The Nazi regime's unsatisfied anxiety for absolute control, to command consent in the minutest site and gesture, highlights the crucial linkages between grand public purposes and phenomena and everyday existence. It is clear, on the one hand, that the goals of

³⁰ Fred E. Schrader provides an informative overview of the German literature and its differences from its counterparts in France and England, in “Avant-propos: Historiographie allemande d'après-guerre et anthropologie de la vie quotidienne,” *Histoire du quotidien*, Alf Lüdtke, ed., Olivier Mannoni, trans. (Paris, 1994), v–xii. See also Alf Lüdtke, “Introduction: Qu'est-ce que l'histoire du quotidien, et qui la pratique?” *ibid.*, 1–38 (esp. 2–4).

³¹ See especially Detlev J. K. Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*, Richard Deveson, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 86–96.

the state, its image of social order, effectively intruded into and reshaped everyday existence; fear, surveillance, betrayal, and ritualized confirmation of Nazi ideology were fully evident and efficacious. On the other hand, it was also at the level of everyday life that Nazi designs were often thwarted, deflected, or simply expired. In fact, the state's efforts to invade, terrorize, and colonize everyday life often produced ambiguous and contradictory effects. For example, the state's effort to stamp out "negro" jazz inadvertently stimulated and politicized the otherwise hedonistic revelries of middle-class youthful jazz buffs. Similarly, their effort to discipline workers drove dissent underground and into privatized forms.³² Thus global power exercised from above shaped but was, in turn, reshaped by ordinary people.

As Alf Lüdtke has shown, however, gestures of resistance and consent are not always easy to disentangle.³³ Workers forged individual breathing spaces within the Nazi industrial regime and relations of solidarity with their co-workers through the complex and multifaceted behaviors he calls *Eigensinn*, behaviors that included malingering, horseplay, or simply "tuning out." Although this description resonates with the populist impulse to discover moments of resistance among the common people, Lüdtke's story is much more complicated. "*Eigensinn*," he writes, "does not refer solely to benevolent needs and practices by the multitude of workers—but also to actions and attitudes that are downright misanthropic, full of contempt for one's fellows. Indeed, such practices are often motivated by the desire to see others squirm and suffer."³⁴ Thus a worker might by turns seek integration with his fellows or separation from them, neither of which can be easily contained within dichotomies of resistance and accommodation; a given act could be either, or both, or neither. What is at stake here, then, is not finding resistance or accommodation in *Eigensinn* but showing how it was deployed in the workers' efforts to reconfirm their sense of being—in signs of "mutual perception and recognition."³⁵ It was at this local level that power relations—that is, politics—were lived, reproduced, and sometimes deflected.

As in Lefebvre, the nexus between global and local social relations was neither unilinear nor asymmetric; like other social phenomena, that linkage reveals a stubborn unpredictability, occasional disconnectedness, and moments of incalculability. For example, it was also at the level of the shop floor that the "political" resources thus cultivated could be eventually manipulated to achieve greater factory production in response to the flattering Depression-era slogan of "German

³² Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany*, 110–74.

³³ Alf Lüdtke, "Polymorphous Synchrony: German Industrial Workers and the Politics of Everyday Life," *International Review of Social History*, 38 (1993), Supplement, 39–84.

³⁴ Lüdtke, "Polymorphous Synchrony," 83. Much like Heidegger and Lefebvre, therefore, Lüdtke suggests the task of refiguring social choices away from purely economic rationalism toward a more complex field of social and existential forces. Purely instrumental action is not denied but is subordinated within a broader matrix of ultimately existential desire—to know, to realize one's being, in a Heideggerian sense to cheat death.

³⁵ Lüdtke argues that one cannot segment the economic, social, and cultural factors of a worker's existence because they are all interactive components of what he calls a "polymorphous synchrony." Thus he frames the pivotal question as one of determining "how subjectivity is actually constituted." This would appear to require in turn some notion of the linkage between the personal and the social, the psychic and the material, and to imply that productive, reproductive, and representational life are all mutually imbricated in profound ways. Lüdtke, "Polymorphous Synchrony," 41–58, quotes 53, 63.

quality workmanship,” and subsequently toward xenophobic and racist attacks on foreign workers and other presumed enemies during the Nazi era and after.³⁶ Thus did modalities for privatized living become instruments for achieving national goals, which in turn helped define the targets and provide the language for racial self-fashioning and aggression. Moreover, even when not placed directly in service of the Nazi regime, these private adaptations amounted to apathetic resignation in a crisis demanding active resistance.

What criteria can we deduce from this last example for framing the problematic of racial phenomena? German workers, youths, and middle-class supporters of the Nazi regime were caught in a world not of their own making—one forged from above by great power conflicts, unsettling economic transformations, and an ideology that purported to make sense of it all. They did not passively receive it: in some cases, they resisted; in others, they adapted it to their own ends. Even their resistance, however, often had the perverse effect of reinforcing the original propaganda—as in the case of Nazi racism. Forging solidarity with other German workers, for example, entailed stigmatizing and racializing alien workers. Thus the racial ideologies generated from above fell on fertile ground below, providing additional means of fashioning selves and worlds under otherwise impoverished conditions. None of this absolves these workers of moral responsibility. Indeed, their moral irresponsibility is rendered all the more chillingly apparent. Passivity in the face of an enormous evil—racial demonization and mass extermination—is one aspect of that responsibility certainly, but it is not one that any of us can claim to be innocent of. The more profound aspect of their moral irresponsibility is the fact that in the small gestures of everyday life they reenacted and sustained a vision of the world that made mass extermination ordinary, perhaps even possible. What is most chilling is the routineness of their culpability.

THIS ORDINARINESS AND ROUTINENESS SHOULD WARN US against seeking comfort in the extraordinariness of the Nazi's crime. As my opening quotations from Du Bois and Fanon suggest, it is precisely within the ordinary and everyday that racialization has been most effective, where it *makes* race. I can think of no better historical illustration of how this phenomenon works than the pervasive, long-lived imagery and symbolism of blackness fostered by the American minstrel tradition. I have chosen this example in part because minstrelsy has held such a powerful grip on American public culture but also because the phenomenon has been so richly documented by some stimulating and provocative recent work.³⁷ Synthesizing and recasting that work in the light of the conceptual work on everyday life that I have just described may be helpful to us in the task of

³⁶ “The images and formulae of *deutsche Qualitätsarbeit* carried a double load of semantic freight: on the one hand, an appeal to work experiences and attitudes; on the other, a patriotic reference to their significance for the ‘whole nation.’” Lüdtke, “Polymorphous Synchrony,” 80–81.

³⁷ The discussion that follows is drawn from and synthesizes the following works: Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (London, 1990); David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991); Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York, 1993).

reconceptualizing the study of racism. What that work shows, I will argue, is how racial selves—black as well as white—were made in the social environments of theatrical and street performances, how such performances mediated between global economic and political forces and their local enactment, and how both the reproduction and disruption of the racial content of these performances can be—much as in the scenarios described by Alf Lüdtke—two sides of the same coin.

The original minstrel show, consisting of a vaudeville-like concoction of songs, dances, and skits, was created in the 1830s, achieved its peak popularity in the 1840s and 1850s, remained a prevalent professional entertainment form throughout the nineteenth century, and continued as a staple of local amateur shows at least through the 1920s. A uniquely American art form, it was an important precursor to vaudeville and contemporary musical comedy, with many famous stars gaining their first experiences in it and continuing to draw materials for songs and skits from it.³⁸ Thus its symbols, imagery, and narratives became embedded in all forms of popular entertainment and material culture, profoundly shaping this nation's racial imaginary.

Although neither its performers—mostly white men in black grease paint—nor its audiences—mostly white male foreign immigrants and native rural immigrants—had much direct knowledge of the southern plantation or of black life, the minstrel show's dominant feature was its portrayal, or rather its supposed portrayal, of black life during the slavery era. Performers drew their key characters from the stereotypes of contemporary literature about southern plantations—"Aunt Jemimas," "Uncle Toms," and city slickers, or "dandies." After American slave emancipation, the themes and content of the minstrel show also shifted somewhat as the original "plantation tradition" framework became more of a conceit upon which romantic songs and narratives more clearly about white subjects were overlaid. Nonetheless, overt racial references remained the defining trope of the form.³⁹

It is now clear, however, that minstrelsy was never just about race; complex political, economic, and social forces were at work in this "play." Studies of the content of minstrel shows, their music, and their social setting suggest that they served to assuage the cultural anxieties of both the new European immigrants uprooted from homelands and integrating into an alien society and political economy and the young rural native migrants to the city, many of whom were being incorporated into wage labor and the factory system for the first time. The malaprop-prone slave preacher, the misplaced urban dandy, the unsophisticated slave or freedman were all characters, it has been argued, onto whom the anxieties of a working class in the making could be projected, laughed at, and thus somehow mastered. Outrageous sentiments about contemporary politics, class pretensions and conflicts, and gender roles and sexuality could be put into the mouths of society's lowest caste.⁴⁰ In some sense, then, the origins of, the impetus

³⁸ On the long history of minstrelsy, see Robert C. Toll, *Blackening Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1974); on its afterlife on the amateur circuit, see Melvin Patrick Ely, *The Adventures of Amos 'n' Andy: A Social History of an American Phenomenon* (New York, 1991), 23–46.

³⁹ Lott, *Love and Theft*, 180–82.

⁴⁰ Toll, *Blackening Up*, 160–94; Saxton, *White Republic*, 165–82; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 115–19; Lott, *Love and Theft*, 87.

behind, the elaboration of the minstrel tradition had nothing to do with the lived experience of African Americans;⁴¹ rather, aspects of black life—even black creativity—were appropriated and used by whites to negotiate problems posed by the larger society. Thus a racist discourse and performance became media for fashioning as well as expressing white, especially white male, identity.

This social-psychological process, moreover, linked, more or less directly, global forces of political economy and the lived everyday experiences of urban workers and others. The peak years for minstrelsy were in the decades when the nation was racked by political and economic tensions. The abolitionist struggles, westward expansion, the formation of an urbanized working class raised crucial issues of national as well as personal identity, of sectional and ethnic loyalties. Minstrelsy invoked a comforting image of a hierarchically ordered, placid, and above all innocent, rural countryside—the southern plantation. These images and themes are, for example, central in minstrel songs such as “Carry Me Back to Old Virginny,” “Oh Susanna,” “Old Folks at Home,” and “Dixie” (which ironically began as a minstrel song first performed in New York City and only later became the unofficial anthem of the Confederacy).⁴² White Americans embraced minstrelsy, therefore, not simply to revile black people; that motive alone could hardly have sustained their century-long love affair with the form. It seems more plausible to suggest that through this form they posed traumatic questions to themselves about vital issues wherein their everyday lives converged with more global phenomena: What was America? Who was an American? Who was “white”? Such questions strike at the very root of social order and at the very soul of the subjectivities people construct in the process of locating themselves in a social formation. In the minstrel theater, such issues were deflected or settled symbolically; there, perhaps, white men at least reassured themselves who they were not—not black, not slave.

Minstrelsy soothed white anxieties, however, at the cost of reinforcing black stereotypes and institutionalizing racist ideas and images for generations to come. It established a tradition, a system of signs, symbols, and layered racial codes that penetrated deep into American culture, from its classic literature to street parades in northeastern cities, from the signature songs of Al Jolson and Judy Garland to the Amos 'n' Andy Show. In the booming American economy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, its imagery became embedded in popular advertising trademarks, such as Aunt Jemima's pancakes and Uncle Ben's rice, capable of communicating at a glance accumulated stores of racialized knowl-

⁴¹ Alexander Saxton estimates that about 70 percent of the early minstrel show innovators and songwriters were northern or foreign-born and came from middle-class urban backgrounds. They were not slaveholders and had very little experience with black people other than contacts while traveling in the South with various theatrical road shows, or perhaps doing the “research” many claimed as the basis for the “authenticity” of their acts. From what they saw, or thought they saw, they attempted to emulate black songs, dances, and characters on stage. Furthermore, the audiences for minstrel shows were overwhelmingly urban, working-class northern white men—often immigrants or recent native migrants to the city. Saxton, *White Republic*, 168.

⁴² Saxton, *White Republic*, 155–80; Lott, *Love and Theft*, 203–07; Toll, *Blackening Up*, 216.

edge. The smiling visages of these seemingly familiar figures suggested American authenticity, nurturance, and the reassurance of subordination.⁴³

Along with the advertising images there developed a parallel market in the simulacra of such symbols intended for household and other uses. Aunt Jemima soon graced not only the pancake box but salt and pepper shakers, a “to-do-list” holder, and a veritable bazaar of other domestic tools and home decorations. Well into the mid-twentieth century, images of grinning, subservient black men, women, and children filled the yards and domestic spaces of white American homes.⁴⁴

It is against this backdrop that African Americans confronted the task of fashioning a self, confronted their aspiration to, as Fanon put it, “enter at the source of the world,” or as Du Bois phrased it even earlier, “to be co-workers in the kingdom of culture.” The haunting image of that confrontation, I think, is that of a New York mob forcing Ira Aldridge—the great African-American Shakespearean tragedian—to halt his performance of Shakespeare to sing “Possum Up an Old Gum Tree,” a minstrel standard of the day. That scene would be repeated—with different accents and nuances, to be sure—as blacks assumed greater roles in theater, music, literature, and the arts.⁴⁵ That scene is emblematic of the struggle not only of black artists, intellectuals, and other culture workers but of a whole people—struggling to be other than the mark assigned then.

The marking of racial otherness so indelibly into the American material and spiritual culture, into its everyday, meant that what blacks confronted was never simply insult and psychic injury, never some transient epiphenomenon, but a kind of national ambivalence about racial matters that still complicates our efforts to understand and combat it. That ambivalence is best captured, perhaps, in the apt phrase Eric Lott uses to describe the reception of the original minstrel theater—as “love and theft.” The theft refers to the appropriation and distortion beyond recognition of the experience of a subordinated people; the love refers to the intense and fatal fascination with the defaced, commodified result.⁴⁶

But the fascination was as “genuine” as the theft, and together they produced antinomies peculiar to American race relations. For example, over the course of the twentieth century, we have witnessed African-American roles in American popular culture—its theater, sports, and music—change fundamentally but not the racial mark of being “natural” singers, dancers, and physical athletes. Today, the traditional “common sense” that underwrote this racial knowledge is reinforced by multimillion-dollar televised images and commodities. Instead of Aunt Jemima salt and pepper shakers, we have a brutal economy of prestige and status

⁴³ For the story of Aunt Jemima, see Jackie Young, *Black Collectables: Mammy and Her Friends* (West Chester, Pa., 1988).

⁴⁴ For a sense of the ubiquitous spread of these objects, see Kenneth W. Goings, “Memorabilia That Have Perpetuated Stereotypes about African Americans,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, no. 14 (February 14, 1990); “Ethnic Notions: Black Images in the White Mind,” an exhibition of Afro-American stereotype and caricature from the collection of Janette Faulkner, Berkeley Art Center, September 12–November 4, 1982; “Contemptible Collectibles,” *Perspectives: The Civil Rights Quarterly*, 12 (Spring 1980): 19–23.

⁴⁵ For Aldridge’s confrontation, see Lott, *Love and Theft*, 45–46; for others, see Lott, *Love and Theft*, 235; Ely, *Amos ‘n’ Andy*, 206; and Toll, *Blacking Up*, 217–22.

⁴⁶ Lott, *Love and Theft*, 38–62.

in which children kill each other for sneakers and jackets. Fanon's image of exploding in his confrontation with a racialized self is not literary license, it seems, but contemporary reality. It is, moreover, a horrifying, incomprehensible reality, making all the more urgent our need to re-think how race is made and thus might be un-made.

HAVING SKETCHED this depressing portrait of how racism is reproduced in American society, I am left with the even more difficult problem of discovering within it an emancipatory potential. Even here, I will be more effective, I am afraid, in exposing obstacles than certain paths of liberation. I can only hope that some discussion of contemporary obstacles and dangers may serve to alert us to a way out.

It is perhaps natural that as an academic I would think first of intellectual processes, of teaching and discussion, and of the constant critical reexamination of our own everyday practices as professional historians and as citizens—as history writers and history makers. We, after all, are specially charged with producing and communicating important parts of the materials from which identities are to be constructed. If the problem of marking reveals itself, as Fanon describes it, in “a thousand details, anecdotes, stories,” or as Du Bois suggests, in jokes, songs, public media, then one appropriate response would seem to be to rewrite the stories, to expose to searching scrutiny the insidious content and injury of the jokes, songs, and anecdotes, to provide the means for people to think of themselves “otherwise.”

Within the everyday that we academics inhabit, we can seek to ensure that the histories we teach about humankind do indeed reflect the diverse stories of human existence and struggle. We can seek to ensure that our faculties, our student bodies, our professional associations are themselves reflective of that diversity of experience and knowledge. And perhaps most unsettling of all to many of us, we can open to critical inquiry and scrutiny not just the content of our “received” wisdom but the very premises, discourse, and intellectual processes by which we received it.

In some ways, as we face daunting problems of difference in the waning years of the present century, these measures seem small. But, ironically, the fierce counter-attack that even their modest and uneven pursuit has attracted suggests that they may not be so small after all. For questioning the representation of our selves in history books and on history faculties, many of us have been condemned for trying to limit free speech and ridiculed for being obsessed with policing trivial individual behavior. Thus almost every response to the phenomenon of marking is driven onto the defensive—a trend likely to be encouraged by recent mid-term elections and referenda.

The issue of free speech is not one to be taken lightly. This struggle, like any other, can produce its excesses and abuses; ours is the burden to work out modalities by which the freedoms of both speech and people are protected. Such efforts must begin, however, with the recognition that freedom of speech has

never been, and never can be, absolute. It has always been hemmed in by rules and conventions that mark its boundaries. Our most important codes are not for the most part written down, much less legally enforced; they are simply part of the mores, etiquette, and behaviors we internalize, that is, simply part of our everyday. All of which suggests that in many areas it should be the conversation about and articulation of what is appropriate that is the first object of our attention rather than cumbersome and often ineffective legal sanctions. Fostering an atmosphere of criticism and self-reflection would seem to be crucial for such an approach, which it is certainly appropriate for the university to seek to provide.

It is critical to recognize, however, that one of the crucial elements of the racializing encounters that Du Bois and Fanon described is that the structures and relations of power are unequal, ever tilted to the side of the victimizer rather than the victim. The arena in which we struggle is not simply a marketplace of ideas, unmediated by wealth and power. This lesson was learned by the NAACP and others who struggled against the harmful effects of Thomas Dixon's and D. W. Griffith's racist film *Birth of a Nation*. The NAACP efforts at outright censorship ran afoul of their own and their white liberal allies' philosophical commitment to free speech. But their effort to portray a different history by producing the independent film *Lincoln's Dream* also failed. They failed, for the simple reason that they could never command the capital or the audiences that Griffith had.⁴⁷ The capacity for speech in modern society is not independent of capital and the power that capital nurtures. Moreover, Griffith's film—like television to follow—emerged out of a cinematic public sphere that it and other films were in the process of creating.⁴⁸ Blacks—as producers and sometimes as audience members—were excluded from that sphere. Even if financially successful, therefore, such oppositional films or spectacles they succeeded in producing would be unlikely to confront the white audiences reached by Griffith's film.

That lesson is relevant also to another criticism directed at efforts to reform the everyday. This criticism ridicules and demeans the victims of stigmatization as being merely “politically correct” and thus less deserving of the community's concern. It is a form of criticism that has enjoyed immense political success of late, but in the final analysis it is morally and intellectually vacuous. With what is little more than a slogan, its proponents purport to dismiss as merely trivial encounters such as the incidents of marking with which I began this address. But what I have tried to demonstrate is how the seemingly trivial act is often not so trivial, either in its real effects on people or in its relation to the realization of more global and sinister designs. Indeed, it is the power relations in which so-called trivial acts are often embedded that renders them capable of damage. In this sense, the powerful will always have the upper hand in defining and enforcing “correctness.”

It is in this latter sense that I am most familiar with political correctness. I grew up, you see, in a politically correct world—southside Virginia in the 1950s. This p.c. was of a more serious sort than that envisioned by Lynne Cheney. This was p.c.

⁴⁷ Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900–1942* (1977; New York, 1993), 41–69.

⁴⁸ My reading here is generally influenced by discussions of early cinema and television in Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 7–16; and George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1990), 3–75.

backed by power, by capital, by racial privilege. This p.c. was far more aggressive, too, more effective in censoring and controlling gestures, expressions, and behavior than anything charged against the political Left today. This p.c. decreed that I could not enter the front door of most restaurants and other places of public accommodation, could not sit in the front of a bus, could not attend the nearest public school. Of course, I was lucky; this p.c. had once decreed that my mother and father would not have the benefit of a public high school at all.

Yes, I know p.c., and because I know it so well, I can recognize its offspring in contemporary public discourse. It seeks again to dictate the minutest details of our lives—our sexual preferences and the nature of our families. It would seek to dictate the content of our history books and impose limits on how we might re-think that history. Under the guise of freedom, it seeks to re-exclude those only recently accepted as worthy of inclusion. It is this p.c.—not the alleged censorship of the powerless but that of the powerful and the privileged—that we should take note of.

We should take note because there is much at stake. A century ago, powerful men redefined America's political economy, its mores, even its possibility for thinking justice. In law, they fashioned the fanciful notion that to segregate people was to treat them equally. In politics, they excluded blacks—and not a small number of whites—from voting, claiming a need to protect the purity of the ballot box. In the economy, they tightened the screws of that massive expropriation that was sharecropping and blamed the theft on the alleged inadequacies of the worker. In theater, literature, and public discourse, they fostered a distorted image of black men as clowns or beasts.

Du Bois jotted some of the preliminary drafts of the essay with which I opened this talk during that final decade of the last century. It was clear to him, even then, that the twentieth century would be the era of the color line. An ocean away and five decades later, Fanon wrote passages that seemed almost to echo those of Du Bois. He did so in an era of violent and nonviolent revolution, each of which would take its toll in wasted lives and spilled blood. And yet, both men argued for a world that could be otherwise, even as they recognized how profound and pervasive were the injuries of race. Ultimately, though in different ways, both Du Bois and Fanon were revolutionaries, even as they recognized the powerful forces arrayed against revolutionary change. Both realized that emancipation must begin with self-emancipation because the self was the first victim of the politically correct racial orders in which they lived. They realized that despite the forces arrayed against us, we—especially historians—must provide some of the materials for that self-fashioning and thus self-emancipation. The burden of our history is great; the burden of our history-making is all the greater.

Boundaries and the Victorian Body: Aesthetic Fashion in Gilded Age America

MARY W. BLANCHARD

THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM ON AESTHETIC MODERNISM draws a distinction between high art, associated with the detached gaze of the male painter in the public sphere (in particular, the street), and the decorative arts, associated with the affectively charged, feminine sphere of the home. Griselda Pollock, Janet Wolff, and other feminist writers point to the origins of late nineteenth-century modernism as the experience of men in public—with women divorced from high art and, in the words of one French critic, “retained for the interior.” For the male artist/subject, the Victorian female body functioned as a model/object for the discerning and omnipotent male gaze. In popular iconology, too, historians find that the template of the ideal Victorian body followed a gendered separation: the male body (virile, soldierly, patrician, public) complemented the female form, one bounded by tight corseting and domestic confinement.¹

A study of aesthetic fashion in America in the 1870s and 1880s challenges these boundaries. Women who wore aesthetic dress circulated, like the *flâneur*, in the urban (and rural) marketplace, creating and wearing garments perceived by them (and by taste makers) as the “high” art of the male painter.² In a like inversion, some men with aesthetic taste created their own sense of artistic identity and agency, not always in the public sphere but through the decorative arts, through interior feminine space, and through a mirroring of feminine fashion: the male as *objet d’art*, the model/object of the feminine mode, was a desired profile for some men experimenting with aesthetic fashion. Never a dominant group, aesthetic individuals were nonetheless a visible and important subculture of the Gilded Age (akin to the historically acknowledged subcultures of commerce and politics). It was the unusual conjunction of an artistic interlude in the 1870s and 1880s between two periods of militarization, the Civil War and the rise of imperialism in the 1890s, that allowed the legitimacy and scope for the theatricality in personal presentation that extended the aesthetic range of both men and women.

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¹ Jules Simon, quoted in Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art* (New York, 1988), 67–68; see also Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art* (New York, 1981); and Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power: And Other Essays* (New York, 1988).

² Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, 67.

THE TWO DECADES OF THE AESTHETIC MOVEMENT witnessed the emergence of shifting gender boundaries. Most historians of women's history have catalogued these shifts for women as the widening of the domestic sphere to include moral and social reform projects, the women's exercise movement, entrance into higher education, and a tentative excursion into the professions. Studies of more radical feminist, temperance, and suffrage leaders also encase women's reform ideology within the rubric of a moral domesticity widened to encompass the public sphere.³ Little noticed, but crucial, was a shift in attitudes toward women's fashion in the 1870s and 1880s, a countercultural shift taking place under the aegis of the Aesthetic Movement. At this time, some women used their bodies and their dress as public art forms not only to defy the moral implications of domesticity but to assume cultural agency in their society at large. By creating herself as both performing public self and individual work of art, the aesthetic woman changed traditional concepts of the female as artistic object to the female as artistic subject.

Aestheticism has generally been seen as a "sensibility," as a frame of mind dating back to the eighteenth-century "man of feeling" (if not to earlier antecedents).⁴ Yet fashion aestheticism also had structural roots and an institutional base. In the nineteenth century, aestheticism was manifest as a reform movement for both art and society. It originated in England in the 1850s and 1860s as a reaction to Victorian urbanization and industrialization. Influenced by the philosophies of John Ruskin and William Morris, and then by the Henry Cole circle involved with the English exhibition tradition at the South Kensington museums (more specifically, by the exhibits of British handicrafts at the 1876 Centennial Exposition), this impetus for reform was labeled the Aesthetic Movement and heralded by critics in the United States as a new American art "craze."⁵

On the popular level, aestheticism took the form of a resurgence of interest in the decorative arts in the middle-class home. Documented by amateur photographers who presented views of "artistic" parlors and dominated by the mantra "artistic," which saturated the literature on middle-class decorating, this resurgence suggests that aestheticism in its popularized form became a general tendency.⁶ The umbrella philosophy of Aestheticism maintained that the goals of

³ Canonical texts on domesticity include Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," in her *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio, 1976), orig. pub. in *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer 1966); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn., 1973); Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, 1977); and Mary P. Ryan, *The Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York, 1981). On abolitionists, temperance, and suffrage leaders (with a moral interpretation), see, for example, Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (Fall 1979): 512-29. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 105-36, relates temperance to moral aspects of self-control.

⁴ T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York, 1994), 47-48, 422 n. 14.

⁵ On Ruskin and Morris, see John D. Rosenberg, *The Darkening Glass: A Portrait of Ruskin's Genius* (New York, 1961); E. P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* (1955; Stanford, Calif., 1976); Peter Stansky, *Redesigning the World: William Morris, the 1880s, and the Arts and Crafts* (Princeton, N.J., 1985). On the difference between Ruskin's and Cole's conception of industrial arts, see E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979, 1984), 33-63.

⁶ See amateur photographs of domestic interiors in the Iconographic Collections, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, and at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities,

life were “truth” and “beauty,” which should permeate every aspect of daily living, a reversal of earlier Romantic notions of art as a separate, transcendent aesthetic sphere indicative of the influence of the new “art for art’s sake” philosophy of Walter Pater and James McNeill Whistler. Art education for women, communal workshops and studios, the artistic salons of women such as Helena de Kay, and commercial artistic ventures spearheaded by women exemplify the importance of the Aesthetic Movement for American women, both domestically and professionally. Consistent with this enthusiasm for the decorative arts and for personal creativity was a conscious effort by some Victorian American women to create “aesthetic” dress as an individual work of art, analogous to painting a picture.⁷

Aesthetic dress was different from movements for dress reform that had begun at mid-century, for dress reform advocates had stressed health and fitness, and its outspoken supporters, women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the Grimké sisters, and free-love advocate Mary Gove Nichols, were often allied with radical social movements or political reform. Writers on artistic dress, in contrast, used the analogy of costume to “high” art, suggesting personal creation and non-didactic intentions. To these taste makers, aesthetic costume was not an anti-fashion statement, as was dress reform at mid-century, but was perceived as an individual expression of art and beauty. Fashion, for instance, was seen as “being . . . as direct an outcome of the love of beauty as schools of sculpture and painting.” Costume was the “legitimate province of the artist,” noted aesthetic critics. “To dress well is to make a picture of one’s self . . . to express beauty in every line of the dress, in the selection of color, and in every detail . . . as if the soul of the individual was revealed.”⁸ The idea of the female form as a medium for “beauty” and the dictum that dress should reveal the inner soul of the wearer and “create” identity were present in the world of conventional fashions as early as the 1830s. But the elevation of dress to “high” art and the perception of both producer and wearer as “artists” in this more formal sense were unique to the Aesthetic Movement and

Boston. See photographs also in Cynthia A. Brandimarte, *Inside Texas: Culture, Identity, and Houses, 1878–1920* (Fort Worth, Tex., 1991), 35, 71, 105, 154, 158, 291, 341–42. For an example of one interior that ignores the aesthetic vogue, see Ellen M. Rosenthal, “The Interior View: Photographs of Wyck, 1871–1906” (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1979).

⁷ In 1877, Commissioner of Education John Eaton wrote that “interest in all matters pertaining to art is more generally diffused throughout the community than at any former period of the history of the United States.” Quoted in Priscilla Hiss and Roberta Fansler, *Research in Fine Arts in the Colleges and Universities of the United States* (New York, 1934), 25. Sarah W. Whitman, “The Pursuit of Art in America,” *International Review*, 12 (1882): 10–17. On Pater and Whistler, see William Gaunt, *The Aesthetic Adventure* (Oxford, 1945). On the Aesthetic Movement in America, see Doreen Bolger Burke, et al., eds., *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York, 1986); and Roger B. Stein, *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

⁸ Catharine Tinker, “Some Thoughts on Hygienic and Aesthetic Dress,” *Emerson College Magazine*, 5 (December 1896): 50; Mrs. H. R. [Mary Eliza Joy] Haweis, *The Art of Dress* (London, 1879), 13–14, 97–127; Mrs. Haweis, “The Aesthetics of Dress,” *Art Journal*, 6 (1880): 130. See also Valerie Steele, “Clothing and Sexuality,” in Claudia Brush Kidwell and Valerie Steele, eds., *Men and Women: Dressing the Part* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 58.

The Theory of the Shifting Erogenous Zone (the shifting preoccupation with specific female body parts—bosom, buttocks, legs, etc.—in fashion) may be a successful paradigm to describe the obsession with the female uncorseted waist during the Aesthetic decades, especially for its overt (or covert) sexual dimensions. See J. C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London, 1930); and James Laver, *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History* (London, 1982).

conveyed a sense of personal creation and personal agency that enabled women to enlarge the legacy of earlier iconoclasts such as the critic Margaret Fuller and to utilize the sanctioned cultural ideals of liberal individualism.⁹

The perception of the female as an artist/iconoclast experimenting with cultural boundaries was part of the formation of gender identity, which historians have recently argued is a socially constructed process, not a biological description. Masculinity, for instance, is seen by Michael Kimmel as a "birthing" process based on repetitive rituals and male bonding, processed in the burgeoning men's associations and in secret fraternal societies. Females had a less visible tradition of public ritual and gender bonding, Kimmel believes, and, indeed, women have been denied the widespread latitude for experimentation historians find in the male sphere. As Lewis Perry has argued, however, as early as the antebellum years, the Victorian American self (both male and female) was not a bounded entity but a persona of changing roles and multiple voices. In the 1870s and 1880s, aesthetic fashion added an important new dimension to the construction of female gender identity through self-expression and social drama.¹⁰

Self-expression and social drama were part of both the emergence of artistic costume and the transformation of the Victorian parlor into a theatrical environment. Aesthetic dress was compiled from a variety of sources and was not a careful replica of a past model with historically correct data.¹¹ Likewise, the aesthetic room might include a Turkish rug, a Japanese vase, a Gothic chair, and a reproduction of a Greek statue. Contemporaries were aware of the eclectic and symbiotic nature of dress and decor. "We ourselves, in our nineteenth century costumes, will be anachronisms" in the artistic parlor, noted one male architect; while a journalist, commenting on "The Aesthetic Craze," asked, "Why should we get angry with languishing ladies . . . who sit in the rosy twilight of a deftly darkened room, clad in a tinted costume of duly adjusted hue? . . . They are assisting the artist who colored and gilded the walls and hung the draperies and composed the assemblage of the drawing-room." Just as the aesthetic lady became part of her artistic environment, so, too, her eclectic costume was seen as part of a unity of Art. One aesthetic critic cautioned, "Any part of dress, like any part of architecture, which has no *raison d'être* and does not belong to the rest . . . is ungraceful." The fragmented aesthetic interior could be unified by the concept of an artistic ideal, and the aesthetic dress could also be a unified work of art, likened to the totality of architectural design.¹²

As appearance became an art form like architecture, clothing became part of the new public theatricality of the rising consumer culture of the 1870s and 1880s.

⁹ On "art dress" as akin to the "higher branches" of art, see Haweis, "Aesthetics of Dress," 270.

¹⁰ Michael S. Kimmel, ed., *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1987); Kimmel, "Men's Responses to Feminism at the Turn of the Century," *Gender and Society*, 1 (September 1989): 261–83; Lewis Perry, *Boats against the Current: American Culture between Revolution and Modernity, 1820–1860* (New York, 1993).

¹¹ Both "Russian folds" and "a small Elizabethan collar" graced one "aesthetic tea gown of golden brown cloth." "On Dress," *Hill's Milliners' Gazette* (December 1889–January 1890): 29; "Review of Fashions," *Demorest's Monthly Magazine* (February 1878): 101.

¹² Arnold W. Brunner and Thomas Tryon, *Interior Decoration* (New York, 1887), 33; "The Aesthetic Craze," *Buffalo Courier* (February 13, 1882): 1. On parallels between decoration and costume, see H. Hudson Holly, *Modern Dwellings in Town and Country* (New York, 1878), 160, 181.

Kathy Peiss has described a new public culture of leisure and entertainment for middle and lower-class women. Hotels, department stores, and amusement parks became legitimate arenas for women's personal performance.¹³ Mid-century mores had confined theatricality and personal performance to the parlor. Its *tableaux vivants* were set rituals with set costumes, dramatic charades, and group performance, carried on only in the domestic sphere. The aesthetic woman by-passed these mid-century conventions and created herself as a public theatrical (and artistic) subject.¹⁴

Writers on aesthetic taste were aware of this shift. "How ordinarily do we hear the exclamation," one journal noted, "'There is an artistic costume!'" as some incongruously dressed creature sails into a drawing-room profoundly conscious of her puffed or slashed sleeves, her long pockets, and standing collar." Like an actress, the wearer of the "artistic" gown sensed herself to be the subject of "some remark if not much admiration." Such observations provided a scenario of performance, theater, and personal triumph for the aesthetic woman, for, admitted the journal, aesthetic dress "bear[s] . . . the signs of having been made by an individual."¹⁵ This acknowledged sense of an individual art form suggests that the adoption of aesthetic styles was a countercultural move, a significant break from the conventional French fashion commonly associated with Victorian culture (and a counter to historians who stress the conformity and anonymity associated with nineteenth-century women's dress).¹⁶

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ARTIFACT ITSELF will reveal this sense of individual art embodied in its format. Aesthetic dress veered dangerously near a public display of intimate wear. The aesthetic dress was derived from the wrapper, an earlier form of garment that was usually worn indoors, also known as the dressing gown or peignoir. The wrapper was a one-piece dress, adjustable and loose down the front, with many variations. By the 1880s, the tea gown emerged as the most closely fitted form of the wrapper. Generally worn in the afternoon, the tea gown was made of formal, elaborate materials and skimmed the uncorseted body. The "Marquise" style of tea gown was featured in *Demorest's*, a fashion magazine. The Mother Hubbard dress was another popular loose garment ("a round-yoke

¹³ Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986).

¹⁴ Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870* (New Haven, Conn., 1982), 174–90. On the role-playing rituals of middle-class life, see John R. Gillis, paper presented at Gender Studies Group, Rutgers University, April 12, 1989.

¹⁵ "Artistic Dress," *Demorest's Monthly Magazine* (June 1882): 517; "Artistic Methods in Dress," *Harper's Bazar* (September 15, 1883): 581.

¹⁶ On anonymity in dress, see Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, 1977), 163–68; John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York, 1990), 130. Bonnie G. Smith equated nineteenth-century fashion with a bourgeois conformity that stressed fecundity and reproduction; see Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); also see Lawrence B. Rosenfeld and Timothy G. Plax, "Clothing as Communication," *Journal of Communication*, 27 (Spring 1977): 24–31; Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery, 1850–1930* (Amherst, Mass., 1988), 59–81.

wrapper”), with a yoke of gathered material that fell to the floor. Because of their lack of corsets, wrappers and tea gowns suggested intimacy and indeed were designated for the rituals of the private domestic world. Traditionally, such loose, one-piece costumes had been associated with the female worlds of sickness, maternity, or old age. By the 1880s, these forms had evolved into fashion statements but only within the confines of the Victorian parlor. In contrast, the public styles of the 1870s and 1880s were two or three-piece garments consisting of a tight, boned bodice with skirt and overskirt. Sometimes, the bodice was cut in one piece with the overskirt, but, in all cases, the bodice fit very tightly over the corset. These public dresses (often ornamented) demanded tight corseting to accentuate the small waistline prescribed by current fashion. Tight sleeves from shoulder to cuff and a conventional bustle completed the public style (see Figure 1).¹⁷

The aesthetic dress was an offshoot of the uncorseted wrapper, often with a puffed shoulder and loose sleeve that made use of elaborate fabrics in aesthetic colors (sage and Venetian green, brick red, blue-green, yellow, and dove gray). Medieval and Renaissance motifs such as a cuff, long train, or high collar marked each garment as individual, a *mélange* of historical detail (Figure 2). The aesthetic dress was not in any specific category, nor were there patterns available in the fashion press for women to purchase for home sewing. Most dresses at this time were home sewn by housewives or seamstresses from mail-order patterns, for it was not until 1900 that most articles of women’s clothing were on the market ready-to-wear.¹⁸

The singular characteristic of aesthetic dress was that it was worn in public, in essence bringing an intimate garment into public view under the auspices of artistic innovation.¹⁹ Victorian Americans had only begun to experiment with (and to market) underwear as erotically expressive. In 1890, luxurious lingerie would become fashionable, but these garments would still be worn in private.²⁰

¹⁷ I am indebted to Nancy Rexford, costume historian, for information on the wrapper and tea gown and the description of the Mother Hubbard. I am also indebted to Claudia B. Kidwell, Suzanne Dougan, Joan Severa, and Patricia A. Cunningham for their help with interpreting aesthetic dress. For the Marquis tea gown, see “Mme Demorest’s Semi-Annual *What to Wear and How to Make It, For the Autumn and Winter*,” (1879–80): 60, 118. Earlier in the century, in the 1850s, wrappers were elaborate gowns that were almost public costume. Wrappers were always designated as “morning” dresses to be worn before dinner. Dinner, however, could be served as late as 3 p.m. (meal time fluctuated during the century). Since a woman always “dressed for dinner,” she would discard the elaborate morning wrapper at the appropriate time. On Japanese “Yum-Yum” robes as tea gowns, see *Domestic Monthly*, 32 (February 1890): 428. For one example of the wrapper as morning dress, see “Water-Lily Morning-Gown,” *Harper’s Bazar* (August 11, 1883): 500.

¹⁸ Laver, *Costume and Fashion*, 177–211; Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York, 1985), 64–67; Caroline Goldthorpe, *From Queen to Empress: Victorian Dress, 1837–1877; An Exhibition* (New York, 1988); “Misses’ Toilettes,” *Domestic Monthly* (July 1885): 231. On aesthetic color, see Judith Ann Fuller, “Artistic Reform Dress from Wisconsin Collections: 1880–1890” (M.S. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1977), 66.

¹⁹ Nancy Rexford defines aesthetic dress as “essentially a wrapper made of elaborate fabrics (medieval quality) in aesthetic color and worn in public.” Interview with Nancy Rexford, June 26, 1990. On the rules and regimentation of conventional public garments, see John H. Young, *Our Deportment* (Detroit, Mich., 1879), 318–33, 338–43.

²⁰ On lingerie, see Steele, “Clothing and Sexuality,” 51–52; Claudia B. Kidwell and Margaret C. Christman, *Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America* (Washington, D.C., 1974), 135–64.



FIGURE 1: Conventional public outfit, waisted bodice and skirt dress, *Delineator* (January 1885): 3.

Thus in the 1870s and 1880s, the spectacle of a flowing intimate robe worn on the streets was shocking and to wear aesthetic dress in public was a way for women to break the boundaries of conventional propriety by recasting the body as a visible (and perhaps immoral) aesthetic icon.

This unconventional aesthetic dress was contested by Victorian moralists and demeaned by a new breed of aggressive journalists and entrepreneurs. Artistic dress was often lampooned, for instance, in the advertising trade cards that circulated in the 1870s and 1880s (Figure 3). Popular condemnation extended to legal action. In Denver during Oscar Wilde's 1882 lecture tour on artistic



FIGURE 2: Uncorseted aesthetic dress, photograph possibly by Laura Maria Barr, n.d. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.



FIGURE 3: Aesthetic dress lampooned under the rubric of “American Art” (left figure), *Puck* (December 31, 1879): 699.

decoration, two of the “scarlet ladies” of the town, attired in aesthetic dress, were arrested but, with no relevant statute available, later released. The chief of police nevertheless ordered his men to arrest any women “who were attired in a dress that would attract unusual attention or cause a meretricious display.” Denver papers reported outrage among readers at the arrests. Mrs. Churchill, editor of the *Colorado Antelope*, saw “Another Blow at the Liberties of Women,” and, it was reported, “one prominent woman” protested by appearing at the Stout Street



FIGURE 4: "Dorothea and Dorinda, the Decorative Sisters," photograph of Mary Brigham and Marion Matson, Milwaukee, June 22, 1883, taken at a photographer's public studio. Courtesy of Joan Severa and the Iconographic Collections, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, #SHSW-1957.253.

Cathedral in an aesthetic outfit that included "three sunflowers in her hat."²¹

The subsequent arrests of middle-class women in aesthetic dress suggested that legal retribution was aimed not only at marginal groups. In many cities, when respectable women went out in public wearing uncorseted garments—as one newspaper noted, "donning a loose gown to visit their neighbor, go to the grocery store or run to the pump"—they were systematically arrested like prostitutes (Figure 4). In 1884, Louisville police were ordered to "suppress" aesthetic

²¹ Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith, *Oscar Wilde Discovers America, 1882* (New York, 1936), 285–87.

costumes in public. The precedent was the earlier arrest of Lizzie Brait, who had been fined \$5 in City Court for appearing “on the street, as the evidence showed, in a pink Mother Hubbard.” The fear of contagion from the “courtesan class” appeared to be the underlying motive for the order. “Among no class is the Mother Hubbard more extensively worn,” noted the *Louisville Commercial*. In defiance, prostitutes announced their intention to found their own defense league to appeal any fines.²²

DESPITE THE ASSOCIATION OF THE UNCORSETED DRESS with the street prostitute or the burlesque star (Figure 5), it was taken up by some middle-class American women. In many cases, women were making a personal political statement, for artistic dress was more than a symbolic rejection of domestic confinement. Women who wore aesthetic dress were often iconoclasts within the female world. Elizabeth Crocker Lawrence (Clarke) (1862–1951) was one active and spirited woman of the 1880s who had her portrait painted wearing an aesthetic dress (Figure 6). She was a student at Smith College, where she won its first tennis tournament, held in 1882. After graduating from Smith in 1883, she studied at Radcliffe (1883–1884) and at the Boston Society of Natural History (1887); she received an M.A. from Smith in 1889 and a Ph.D. from the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics in 1891. In addition to teaching at Williams College, she was, for eleven years, secretary-treasurer of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (forerunner of the American Association of University Women) and, for twenty-one years, treasurer of the Association to Aid Scientific Research by Women (1900–1921).²³

In her diaries and letters, Lawrence reveals a subtle and complex personality, a woman who questioned the tenets of her time. She spoke of the frivolity of her society and trumpeted her individuality. “Cards . . . fill the void of an unfurnished brain.” “We pass for what we are, and we prosper or fail by what we are.” “If you lift me, you must be on higher ground.” “[W]hat is Originality? It’s being one’s self, and reporting accurately what we see and are.” Other entries suggest a belief in the power of women, for Lawrence pointedly asked, “What is civilization? I answer, the power of good women.” Yet none of the emotive concerns with self mask her underlying ideology, the push against boundaries: “The way of life is wonderful,” Lawrence wrote, “It is by abandonment.”²⁴

²² “An Outlawed Garment,” *Monroe [Louisiana] Bulletin* (April 30, 1884): iv. The article, reprinted from the *Louisville Commercial*, noted the disapproval of Mother Hubbard gowns by “mothers who remember when they were proud to put on a Linsey gown Sunday morning, and walk to church in a pair of brogan shoes.” But it was also noted that “at a ball at the Capital Hotel [New York] given during the last winter there were sixty ladies present, all of whom wore Mother Hubbards.” See Gerilyn G. Tandberg, “Toward Freedom in Dress for Nineteenth Century Women,” *Dress: The Annual Journal of the Costume Society of America*, 11 (1985): 11–30.

²³ “In Memoriam,” *Smith Alumnae Quarterly* (August 1951): 226; on gymnastics and the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, see Martha H. Verbrugge, *Able-Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (New York, 1988), 139–91. My special thanks to Pamela Toma, executive director, Lynne Bassett, curator of collections, and Terrie Korpita, administrative assistant, of the Northampton Historical Society for their help in analyzing the Lawrence costume.

²⁴ Elizabeth Lawrence, 1892 “Kalendar,” “February 12, Ph.D. at-her-writing-desk”; March 2,



FIGURE 5: Loose, aesthetic drapery as an erotic format for a burlesque star, "The Police Gazette's Gallery of Footlight Favorites, Arline Stanley, Burlesque and Variety Actress," *National Police Gazette* (June 18, 1881): 13.

Another woman who wore the uncorseted aesthetic dress was one of the first women to enter the Cincinnati Art Academy, a gesture of independence in the 1880s (Figure 7). Eliza Jane Randle (Becker) (1859–1918) was the youngest daughter of a sign painter from England (her mother was from Ireland). Her father became a successful painting contractor in Cincinnati, and Eliza Randle studied wood carving both with Benn Pitman (in 1873, the founder of the

Wednesday; February 20, Saturday; March 7, Monday; October 5, Monday; Elizabeth Crocker Lawrence file, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.



FIGURE 6: Portrait of Elizabeth Crocker Lawrence Clarke, by Chester Hays, 1899. Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Photograph by the author. There is evidence that the dress was produced at an earlier date.

wood-carving department at the University of Cincinnati School of Design) and at the Art Academy, winning many awards for her work. Arthritis in her hands forced her to end her artistic career, and she married in 1889 at the age of thirty. She was a nonconformist, choosing art before marriage, a “free spirit” in her day, notes one present-day relative.²⁵

²⁵ Otto Thieme pointed out Randle’s aesthetic dress—tea gown in the Cincinnati Art Museum costume collection (#1988.138). Telephone interview with Ann Becker Reid (Mrs. Horace Reid, Jr.), July 13, 1992.



FIGURE 7: Eliza Jane Randle (Becker)'s aesthetic dress, 1880–1885, red wool and dark silk velvet. Cincinnati Art Museum, #1988.138, gift of Mrs. Horace Reid, Jr.

There are many parallels in Lawrence's and Randle's lives with the life of a more famous nonconformist of the time, Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935), the radical feminist. According to her autobiography, Gilman refused to wear a corseted dress: "Needless to say I never wore corsets," she wrote. Gilman, like Lawrence, combined her interests in gymnastics and sport with an interest in art. Gilman attended the Rhode Island School of Design, married an artist, Charles Walter Stetson, and made a living tutoring girls in drawing, painting, and gymnastics. At the time Lawrence was attending Smith, Gilman remarked (1880), "Strong minded girls were going to college under criticism and ridicule." Now

considered a prominent American fiction writer—her story “The Yellow Wallpaper” is frequently anthologized—Gilman was best known in her own time for her lectures, her attempts to promote cooperative housekeeping, and her social radicalist writings (*Women and Economics*, 1898).²⁶

Aesthetic dress appeared in both rural areas and cosmopolitan centers across the United States. From the evidence available, it was not confined to the artistic circles of urban society but permeated every class in America. Judith Ann Fuller, who has researched aesthetic dress from Wisconsin collections, discovered that women in upstate rural villages were making and wearing artistic dresses in the 1880s. One example survives from 1882, an unboned, one-piece dress of wool, velvet, and cotton with a medieval belt in front, worn by Annie Crank Richards (Figure 8), whose father, H. P. Richards, had settled in the rural town of Oregon, Wisconsin, in the 1870s and built a small homestead. Annie was in her teens at the time of the move and presumably wore her aesthetic dress in her early twenties. If Annie Richards’ dress represents a frontier example, an aesthetic dress owned by Helen Hohlfeld of Madison, Wisconsin, shows that artistic dress was part of a professional, cosmopolitan milieu as well. Mrs. Hohlfeld was married to a distinguished young German scholar who taught at the University of Wisconsin and traveled frequently with his wife to Europe during the 1880s. Similarly sophisticated aesthetic dresses are found in costume collections in New York City and San Francisco, in Cincinnati and Cleveland.²⁷

THE PREVALENCE OF AESTHETIC DRESS suggests wide support for exploring women’s cultural options,²⁸ and some household art journals at this time began to

²⁶ Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman: An Autobiography* (1935; rpt. edn., Madison, Wis., 1990), 65, 61; see also Mary A. Hill, *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: The Making of a Radical Feminist, 1860–1896* (Philadelphia, 1980). On Gilman and cooperative housekeeping, see Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). Gilman’s autobiographical story, “The Yellow Wallpaper,” published in 1892, was included in William Dean Howells’s anthology of *Great Modern American Stories* (1920). As a cure for postpartum “nervous trouble,” the female protagonist is confined to her room and ordered to do nothing.

²⁷ Fuller, “Artistic Reform Dress,” 61–62, 90–92. On conventional rural costume, see Jane A. Farrell, “Clothing for Adults in Iowa, 1850–1899,” *Annals of Iowa*, 46 (1981): 100–20. Aesthetic dresses: Costume Institute, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, #1985.155, #1986.115.2, #1986.115.5 (my thanks to Kimberly S. Fink); the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco houses two aesthetic dresses, #59.48.12 and #59.48.13; for Cincinnati, see n. 25; Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, #40.491 (my thanks to Bern 1905, who is Registrarial Costume Assistant there).

In England, as well, there is evidence that aesthetic dress was a cross-class phenomenon. In 1881, the painter William P. Frith catalogued “ladies [who] delighted to display themselves at public gatherings in what are called aesthetic dresses” in his painting “Private View” at the Royal Academy. In an interesting analysis of this work, Stella Mary Newton remarks, “Frith’s fascinating documentary painting makes it clear that there was no social division between those who wore artistic dresses in the early ‘eighties and those who did not. It also shows that in high society there was a good deal of it about.” By the 1890s, Newton notes, “artistic dress emerged as a lingua franca among women of the middle and working classes who had read William Morris and who followed Robert Blatchford.” Newton, *Health, Art and Reason* (London, 1975), 87–88, 156.

²⁸ It should be noted that men had already espoused the cause of uncorseted costume for women. Medical doctors had long joined women in criticism of conventional clothing, but for health reasons, not as a means to question women’s proper role. Temperance advocate Dr. Dio Lewis, for example,



FIGURE 8: Annie Crank Richards' aesthetic dress, Iconographic Collections, #SHSW-1952.128, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

assault Victorian ideals of female domesticity both editorially and in the illustrated images they used of women in loose, draped costumes. The debate over aesthetic costume (and the insistence on the female as an individual artist/subject) soon

pioneered dress reform and exercise after his wife got consumption. In 1866 in Lexington, Massachusetts, he founded a school for sickly girls; their uniform was an uncorseted gymnastic dress. Mariotte James Credle, "The Effect of Woman's Club Activity on the Dress Reform Movement in the Late Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1984), 60; Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana, Ill., 1991), 93-94; Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 89-115.

became a protest against the Cult of True Womanhood, as Barbara Welter has called it. In the *Art Interchange*, for instance, a defiant stance against marriage emerged in many editorial columns. In 1885, one writer noted, "Among the fictions with which society chooses to beguile itself is the one which assumes that wives, as a rule, are happy . . . [M]any hundred[s] of women are miserably unhappy in domestic relations." The role of artist/iconoclast was seen as a solution. An article titled "The Reform against Nature and Propriety" proclaimed: "Ordinary motherhood . . . [cannot] compare in sentiment with the lofty ambition and conscientious devotion of the artist, whose pure children of the brain, in poetry, painting, music and science are ever beckoning her upward into an ideal world of beauty."²⁹

Reflecting this assault on Victorian domesticity, the illustrations of women's costumes in the *Art Interchange* catered to the aesthetic vogue of loose, uncorseted dress and to the symbolism of the female body as a theatrical art form. One illustration, a mother perched in a tree in an uncorseted dress, was reminiscent of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's painting "The Day Dream" (1880).³⁰ As early as the 1850s in England, the Pre-Raphaelites Rossetti, William Holman Hunt, and John Everett Millais had used the female form clothed in aesthetic drapery as a protest against English painting's lack of spirituality. By the 1870s, the use of drapery itself shifted from the conventional ideals of Greek and Christian art and became, like the aesthetic dress, part of the theatricality of the aesthetic interior.³¹ Portieres, heavy material that hung at an entranceway, were often drawn back to present a room as a stage setting; utilitarian doorways were sometimes covered by drapery that went on to encompass the entire room. Mantels and hanging pictures were draped with cloth in imitation of aesthetic, flowing garments in Pre-Raphaelite paintings of the 1870s (and in colors, exclaimed the taste maker Clarence Cook, "whose delightfulness we all recognized in the pictures of Alma Tadema, Morris, Burne-Jones and Rossetti").³²

As both aesthetic dress and the aesthetic interior were reflecting Pre-Raphaelite paintings, a radical shift in fashion ideology occurred. Influenced by Wilde and Whistler, aesthetic women adopted an "art for art's sake" philosophy that defied conventional formats (and departed from the English reformers Ruskin and

²⁹ *Art Interchange*, 15 (August 27, 1885), front page; "The Reform against Nature and Propriety," *Art Interchange*, 7 (October 13, 1881): 74; Welter, "Cult of True Womanhood," *Dimity Convictions*, 21–41.

³⁰ "Sleep Baby Sleep," designed and drawn by Rosina Emmet, *Art Interchange*, 5 (December 22, 1880): 133; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "The Day Dream," modeled after Jane Morris, in Jan Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite Women: Images of Femininity* (New York, 1988), 131.

³¹ Anne Hollander, *Seeing through Clothes* (1978; rpt. edn., New York, 1988), 78, 326; Janet E. Ruutz-Rees, *Home Decoration* (New York, 1881), 57. On connections Morris noted between loose drapery in decor and dress in women, see Richard Tames, *William Morris: An Illustrated Life of William Morris, 1834–1896* (Aylesbury, 1972), 20.

³² Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (1878; rpt. edn., New York, 1980), 61; Julie F. Codell, "Expression over Beauty: Facial Expression, Body Language, and Circumstantiality in the Paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," *Victorian Studies*, 29 (Winter 1986): 255–90. The aesthetic image, a draped figure floating in space with blowing garments and hair, became a common idiom in American popular culture during the 1870s and 1880s, used particularly as an advertising image on trade cards. Like parodies of aesthetic dress, the replication of the Pre-Raphaelite woman as an advertising gimmick muted any implication of protest. Thus we see the same revolutionary model used differently in different contexts. Robert Jay, *The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America* (Columbia, Mo., 1987).

Morris, who believed in “art for life’s sake”).³³ “Art has taken up a more decided position at the present moment in respect to the ordinary surroundings of our lives,” one critic noted, adding that “there is now a class who dress after pictures.” Moving beyond the static symbolic protest of earlier English artists, aesthetic women equated artistic fashion with agency. “Until individual opinion is admitted to be free,” insisted one writer on aesthetic dress, “we can have no true original art . . . in dress, nor anything else; for the secret of all true art is freedom, to think for ourselves, and to do as we like.”³⁴

This unusual alliance of art, dress, and personal “freedom” was associated, in the popular mind, with the emergence of a distinctly American bohemia. French novels, the “bohemian” excursions to Paris by art students, and the awareness of bohemian groups in New York and Boston made an unconventional life both alluring and suspect. In the New York of the 1880s, a bohemian culture revolved around James Gibbons Huneker, the critic, at Union Square. In Boston—home of an Emersonian tradition of expressiveness—Fred Holland Day, publisher and photographer, established the “Visionists.”³⁵ Mainstream journals such as *Peterson’s Magazine* and *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* opposed the bohemian culture (siding against the journal *Art Interchange*) and used the uncorseted dress as a symbolic reference to bohemia, allying aestheticism with the art circles of Boston (which, in the late nineteenth century, stood in opposition to the commercialism of New York). The writer William Dean Howells, fresh from *Harper’s Magazine*, chose this concern about uncorseted dress and a bohemian lifestyle for his novel *The Coast of Bohemia* (1893), which criticized artistic circles through the female protagonist, an artist/aesthete whose erotic relationship with another woman was as unnatural as were the aesthetic, uncorseted gowns she wore.³⁶ Howells’s novel reflected larger currents in late nineteenth-century America, for, not only were women assuming agency to move beyond accepted boundaries (perhaps into bohemian roles) but men were flirting with the boundaries of masculinity. To the aesthetic man, the lure of the artistic feminine sphere lay in the latitude it had

³³ Interview with Shelly Foote, Division of Costume, Smithsonian Institution, December 20, 1991. On women’s fashion, see Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (New York, 1988); Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York, 1982), 233–48.

³⁴ Mrs. [Margaret] Oliphant, *Dress* (Philadelphia, 1919), 3; Haweis, *Art of Dress*, 22.

³⁵ Charles de Kay, *The Bohemians: A Tragedy of Modern Life* (New York, 1881); Jerrold Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830–1930* (New York, 1986); Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Cambridge, 1990); Albert Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders: A History of Bohemianism in America* (New York, 1960), 1–102; Richard Miller, *Bohemia: The Protoculture Then and Now* (Chicago, 1977), 1–112; Arnold T. Schwab, *James Gibbons Huneker, Critic of the Seven Arts* (Stanford, Calif., 1963), 1–117; Estelle Jussim, *Slave to Beauty: The Eccentric Life and Controversial Career of F. Holland Day, Photographer, Publisher, Aesthete* (Boston, 1981); Anne Cannon Palumbo, “Civilized Barbarians: The Notions of Decadence in the American Context,” paper read at the American Studies Association conference, Toronto, November 3, 1989; Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890–1930* (Westport, Conn., 1981).

³⁶ George Parsons Lathrop, “The Literary Movement in New York,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, 73 (November 1886): 826–35; Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginning of Our Own Time* (Baltimore, Md., 1987), 216–17; Lydia Hoyt Farmer, “The Utterly Utter Boston Browns,” *Peterson’s Magazine*, 85 (April 1884): 326–28; Mary Hayes, “An Esthete’s Heart,” *Peterson’s Magazine*, 81 (November 1882): 371–77; Kate Crombie, “Aunt Ruth on High Art and the Esthetics,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine*, 103 (1881): 347–50; William Dean Howells, *The Coast of Bohemia* (1899; rpt. edn., Temecula, Calif., 1992).

created for new personal presentations and thus new forms of male agency. The idea of androgyny was fascinating, as was experimentation with the homoerotic and a move toward a self-consciously defined homosexuality, the daring new category of the "invert."

THE POSSIBILITIES FOR MOVES TOWARD more self-conscious gender identity were affected by a variety of historical developments. In the United States, the end of the Civil War meant the reassessment of gender roles. Industrialization, the rise of a professional class, a pattern of economic depressions, and the growth of urban centers all caused realignments in gender stereotypes. Historians have noted the "feminization" of American culture during this period. In literature, the prevalence of war widows and single women had Henry James's protagonist in *The Bostonians*, Basil Ransom (a man in juxtaposition to the strong activist Olive Chancellor), complaining that "the position of women is to make fools of men." Historian Tom Lutz has documented the prevalence of neurasthenia or "American nervousness" in prominent men of the 1870s and 1880s, while T. J. Jackson Lears has profiled the "aesthetic" escape of many male antimodernists at this time.³⁷ Virile soldierhood was relegated to the sidelines, for the regular army was marginalized to frontier posts after the Civil War, and the burgeoning movement toward militarization was only in embryonic form.³⁸ The political visibility of women in the suffrage movement, in higher education, and in urban reform efforts attests to the re-making of both the masculine and feminine self.

Consistent with this shift in gendered boundaries was a newly emergent male homoeroticism in the late nineteenth century. The Bohemian Club in San Francisco remarked in their 1880s annals on the "slender young Bohemians, clad in economical bathing suits." The visibility of the homosexual or the "invert" was contiguous with the Aesthetic Movement, as sexologists (led by Karl Ulrichs, a German, who had coined the congenital theory of homosexuality) used sexuality to define male identity.³⁹ Feminine style, in both fashion and physical movement, was the nineteenth-century caricature of this "invert," and Oscar Wilde, the "Apostle of Aestheticism," became a celebrity in America during his 1882 lecture tour, due in part to his effeminate persona. Although traditional historiography has avoided the issue of homosexuality (preferring to view craft guilds, the Boy

³⁷ Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977); Henry James, *The Bostonians*, Charles A. Anderson, ed. (1886; rpt. edn., New York, 1986), 53; Tom Lutz, *American Nervousness, 1903: An Anecdotal History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York, 1981), 241-61.

³⁸ On the marginalization of the regular army, see Allan R. Millett and Peter Maslowski, *For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America* (New York, 1984), 233-66; Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (New York, 1967), 265-92; Peter Karsten, "Militarization and Rationalization in the United States, 1870-1914," in John R. Gillis, ed., *The Militarization of the Western World* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1989), 30-47.

³⁹ On the Bohemian Club, see Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York, 1992), 66; Philip Weiss, "Inside Bohemian Grove," *Spy* (November 1989): 59-76; Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York, 1973), 346-48; for the sexologists, see Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (New York, 1981), 102; Jonathan Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* (New York, 1983), 146-47.

Scouts, and fraternal lodges as new male institutions in a rising industrial society), historians of gay history Jonathan Katz and George Chauncey have documented an active male homosexual subculture in the late nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Descriptions of Wilde in the press and sociologists' reports of this homosexual subculture have a compelling similarity of rhetoric. "[Wilde's] face is so very womanish," noted one newspaper, he is "half of man and half of woman," wrote another (see Figures 9–10). In the popular media, in fact, Wilde was seen as an acknowledged leader of these homosexual subgroups. Noted journalists in 1882, "the pallid and lank . . . Oscar Wilde . . . will find in the great metropolis (any fair day on Fifth Avenue) a school of gilded youths eager to embrace his peculiar tenets" (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*). And the *Washington Post* connected with Wilde the "young men painting their faces . . . with unmistakable rouge upon their cheeks."⁴¹

As aesthetic women abandoned the corseted dress for a loose-robed garment, so Wilde moved into marginal (and feminine) modes of fashion, creating himself, like the aesthetic woman who was part of the "assemble of the drawing-room," as an *objet d'art* in aesthetic space. (Wilde himself extolled aesthetic dress as "exquisite.") The merging of domestic and public theater was evident in aesthetic parlors created on stage for Wilde's lectures: "art decorations of the interior miniature house . . . [with] elegant and genuine Turkish upholstery . . . plush and raw silk curtains of . . . artistic beauty." Wilde, too, was in male aesthetic costume: "He wore a low-necked shirt with a turned-down collar and large white necktie, a black claw-hammer coat and white vest, knee-breeches, long black stockings, and low shoes with bows." Thus Wilde became an aesthetic object within a theater, one newspaper noting that he was "an ethereal piece of human bric a brac . . . a walking work of art."⁴²

⁴⁰ Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Carnes, "Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual," in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffin, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago, 1990), 37–67. Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York, 1976), 33–64, 335–75, 501–22; Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, 137–301; and George Chauncey, Jr., "Negotiating the Boundaries of Masculinity: Gay Identities and Culture in the Early Twentieth Century," paper presented December 9, 1989, at the conference "Constructing Masculinities," Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis; Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York, 1994).

⁴¹ Quotations from *Newark Daily Advertiser* (January 31, 1882): 1; *Daily Tribune* [Denver] (April 13, 1882): 8; *Brooklyn Eagle* (January 3, 1882): 2; *Washington Post* (January 22, 1881): 2. See also the *New York Times* (January 24, 1881): 5; *Boston Evening Transcript* (February 4, 1882): 4; "Unmanly Manhood, A Just Rebuke of the Aesthetic Incurables," *Dubuque Daily News* (February 10, 1882): 4; *Newport Mercury and Weekly News* (July 22, 1882): 1; *New York Times*, December 12, 1882. Linda Dowling has postulated that the charge of male "effeminacy" is often endemic to "the martial collapse of the collectivity," analogous to the post-Civil War dislocations in American society in 1882. See Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 149.

Homosexuals were known by various slang names in America; see Katz, *Gay American History*, 574; Jeffrey Weeks, "Inverts, Perverts, and Mary-Annes: Male Prostitution and the Regulation of Homosexuality in England in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Martin Bauml Duberman, et al., eds., *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York, 1989), 195–212.

⁴² Oscar Wilde, "The House Beautiful," lecture reprinted in Kevin O'Brien, *Oscar Wilde in Canada: An Apostle for the Arts* (Toronto, 1982), 178. Audience reports from *Salt Lake Tribune* (March 5, 1882): 6; *Milwaukee Sentinel* (March 5 and 6, 1882): 6 and 5; Archibald Forbes, LL.D., *Souvenirs of Some Continents* (London, 1885), 258; *Boston Evening Transcript* (January 14, 1882): 6; "Oscar Wilde's Talk," *The [Denver] Tribune* (April 16, 1882): 12; *Newark Daily News* (January 10, 1882): 3; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (January 4, 1882): 2. On the perception of Wilde as "stage," not "reality," see *The Independent* (September 7, 1882): 25.



FIGURE 9: Oscar Wilde depicted with female form and sunflower suggesting women's hair. Cover for sheet music, "Oscar Wilde Galop," Sam De Vincent Collection, Box 642, "Drama/Stage, Early," National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The sense of male identity as an *objet d'art* was not confined to Wilde, for the intrusive staged masquerades by college students at Wilde's lectures extended it to the audience:

Certain young men of Harvard . . . were to appear in 'aesthetic' costume and play all sorts of pranks . . . Over half a hundred young men were there . . . They filed down the aisle in pairs, arrayed in all the 'aesthetics' that ingenuity could devise . . . They wore blond wigs and black wigs, wide-floating neckties of every hue and fashion . . . beards and moustaches of startling dyes, knee breeches and black stockings . . . and in every hand the . . . lily or



FIGURE 10: Oscar Wilde in feminine pose. Trade card, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, "Card" series, 60/1/235, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

the . . . sunflower. As the gracious youths entered they assumed all sorts of poses and held aloft or looked languishingly down on the flower.⁴³

Such experimentation with identities and theatrical disguises may have been part of a parody of other cultural heroes in late nineteenth-century America. The popular dime novels offered heroes such as Deadwood Dick, who, often disguised,

⁴³ *Boston Evening Transcript* (February 1, 1882): 2. Descriptions of the Harvard masquerade also appeared in *Harper's Bazar* (February 18, 1882): 98; *Boston Evening Transcript* (January 30, 1882): 4; *Boston Evening Transcript* (February 2, 1882): 4; *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* (February 2, 1882): 2.

trespassed into other social spheres. The myths of Paul Bunyan and Davy Crockett created heroes of exaggerated and artificial proportion. But the excursion into theater that was integral to aesthetic style was unique, for the integration of homosexual style ("the gracious youths") into the virile world of collegiate escapades sanctioned latent homosexual strains in public arenas, just as homosexuality as a theatrical form emerged as an allowed and respectable option in the 1870s and 1880s.⁴⁴

The male experimentation with gender boundaries (and with the subject/object inversion) assumed a racial dimension as well. "[I] was surprised that painters and poets had paid so little attention . . . to the negro as an object of art," Wilde commented after his American tour. In projecting the masculine self as an *objet d'art*, Wilde had also crossed color lines and included African Americans as aesthetic objects within a new paradigm of sexual eroticism. Wilde remarked of the "young negroes" in the South, "I saw them everywhere, happy and carefree, basking in the sunshine or dancing in the shade, their half naked bodies gleaming like bronze and their lithe and active movements reminding one of the lizards that were seen flashing along the banks and trunks of the trees." These statements appeared in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, which suggests that Wilde, overriding the racism (and homophobia) of southern society, elevated both a primitive construction of African Americans and the triumph of the homoerotic male *objet d'art*.⁴⁵

Some homoeroticism was evident in other male artists of the time. Mark Twain, for one, had built an aesthetic house in Hartford and, in his novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, conjured up a bevy of "handsome young pages": "an airy slim boy in shrimp-colored tights [who] . . . nestled himself upon my shoulder," "a handsome young page clothed like a rainbow and as easy and undulatory as a wave," and "fifty-two fresh, bright, well-educated, class-minded

⁴⁴ Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1987); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1982), 24; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Davy Crockett as Trickster: Pornography, Liminality, and Symbolic Inversion in Victorian America," in her *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985), 90–108, orig. pub. in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 17 (1982); Roger D. Abrahams, "Trickster, The Outrageous Hero," in Tristram Potter Coffin, *Our Living Traditions: An Introduction to American Folklore* (New York, 1968), 170–79. On Horatio Alger as a homosexual, see Michael Bronski, *Culture Clash: The Making of Gay Sensibility* (Boston, 1984), 71; Katz, *Gay American History*, 33–34. On novels with minor homosexual themes in the 1880s, see Katz, *Gay American History*, 657.

⁴⁵ *Daily Picayune* (June 25, 1882): 10. During Wilde's tour, there was an active subculture of homosexuals that included blacks. A Washington, D.C., physician found, in Lafayette Square, "Both white and black were represented among these moral hermaphrodites, but the majority of them were negroes." An underground interracial sexual subculture existed in St. Louis as well. "Male negroes masquerading in woman's garb and carousing and dancing with white men is the latest St. Louis record of neurotic and psychopathic sexual perversion," Katz, *Gay American History*, 42, 49; E. H. Mikhail, ed., *Oscar Wilde: Interviews and Recollections*, 2 vols. (New York, 1979), 89.

On a related topic, see Sander L. Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," in *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (Autumn 1985): 204–41. On the "picturesque" southern blacks, see Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 80. New Orleans should not be considered "southern society" per se, for the city has a long history of miscegenation, and, alternatively, the erotic feminization of racial otherness may be read as the reinforcement of racial hierarchies. On primitivism, see Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago, 1990).

young British boys . . . a darling fifty-two! As pretty as girls too." Mark Twain created a mythical homosocial world in his novels, a world, noted the critic Van Wyck Brooks, that was a refuge from women and feminine values. While Wilde valorized the "young negroes," Twain celebrated a homoerotic quality in the miners of the West ("two hundred thousand *young men* . . . peerless and magnificent manhood"). The young men who graced Twain's writings are subject to a larger reading: as Susan Gilman has argued, Twain equated creativity with the violation of sexual boundaries, an ideology not so different from Wilde's model.⁴⁶

Twain may represent a reflection of the popular influence of the marginalized Wilde, for Twain's aesthetic quest, like Wilde's, was a personal exploration of his creative subjectivity through an idiosyncratic (and perhaps deviant) style. Samuel Clemens was married and lived a conventional middle-class life, but he was drawn to the exotic, homoerotic themes associated with Wilde and to the allure of the loose, falling aesthetic robes. On a trip, Clemens admired a Ceylonese manservant as "alert, gentle, smiling . . . [with] beautiful shining black hair combed back like a woman's . . . slender, shapely form [in a] flowing white cotton gown . . . quite unmasculine." These latent tendencies emerged in his writing, for Twain's pronounced interest in having his characters cross-dress resulted in what Gilman has labeled "the transvestite tales." The young girls Clemens "collected" in his later life were often dressed in white sailor suits to complement his attire. ("We are all collectors . . . I collect young girls," he confessed.)⁴⁷ Clemens extended this "theatrical" inversion by ordering only white suits from his tailor, while remarking, "I should prefer to wear colors, beautiful rainbow hues, such as the women have . . . I should like to dress in a loose and flowing costume made all of silks and velvets resplendent with stunning dyes."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Jonathan L. Freedman, *Professions of Taste: Henry James, British Aestheticism, and Commodity Culture* (Stanford, Calif., 1990); Mark Twain, *Historical Romances: The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*, Susan K. Harris, ed. (New York, 1994), 228, 314, 495, 527; Van Wyck Brooks quoted in Susan Gilman, *Dark Twins: Imposture and Identity in Mark Twain's America* (Chicago, 1989), 34, 194 n. 48. See also Peter Stoneley, *Mark Twain and the Feminine Aesthetic* (Cambridge, 1992), 4, 12, 16. Horatio Alger, accused in an 1866 report of the "revolting crime of unnatural familiarity with boys," was influenced by Twain's *Roughing It* (1872); Katz, *Gay American History*, 33. Gilman, *Dark Twins*, 37.

⁴⁷ John R. Cooley, "Mark Twain's Angel-Fish: Innocence at Home?" *Mississippi Quarterly*, 38 (1984): 9; Gilman, *Dark Twins*, 107–35; Dorothy Quick, *Enchantment: A Little Girl's Friendship with Mark Twain* (Norman, Okla., 1961), 13.

⁴⁸ Gilman, *Dark Twins*, 99, 124. On Twain's interest in cross-dressing, see Vern L. Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History* (New York, 1976), 623–24. Twain was friends with Charles Warren Stoddard, who published "A South Sea Idyl" in 1873, a veiled homosexual account; see Katz, *Gay American History*, 501, 508. Both wrote for the *Golden Era* journal in California, and Stoddard served as Twain's secretary in London in 1873. On Stoddard's life, see Starr, *Americans*, 242–44; on his homosexuality, see John Crowley, "Charles Warren Stoddard: Locating Desire," paper presented at the American Studies Association conference, Toronto, November 5, 1989; Garber, *Vested Interests*, 288–90. On the "trapped soul" theory and transvestism as a mark of homosexuality, see Barbara Fassler, "Theories of Homosexuality as Sources of Bloomsbury's Androgyny," *Signs*, 5 (1979): 243. For a discussion of transvestism, transsexualism, and homosexuality, see Dave King, "Gender Confusions: Psychological and Psychiatric Conceptions of Transvestism and Transsexualism," in Kenneth Plummer, ed., *The Making of the Modern Homosexual* (Totowa, N.J., 1981), 155–84. A man as prominent as Henry Ward Beecher publicly kissed Theodore Tilton and himself was a cross-dresser. Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong: Post-War Years, 1865–1875* (New York, 1952), 552; Richard Wightman Fox, "Intimacy on Trial: Cultural Meanings of the Beecher-Tilton Affair," in Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in*

The question of transvestite fashion is, as Marjorie Garber has noted, the essence of theater, role playing, costume, and boundary experimentation, the qualities so evident in the aesthetic celebrity, Wilde. Other eccentric figures associated with Aestheticism, men such as Fred Holland Day, habitually dressed in flowing Turkish robes.⁴⁹ The prevalence of the caftan among artists and writers during the 1870s and 1880s might be explained by the interest then current in Orientalism. But the added vogue for aesthetic fashion (William Wells Newell, for instance, founder of the American Folklore Society, wrote poetry, studied medieval literature, and dressed in Pre-Raphaelite clothes) suggests connections to a larger male agenda of reinterpreting the boundaries of masculinity.⁵⁰

David Kunzle has argued that transvestite tendencies were more open for both men and women by the 1880s. In 1882 at the time of Wilde's visit, the highly praised and best-paid minstrel star was the female impersonator Francis Leon, who boasted that he owned three hundred dresses and a great deal of jewelry. Transvestite fashion was found even in the military. In 1879, *Puck* caricatured army officers (the "Curled Darlings") as wearing women's corsets, women's pantaloons, and shifts. In vaudeville, female stars appeared as Oscar Wilde ("silk stockings, knee-breeches and a velvet coat"), an indication that the experiments within aesthetic iconography (theater, self-creation, and new personal presentations) were extending into an arena of popular entertainment.⁵¹

Mark Twain's wish to be arrayed in a flowing costume of silks and velvets, "resplendent with stunning dyes," suggests his sense of himself as an aesthetic object, integral to aesthetic space. Journalists had, as we have seen, observed this display with aesthetic women, who, in tinted flowing costumes in a "darkened room," were seen as decorative objects "assisting the artist who colored and gilded the walls and hung the draperies."⁵² Acceptance of the male aesthete as a passive

American History (Chicago, 1993), 115–17; William Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (New York, 1980), 378.

⁴⁹ Garber, *Vested Interests*, 290; Jussim, *Slave to Beauty*.

⁵⁰ On the use of Orientalism to define the self (including the sexual self), see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978). On Newell, see Roger D. Abrahams, "Rough Sincerities: William Wells Newell and the Discovery of Folklore in Late-19th Century America," in Jane S. Becker and Barbara Franco, eds., *Folk Roots, New Roots: Folklore in American Life* (Lexington, Mass., 1989), 69. Abrahams notes that Samuel Clemens was also a member of the American Folklore Society, p. 68. Magnus Hirschfeld, M.D. (1868–1935), a homosexual and transvestite, wrote the first scientific work on transvestites, linking cross-dressing to eroticism. Hirschfeld, *The Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross-Dress* (orig. pub. in German, 1910; 1st Eng. edn., Buffalo, N.Y., 1991).

⁵¹ David Kunzle, *Fashion and Fetishism: A Social History of the Corset, Tight-lacing and Other Forms of Body-Sculpture in the West* (Totowa, N.J., 1982), 148; see corsets, pantaloons, and shifts on a clothesline set in the Seventh Regiment Armory courtyard, "Our Seventh-Fair Financing of the Curled Darlings," *Puck* (November 26, 1879): 614–15. On male cross-dressing in the theater, see Bullough, *Sexual Variance*, 624–25; "Dressmaking for Men: The Manufacture of Costumes for Female Impersonators," *National Police Gazette* (September 28, 1882): 3. Quotation on female cross-dressing as Oscar Wilde appears in Edwin Milton Royle, "The Vaudeville Theater," *Scribner's Magazine*, 25 (October 1899): 183.

On a connection between theatrical cross-dressing and lesbianism, see Katz, *Gay American History*, 654. Transvestite lady gunmen appeared in dime novels of the 1870s; see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 112–13. On John Wilkes Booth, the actor, as a cross-dresser, see Asia Booth Clarke, *The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister Asia Booth Clarke* (New York, 1938), 66–67; Garber, *Vested Interests*, 29, 276–77.

⁵² *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* (February 13, 1882): 1.

objet d'art of the aesthetic world may be inferred from the widespread participation of men in creating their own sense of self through aesthetic production. For, as aesthetic women looked to the public sphere to define themselves as artist/agents, in a related inversion, some Victorian American men used the traditionally female domestic sphere to test out a restyling of both aesthetic fashion and the masculine self.

A connection between male identity and aesthetic domestic space was not new. In 1840, Edgar Allan Poe's essay "The Philosophy of Furniture" sanctioned the artistic (and male) interior accented by loose aesthetic drapery, describing a room with "crimson-tinted glass . . . curtained within the recess . . . [and] curtains of a rich crimson silk, fringed with a deep network of gold." Poe separated this exotic aestheticism from Victorian moral judgments, seeing his poems, and his rich room free of religious sentiment, as amoral. Poe wrote, "This poem . . . is a poem and nothing more—this poem written solely for the poem's sake," an echo of aesthetic dress advocates who created costume solely for art's sake. In 1881, Poe remained a model for artistic inspiration. "Poe knew the witchery of hanging stuffs," one aesthetic taste maker wrote, connecting once more male aesthetic fashion and domestic interior space.⁵³ Indeed, for the American aesthetic man, a private domestic enclosure should take precedence over the visible, public sphere as the true measure of masculinity. "Most men are more intimately affected by the character of their homes," opined E. C. Gardner in *Home Interiors* (1878), "than by the notions they absorb whether doctrinal, legal or medical." One architect saw an important connection between domestic ornamentation and the man as the rightful arbiter of taste. Such views sanctioned the practice of male control over interior design: often, young brides moved into a house entirely furnished by their husbands.⁵⁴

Men such as Frederick Edwin Church, the landscape painter, who helped design and construct his Moorish fantasy house "Olana" in the Catskills, exemplify the male interest in aesthetic interiors. Church's career had languished after the Civil War; by the 1870s, he chose to see his Olana as his artistic creation, as a painting. In 1872, Church began his intricate stylizing of the first-floor rooms, designing stencils for both exterior and interior surfaces and using color as a unifying theme. The salmon color that graced the Islamic arches, the court hall, and sitting room was a tint from his 1874 painting "El Khasne, Petra," and it was echoed in the coral edge of a flower petal on the wall and on the column capitals of the piazza. The sitting room, explains Franklin Kelly, "becomes a shadow box

⁵³ Edgar A. Poe, "The Philosophy of Furniture," *Gentleman's Magazine*, 6 (May 1840): 243–44; Mrs. Burton [Constance Cary] Harrison, *Woman's Handiwork in Modern Homes* (New York, 1881), 162. Marjorie Garber sees the recumbent male (such as Poe's aesthete) as "passive, receptive, 'feminine.'" Garber, *Vested Interests*, 251. On the influence of Poe on American Aestheticism, see Jonathan Freedman, "An Aestheticism of Our Own: American Writers and the Aesthetic Movement," in Burke, *In Pursuit of Beauty*, 386, 393.

⁵⁴ E. C. Gardner, *Home Interiors* (Boston, 1878), 208; Charles Wyllys Elliott, *Pottery and Porcelain* (New York, 1878), 4; Brunner and Tryon, *Interior Decoration*, 5. On the Victorian American husband's role in domestic arrangements, see Joan M. Seidle, "Consumer's Choice," *Minnesota History*, 41 (1968): 182–97.

for the painting." For Church, art, the male artist/decorator, and aesthetic interior space all merged under aesthetic dictates.⁵⁵

Stanford White, better known for formal classical style in architecture, had, during the 1870s and 1880s, betrayed a love of aesthetic interior style. With homoerotic proclivities (he addressed sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens as "Sweetest" or "Doubly Beloved"), White was also a collector of erotica and the owner of secret hideaways conceived as exotic theater: one top-floor studio had sumptuous furnishings, including red velvet curtains, mirrored walls, Japanese parasols, and a red velvet swing. In fact, White was seen by many, not as the prominent exponent of Beaux Arts classicism but as a "poetic dreamer," a lover of embellished surfaces and Oriental motifs, and, Joseph Wells, architect at McKim, Mead and White, argued, "as a brilliant decorator, not an architect." White transformed domestic space into theater with himself the featured object: his catered parties were elaborate and contrived, with singers in costumes, with rented trees and potted plants. White chose the carpets, wallpaper, and curtains for his house on East Twenty-first Street in New York. Aesthetic fashion had become the projection of individual (and male) artistic creativity.⁵⁶

Male control over aesthetic fashion extended to the design and production of decorative objects by men themselves. Some men embroidered works for the aesthetic parlor, often creating their own patterns. One critic reported that "wall hangings in bold outline work in crewels on unbleached cotton stuff were designed by Mr. Ames Van Wait and worked for his own home." A folding screen was designed by a George Gibson, and one writer described an ingenious pair of sconces made by a "gentleman" from plate glass, clay pipes with stems, and a cut-glass saucer. Another "gentleman" made a dining room mantel from an old trousseau chest. Critics applauded "very artistic pieces of furniture" made by men, especially the "professional" who spent nearly twelve months furnishing his "principal room." Like Frederick Church, one man built his entire house around his prized *objet d'art*, a "Cairo rug." "All its features do homage to the rug for which it is built," noted one commentator.⁵⁷

If the aesthetic quest was compatible with ideas of masculinity (and with the idea of the male as an aesthetic object) in the 1870s and 1880s, the inclusion of feminine detail in the male smoking room and library was also common. One female critic revealed that "fabrics used as scarfs by native dancing girls are imported by Mr. Louis Tiffany for sash window-curtains in a Turkish smoking den." "Tiny silver sequins were sewed at intervals along the edge of the dark blue mull," she explained. "Festoons of pearl discs" akin to a necklace graced the mantel of another gentleman's library. Female icons appeared in masculine space:

⁵⁵ Franklin Kelly, *et al.*, *Frederic Edwin Church* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 141; Kelly, *Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape* (Washington, D.C., 1988), 128; Gerald L. Carr, *Olana Landscapes: The World of Frederic E. Church* (New York, 1989).

⁵⁶ Paul R. Baker, *Stanley: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York, 1989), 184, 281, 322, 288, 71, Joseph Wells quoted on 104; 238–39, 303, 267; Charles C. Baldwin, *Stanford White* (1931; rpt. edn., New York, 1976); David Garrard Lowe, *Stanford White's New York* (New York, 1992); Richard Guy Wilson, "The Bibliophilist, Stanford White Revisited," *Nineteenth Century*, 12 (1993): 36–40.

⁵⁷ Harrison, *Woman's Handiwork*, 73, 151; Holly, *Modern Dwellings*, 214, 218, 211; Brunner and Tryon, *Interior Decoration*, 38. On male artists and needlework, see "Art Needlework," *Littell's Living Age*, 13 (January–February–March 1876): 251–53.

Japanese fans, the accessory of the Victorian lady, were seen as “suitable” friezes in the smoking room, while one architect suggested a library “arranged like a lady’s boudoir.”⁵⁸

This unembarrassed connection between feminine detail and male aesthetics, and, with it, the suggestion of artistic homoerotic values, came together in an autobiographical tract on house decoration. Oliver B. Bunce published *My House, An Ideal* in 1884, an effusive catalog of his “mind’s eye” domain. Also the author of “Bachelor Bluff,” Bunce detailed his house in the chapter “Within” as “art not trickery,” suggesting a relationship between the transparent male ego and artistic acumen. (There was no female voice in Bunce’s essay.) Although he stressed an idiosyncratic “simplicity” uncommon in Victorian decor, Bunce also confessed, “In my house, we are fond of poetic reveries” and candlelight, “the test of one’s right to sit among the aesthetes—those ladies who dress in medieval gowns, and those men who pine for the preciousness of pure art.” Bunce boasted that his house was “abundantly fitted with hangings . . . to shut out the disagreeable conditions of the world.” He was cognizant of the symbolic connection between hanging drapery and male aesthetic fashion, aware of himself as an *objet d’art* bounded within, a counter to the “disagreeable” world outside.⁵⁹

THESE EXCURSIONS INTO THE CHALLENGING OF BOUNDARIES during the 1870s and 1880s did not survive a widespread reaction against aesthetic taste in the 1890s that accompanied the revived militarism of the decade’s imperial plunge.⁶⁰ Brander Matthews, professor of literature and drama at Columbia University from 1892 to 1924, spearheaded an academic campaign (in concert with rising politician Theodore Roosevelt) that emphasized a new and “manly” ideology: Oscar Wilde was one target, as were socialists, Wall Street, and labor union halls.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Harrison, *Woman’s Handiwork*, 189, 183; Holly, *Modern Dwellings*, 108; Dianne H. Pilgrim, “Decorative Art: The Domestic Environment,” in the Brooklyn Museum, *The American Renaissance, 1876–1917* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1979), 125.

⁵⁹ Oliver B. Bunce, *My House, An Ideal* (New York, 1884), 45, 93, 69. In support of the male decorator, see “Morality of Home Decoration,” *Crockery and Glass Journal*, 26 (October 20, 1881): 22—“The man wishes to adorn what is his own . . . He ornaments his door and windows. He paints his walls and ceilings. He studies the form of his furniture and of his domestic utensils. And in this way is quickened within him the germ, also, of the fine arts.”

⁶⁰ On the vogue of Otto Weininger (author of *Sex and Character*, Eng. trans. London, 1906) and on an androgyny that elevated masculinity, see Robert M. Crunden, *American Salons: Encounters with European Modernism, 1885–1917* (New York, 1993), 181–82. Bram Dykstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York, 1986), 205, argues that the turn of the century’s focus on hero worship shifted any strong homosexual impulse toward an “arrogant” siding with dominant heterosexuality. On the return to military themes, see Carl S. Smith, *Chicago and the American Literary Imagination, 1880–1920* (Chicago, 1984), 152–70; John Higham, “The Re-Orienting of American Culture in the 1890’s,” in Higham, *Writing American History: Essays on Modern Scholarship* (Bloomington, Ind., 1970), 73–102.

⁶¹ Lawrence J. Oliver, “Theodore Roosevelt, Brander Matthews, and the Campaign for Literary Americanism,” *American Quarterly*, 41 (March 1989): 93–111. Matthews introduced “manly” articles in the youth magazine *St. Nicholas*. See Theodore R. Davis, “How a Great Battle Panorama Is Made,” *St. Nicholas*, 14 (November 1886–April 1887): 99–112; General Adam Badeau, “General Grant at Vicksburg,” *St. Nicholas*, 14 (May 1887–October 1887): 939–46. The dime-novel hero of 1896, Nick Carter, was referred to as “a young, muscular, white Anglo-Saxon man”; see Denning, *Mechanic Accents*, 204–05. On late nineteenth-century magazine heroes described in physical terms, see E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern*

In popular culture, a wariness of the aesthetic celebrity prompted the drive toward both consolidation of individual artists and virility in spectacles such as Theodore Thomas's music festival in 1893 (with 5,500 voices and full orchestra) and in the style of John Philip Sousa, who saw art as a "force for disciplined order" and his music as "virile music . . . strong and healthy," a counter to the bohemian "long haired men and short haired women [whom] you never see in my audience."⁶²

The reassertion of the sense of the individual man as a fixed social unit, not a self-created person, affected larger intellectual circles. By the late 1880s, the new pragmatists and anthropologists endorsed the social self over idiosyncratic and self-indulgent display. Intolerant of Wilde's expression of the self as an individual *objet d'art*, George H. Mead, friend of John Dewey and a major figure of the "Chicago School," insisted that the individual as "object to himself" return to "the same experimental field as that of the other individual selves." Likewise, in 1899, Franz Boas saw that "developed in each individual is the whole people."⁶³ Masculinity now depended on social cohesion, as a growing professional class, nearly all male, formed a myriad of business associations. An anthropology of "boyhood" at the turn of the century stressed, too, that strong male bodies could be replicated by a rigorous, consistent regime, thus tightening the boundaries around a narrow definition of manhood.⁶⁴

For women by the 1890s, aesthetic fashion was no longer perceived as an unconventional and idiosyncratic art form. Uncorseted garments became mainstream fashion or were reformulated by dress reform groups, which often allied with conservative movements such as the American Woman Suffrage Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Turn-of-the-century dress reformers had a product to market and used techniques identified with an emerging modern order—political lobbying, bureaucratic networking, and scientific professionalism. The dress reform ideology, unlike aesthetic fashion, lent itself to the consumer culture of women's ready-to-wear, trade catalogs, and the fashion press,

Era (New York, 1993), 223. On the "aestheticizing" of both the hero of late nineteenth-century historical novels and of the empire itself, see Amy Kaplan, "Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890's," *American Literary History*, 2 (Winter 1990): 659–90. On a return to control of sexuality after the Aesthetic decades, see John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York, 1988), 171–222.

⁶² Neil Harris, "John Philip Sousa and the Culture of Reassurance," in his *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago, 1990), 198–232; quote on 219. On a social critique of "undisciplined individuality," see Mrs. Amelia E. Barr, "Not in Society," *North American Review*, 155 (1892): 302–07.

⁶³ Israel Scheffler, *Four Pragmatists: A Critical Introduction to Peirce, James, Mead, and Dewey* (New York, 1974), 163; Franz Boas, *The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883–1911*, George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. (New York, 1974), 8, 68. On the continuing dialogue of aesthetic "elitism" versus communitarian "citizenship," see Casey Nelson Blake, *Beloved Community: The Cultural Criticism of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Lewis Mumford* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990). On the social sciences as a "masculine" enterprise (in opposition to "sentiment, idealism and the imaginative," the feminine realm) that, in turn, marginalized aestheticism, see Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991), 59.

⁶⁴ Paula Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life: Gender, Politics, and the State in Rural New York, 1878–1930* (New York, 1991); Susan Curtis, *A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture* (Baltimore, Md., 1991); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York, 1967); Mark Seltzer, "Love-Master," paper presented at the American Studies Association conference, November 5, 1989, Toronto.

and to social reformers eager to socialize the working class to a respectable bourgeois model. The individual was measured by her "physical, intellectual or moral" qualities, and questions of group advocacy, women's labor, and suffrage intersected with debate on costume.⁶⁵ By the 1890s, influenced by the French system of bodily movement invented by François Delsarte, modern dance advocates such as Ruth St. Denis adopted for the stage and even commercialized the flowing costume of the 1870s and 1880s.⁶⁶

Likewise, an aesthetic lifestyle became marginal and suspect by the turn of the century. In London, Oscar Wilde was convicted of sodomy in 1895 and imprisoned, while aesthetes in America became isolated as cult groups in universities and cities. The experimentation with boundaries and gender through aesthetic fashion that existed in the 1870s and 1880s for both men and women was over. For women, the move into the "male" sphere of sports, higher education, and the professions, conventionally seen as emancipatory, can, from the perspective of the Aesthetic Movement, be viewed as a loss of cultural agency. The homosexual, once viewed as a cultural icon for some aesthetic men, became, under newer medical dictates, stigmatized as abnormal. The Aesthetic Movement, which had set a distinct profile on the 1870s and 1880s in America, ceased after two decades, silencing the aesthetic woman's assault on the Cult of True Womanhood. Gone, too, was the aesthetic ideology that had elevated "beauty" in everyday life, celebrated individual artistic production for both men and women, and extolled women as artist/subjects and men as artistic objects. Silenced as well was a possible alternative to the canons of aesthetic modernism.

⁶⁵ Abba Goold Woolson, *Dress-Reform: On Dress as It Affects the Health of Women* (Boston, 1874), 91; Frances M. Steele, "Artistic Dress," *The Arena*, 6 (October 1892): 506; Elizabeth Smith Miller, "Symposium on Women's Dress," *The Arena*, 6 (October 1892): 491, 493; Patricia Cunningham, "Annie Jeness Miller and Mabel Jeness: Promoters of Physical Culture and Correct Dress," *Dress: The Annual Journal of the Costume Society of America*, 16 (1990): 48–62; Frances Stuart Parker, *Dress, and How to Improve It* (Chicago, 1897); "Their Novel Dress," *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), (December 17, 1892): 1; "Again the Dress Question," *New York Times* (June 4, 1893): 12. On dress reform at the 1893 Exposition, see Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago, 1981), 531–36.

⁶⁶ In England, the "bohemian" critique of Aestheticism had appeared by 1884. See Vernon Lee, *Miss Brown* (1884; rpt. edn., New York, 1978). See also Annie Jenness Miller, *Physical Beauty: How to Obtain It and How to Preserve It* (New York, 1892), where some dress reform advocates warn of "a rather wide-spread Bohemian tendency at the present time," 227. Elizabeth Kendall, *Where She Danced* (New York, 1979), notes that, by 1906, both Ruth St. Denis and Isadora Duncan "had moved . . . far beyond their Delsarte origins," p. 68. On aesthetic dress as stage costume, see Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 215–16. By 1885, the uncorseted dress was evidently acceptable to the professional woman; see "Why Small Waists Are Not Desirable," *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 5, 1885): 6.

Identity, Race, Gender, and Modernity in the Origins of Gilberto Freyre's *Oeuvre*

JEFFREY D. NEEDELL

THIS STUDY OF THE SEMINAL WORK of Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987) involves both biography and intellectual history and suggests the way in which this Brazilian intellectual, like so many colonial and postcolonial thinkers of the interwar era, adapted elements of European and American thought and experience to create a new understanding of his national culture.

In Freyre's case, biography is especially central. Much of his creation of a national identity was an attempt to find his own identity and reconcile conflicts within himself. Readers will find that his personal conflicts touched on issues of race, gender, sexuality, and modernity in ways suggestive for other places and other people. Freyre sought to understand his own country through a perspective and comparisons framed by his experiences in the United States during 1918–1922 and 1931, particularly with regard to the heritage of plantation slavery. In that understanding, he came to employ an image of hierarchical racial domination that was explicitly gendered. Moreover, I will argue that his embrace of a patriarchal, racial domination as essential to the Brazilian tradition was also a personal identification with seigneurial heterosexuality toward women of color that allowed him to resolve ambiguities in his own sexual orientation. Finally, I will demonstrate that his attachment to a patriarchal planter mythology and espousal of political authoritarianism was a reaction against the dramatic, “modern” changes threatening the constructed world of his childhood, a reaction in which anti-Semitism played a key symbolic role.

There are, of course, more specific justifications for studying the origins of Freyre's work. Aside from his exemplary value in this generation of Latin American intellectuals, a generation noted for its attempt to rehabilitate native and creole peoples and national and regional cultural traditions, Freyre has a

I note with gratitude the financial support of the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1990–1991, which made possible much of the research on which this study is based. I also wish to acknowledge the constructive criticism of the *AHR*'s anonymous readers. Part of this study derives from a longer paper delivered at the American Historical Association annual meeting, December 1992, Washington, D.C. A substantially revised paper was given at the meeting organized by Thomas Cohen of the Oliveira Lima Library, Catholic University of America, “Reflections on Culture and Ideology in the Americas: A Conference in Honor of Richard M. Morse,” Washington, D.C., March 1993. I am grateful to Professor Cohen for permission to publish this study separately and indebted to Dain Borges, David Haberly, Tulio Halperin Donghi, Efraim Kristal, and Robert M. Levine for their criticism, encouragement, and comments on this work in its various stages. This work has been done in homage to Richard M. Morse as a tribute to his contributions to understanding Latin American civilization.

special place in Brazilian intellectual life. He first popularized and legitimized the notion that Africans had made a positive contribution to Brazil. He joined others in championing the positive role of the plantation and its patriarchal family. Both stances were connected to his effort to establish the colonial slave plantation as the origin and classic expression of Brazilian civilization. These arguments have passed from being iconoclastic to being part of an assumed and often disparaged dominant heritage. Long the butt of liberal and leftist outrage—partly for his support of authoritarian political solutions, especially the post-1964 military regime—Freyre was, until recently, often more acknowledged and dismissed than read in academic circles. However, the many editions of his principal books suggest that his ideas have remained compelling for the broader public. Indeed, Freyre has been charged with principal authority for the myth of racial democracy, an enduring element in Brazil's national self-image.

Freyre continues to be cited in the international and, especially, U.S. scholarship devoted to comparative slave societies and their legacies. *Casa grande e senzala* (1933), published in 1946 as *The Masters and the Slaves*, had three subsequent editions and was joined in 1963 and 1970 by English translations of two sequels. All three have recently been reissued in paperback. *Casa grande* has long figured in the debate, introduced by Frank Tannenbaum in *Slave and Citizen* (1946), over the question of comparative race relations as a product of distinct slave societies. For Americans concerned with Brazilian social and cultural history, Freyre remains an important point of departure, either for framing a debate or suggesting an approach.¹

In this article, I will reexamine the emergence and significance of Freyre's work in the era in which he gained preeminence, the Brazil of the 1920s and especially the 1930s.² The burden of the analysis will be to suggest the origins of Freyre's preoccupations with race and patriarchy, to reconsider the centrality of miscegenation in his thought, and to demonstrate the profoundly reactionary position

¹ On Freyre's role in Brazilian intellectual life and U.S. scholarship, see Freyre's obituary by Thomas E. Skidmore in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* [hereafter, *HAHR*], 68 (1988): 803–05; and Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York, 1974), 190–92, 274–75. See also Emilia Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985), 234–35, 244; David H. P. Maybury-Lewis, "Introduction to the Paperback Edition," *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); Carlos Guilherme Mota, *Ideologia da cultura brasileira, 1933–1974: Pontos de partida para uma revisão histórica* (São Paulo, 1978), 53–74. Notice and analysis of the most recent pieces on Freyre are in Dain Borges, "Brazilian Social Thought of the 1930s," *Luso-Brazilian Review* (forthcoming), which provides a succinct treatment of the intellectual trends and historiography of the era. For the intellectual context of Brazilian racism, see Skidmore, *Black into White*, chaps. 5, 6. On Freyre's current importance in U.S. scholarship on Brazil, see the comments on Freyre's positions in the introductions of such recent works as Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge, 1985), xv–xvi; George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison, Wis., 1991), 7–10, 152–54; Dain Borges, *The Family in Bahia, Brazil, 1870–1945* (Stanford, Calif., 1992), 4–6 and *passim*.

² I should note regarding Freyre's writing that I use only those materials completed in the 1920s and 1930s; the vagaries of his career after 1936 and the continued references, additions, and analyses he made concerning his fundamental work of those two decades raise other issues and are methodologically problematic in terms of understanding the origins of his work. Freyre commonly changed his earlier writings by adding to them in subsequent editions and constantly tried to control or influence the reading of his works by framing or contextualizing them in new introductions to his earlier works. See, in this regard, my caution in using *Tempo morto* (n. 4, below).

regarding “modernity” and politics manifest in his structuring of all these elements. For Freyre, hegemonic race relations, miscegenation, and a reactionary authoritarianism joined to compose the matrix for what was essentially Brazilian.

GILBERTO DE MELLO FREYRE was born in Recife, the descendant of distinguished planter families of Pernambuco, families that had only recently entered the liberal professions. The world of the sugar plantation, the milieu of coastal Pernambuco, indeed, of the whole coastal Northeast region since the 1530s, was thus familiar to him in a literal sense.³ Soon, however, Freyre went to a select “progressive” school, run by U.S. Baptist missionaries. He abandoned Catholicism briefly as a Baptist, even preaching in shantytowns. At eighteen, he followed an older brother to take a bachelor’s degree from Baylor University, a Baptist institution in Waco, Texas. He went on for a master’s degree at Columbia University and for travel and study in Europe, returning to Recife a stranger in his early twenties.⁴

There, Freyre soon reintegrated himself into the milieu of “good” families and regional intellectuals. Before long, he was a pivotal figure in *regionalismo*, the regionalist cultural movement of the Northeast, which centered on Recife and contrasted with certain aspects of *modernismo*, the movement of nationalist cultural renovation influenced by European postwar experimentalism and rooted in the south, in São Paulo. In the late 1920s, a tense era in the urban labor movements and rural economy of Pernambuco, Freyre accepted an offer from the state governor, Estácio Coimbra, his cousin’s husband, to become Coimbra’s personal secretary and the editor of *A província*, a state-subsidized periodical. As such, Freyre was a part of the Old Republic’s political establishment when the Revolution of 1930 destroyed the regime.⁵

³ The best introduction to the sugar plantation and its world is the most recent study, Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*; although centered on the present state of Bahia, it is plainly intended to address the Northeast region as a whole (xiv). Note the author’s homage to Freyre’s work (xv–xvi).

⁴ There is no suitable biography of Freyre to date. See the bibliography in Edson Nery da Fonseca, *Um livro completa meio século* (Recife, 1983), 105–13; and the review of very recent studies in Borges, “Brazilian Social Thought.” For biographical data, I rely on Gilberto Freyre, *Tempo morto e outros tempos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1944); Luis Jardim, “Prefácio,” Gilberto Freyre, *Artigos de jornal* (Recife, n.d.); and Paul Freston, “A carreira de Gilberto Freyre,” *Série e história das ciências sociais*, no. 3 (São Paulo, 1987). I should note that my use of *Tempo morto* is tempered by the knowledge that Freyre characteristically reworked his early writing; thus the veracity of *Tempo morto* as a diary of his youth is problematic. On various occasions, he may well have rewritten old entries or even inserted new material to reflect his interest in constructing a persona and a position for himself at the time he published the book (1944). Whenever possible, then, I bring other, especially archival, sources to bear in conjunction with citations of *Tempo morto*, as corroboration.

⁵ See the references in n. 1, above; and Souza Barros, *A década 20 em Pernambuco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1974); Robert M. Levine, *Pernambuco in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1978), chaps. 2–3; José Aderaldo Castello, *José Lins do Rego* (São Paulo, 1961), pt. 1. The Old Republic, 1889–1930, was called that to differentiate it from later regimes with republican constitutions. It was put in place after a military coup against the parliamentary government of Brazil’s second emperor, Dom Pedro II (r. 1840–89). Its Constitution of 1891 was explicitly modeled on that of the United States; the realities of power involved control of the federal government by the oligarchies of the two strongest exporting states, which traded favors for political support with the local oligarchies of the weaker states. The Revolution of 1930 toppled the regime when a series of political miscalculations divided the most powerful oligarchies over a presidential succession and lent themselves to the aspirations and frustrations of the urban middle and working classes, lower-rank military officers, and disgruntled, oligarchical rivals at the local level. For an introduction to these matters, see Joseph L.

Freyre, like many whose prospects were knotted up in that regime's patronage, went into exile (1930–1932). He traveled to Portugal and continued research begun at Columbia. From Europe, he returned to the United States as a visiting professor at Stanford University. After a semester, he traveled across the South, went on to some brief anthropological study in Germany, and returned to Recife (1932). Living in genteel poverty at his brother's suburban country house, he completed *Casa grande e senzala* (The Big House and the Slave Hut) in 1933. The book's unprecedented success led to a sequel, *Sobrados e mucambos* (Mansions and Shanties) in 1936 and publication of various anthologies.⁶ Although his fame brought university positions and occasional public office,⁷ his only real career was that of author—that is, the author of *Casa grande e senzala*. All of his subsequent, voluminous writing turned on subjects announced there and in *Sobrados e mucambos*. It was his success as a writer that made him the force behind the Instituto Joaquim Nabuco, a social-science center for the advanced study of the Northeast.⁸

How did the stranger return home? How did a young man trained in an environment alien to the traditions and culture of his country come to write a work widely considered Brazil's best explanation and apologia? It is a seeming contradiction that requires both biographical and intellectual analysis; a seeming contradiction that will be the first of many, for the resolution of conflicted opposites is the great motif of Freyre's life and work.

As a boy and adolescent, Freyre was perceived by his family and the *recifense* elite as a prodigy. He blossomed under the care of private tutors, acquiring French and English at home and at the select American school his father chose for him. By the time he completed secondary school, he was being asked to give talks as a celebrated local phenomenon.⁹ Freyre's attendance at a Baptist school and his taking a degree at Baylor were unusual. Elite sons were more often sent to a Catholic *colégio* or a prestigious lay school that emphasized the classics and liberal arts. The next step would have been four years in one of the two traditional law schools, at Recife or at São Paulo; poorer families might consider Rio's Escola

Love, *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882–1930* (Stanford, 1971), chaps. 3, 4, and his concluding chapter; and Boris Fausto, "Society and Politics," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Brazil: Empire and Republic (1822–1930)* (Cambridge, 1989), 257–307.

⁶ Freyre, *Tempo morto*, entries for 1930, *passim*; Diogo de Mello Meneses, *Gilberto Freyre* (Rio de Janeiro, 1944); Gilberto Freyre, "Prefácio," *Casa grande e senzala* (1933; rpt. edn., Rio de Janeiro, 1934), i–xi. The anthologies, *Nordeste* (Northeast) (1937), *O mundo que o português criou* (The world that the Portuguese created) (1940), *Tradição e região* (Tradition and region) (1941), etc., often contained essays written in the regionalist period of the 1920s. The texts noted are only a few of the best; Freyre was prolific if somewhat redundant. The great work, of course, was *Casa grande* and its sequel, *Sobrados e mucambos*. Freyre completed a third volume of this work, clearly conceptualized and at least partially researched in the 1930s, in 1959 (*Ordem e progresso*) and announced plans for a fourth, which he never completed.

⁷ The thirteenth edition of *Casa grande* (1966) noted appointments to the Escola Normal in Recife, the Faculdade do Direito there, the Universidade do Distrito Federal, and the universities of Michigan, Indiana, and Virginia, as well as Columbia. Freyre was elected a deputy (UDN) for Pernambuco (1946–50) and vice president of the Comissão de Educação e Cultura da Câmara, and appointed Brazil's representative to the United Nations in 1949.

⁸ See Paul Freston, "Um império na província," in Sergio Miceli, org., *História das ciências sociais no Brasil*, Vol. 1 (São Paulo, 1989).

⁹ Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 3–22, *passim*; Meneses, *Gilberto Freyre*, 35–63.

Politécnica or the medical schools at Rio or Salvador. Schooling abroad was generally for specialized, postgraduate training. In Gilberto's case, the advanced pedagogical ideas of his father (a positivist educator), the links between the local Baptist school and Baylor, and the success at Baylor of his brother and a few other local elite sons determined this unusual course.¹⁰

With his strong English and his American preparation in Recife, Gilberto made a relatively easy transition to Baylor. He quickly earned the support of A. J. Armstrong, a noted professor of English literature, who thought Gilberto a genius and urged him to give up Brazil for an academic and literary career in the United States.¹¹ Armstrong and others in this country whom Gilberto met, often through introductions from Armstrong and another patron, the Brazilian diplomat, Manuel de Oliveira Lima,¹² were struck with the skills Gilberto displayed as a verbal *Wunderkind*. Given his alien background and handsome, if foreign, personal appearance, one wonders if something in this reception had to do with the embrace of an exotic pet—a Latin American completely familiar with Anglo-American culture and eager and able to prove himself, despite his age and supposed racial inferiority.¹³

Gilberto failed to succumb to the attractions Armstrong urged upon him. After matriculating at Columbia, in 1920, his gaze was fixed steadily on Brazil. At Baylor, Freyre had already begun to validate his foreign identity in student journalism and in Latin American student organizations. It was in New York, however, that he first felt compelled to understand that identity.¹⁴ While attending Columbia, Gilberto had begun to spend time with Oliveira Lima, whom he had met as a schoolboy in Recife. Lima, retired from Brazilian diplomacy to an academic position at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., maintained a wide range of friendships as a former consul in Europe, South America, and Japan, and as a well-known historian and scholar of international law. His collection of Latin Americana included some 40,000 books. Gilberto was welcomed by the diplomat and his wife,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Freston, "A carreira," 3–9. On elite education *ca.* 1900, see Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, 1987), 52–58, *passim*.

¹¹ Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 28–29, 30–31, 36–37. Armstrong urged Freyre to become a U.S. citizen, compete for the Rhodes Scholarship, and become a scholar of English literature.

¹² On Lima, see his *Memorias* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937) and its preface by Freyre; as well as Gilberto Freyre, *Oliveira Lima, Don Quixote gordo*, 2d edn. (Recife, 1970). Lima, a distinguished diplomat, sometime prospect for minister for foreign affairs, founding member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and distinguished historian, is best known for his three-volume biography, *Dom João VI no Brasil* (1908). He was born in Pernambuco and married into a distinguished local family.

¹³ Through Armstrong, Freyre met literary figures such as Edwin Markham, Harriet Monroe, Amy Lowell, William Butler Yeats, the Barrymores, and Vachel Lindsay; through Lima, he met James Robertson and, probably, made connections to Percy Alvin Martin and John C. Branner. On perceptions of Freyre, one need but read between the lines of the quotations Freyre makes in *Tempo morto* or the letter of introduction Martin wrote to E. E. Robinson (in which he cites Robertson): P. A. Martin to E. E. Robinson, Stanford, February 5, 1931, SC 29b Box 6 Folder 40, courtesy of the Special Collections of the Stanford University Libraries (hereafter, SCSUL).

¹⁴ See Freyre's responses to Armstrong's pressure to remain in the United States in *Tempo morto*, entries for 1919–20; his activities in Latin American student organizations are noted in *Tempo morto* and in his correspondence with Lima and Branner for the era. The correspondence with Branner is in the SCSUL; with Lima, in Gilberto Freyre, *Cartas do próprio punho sobre pessoas e coisas do Brasil e do estrangeiro*, Sylvio Rabello, ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1978), in Freyre, *Oliveira Lima*, and in the Arquivos Históricos da Fundação Gilberto Freyre, Recife (hereafter, AHFGF).

who had no children and were apparently delighted with the young scholar. Gilberto, desperate for Brazilian cuisine and fascinated with the collection, began to visit.¹⁵

These visits constituted an intellectual turning point for Freyre. They are associated with two interests in Freyre's maturing thought; one in Brazilian childhood socialization, the other in Brazil's distinctive identity, which he connected to the specificity of its race relations. Childhood socialization had begun to pique his curiosity in New York—Lima's library may have offered him access to his own origins. As a key to his own foreignness? As a way to get at the essential in national differences? There is reason to think so. In one diary entry of 1921, Freyre noted,

What I would like is to write a history . . . of . . . the Brazilian child, from colonial times until today . . . I believe that only by means of such a history—sociological, psychological, anthropological, and not chronological history—will it be possible to arrive at an idea concerning the Brazilian's personality. It is the child who reveals the man. But no one ever applied that criterion to the study of the national development or formation of a country.¹⁶

Initially, these interests were joined; childhood and Brazil intermingle in his diary and correspondence.¹⁷ Freyre consulted with Lima and with John C. Branner, a noted geologist, Stanford's president, and an old Brazil hand.¹⁸ He began reading nineteenth-century travelers' accounts and visiting Lima's library and the Library of Congress.

Although Freyre began to focus on childhood and the distinct nature of Brazil at about the same time, he separated the two, doubtless for practical reasons, and conceived of them as two projects—one, a future great study, the other, a master's thesis. The origins of the impulse for the thesis, at least at the conscious level, seem clear. In his diary and the preface to *Casa grande*, Freyre recalled the crucial moment. The sight of several mulattoes on leave from a Brazilian navy ironclad docking in New York struck him with disgust and shame. He was taking courses with Franz Boas at the time; the coincidence thrust forward the question of race as a possible thesis topic. As he reported the incident twelve years later, it was pivotal:

¹⁵ Lima's collection is now the Oliveira Lima Library at Catholic University; Freyre describes it in *Tempo morto*, 56–57; and in his preface to Lima's *Memórias*, vi–vii.

¹⁶ Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 60.

¹⁷ On childhood and socialization, see Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 54, 59, 60, 76. On Brazil, see 56–57, 59, 60, 68, 69. In the correspondence with Lima in 1920–21, it is clear that the idea of a Brazilian focus was something that only emerged over time. See M. O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, December 25, 1920, February 14, 1921, August 3, 1921, and September 23, 1921, AHFGF. Regarding race, the issue emerges twice in 1921: a diary entry corresponding to the central event recalled in the preface to *Casa grande* (the sight of the mulatto sailors; see below) and the question of U.S.-Brazilian comparisons in correspondence with Lima, in which the diplomat notes his own perplexity regarding the most appropriate solution to the *problema negro*, in a context where both correspondents apparently assume African racial inferiority. M. O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, February 20, 1921, AHFGF.

¹⁸ M. O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, August 3, 1921, AHFGF; Gilberto Freyre to Meu caro amigo, New York, September 21, 1921, AHFGF; Gilberto Freyre to Meu prezado amigo [Branner], Silver Bay, New York, August 2, 1921, SC 34, SCSUL; same to same, New York, August 18, 1921, AHFGH.

I believe that no Russian student of the nineteenth-century Romantics was more intensely concerned with the destiny of Russia than I for that of Brazil in the phase in which I became acquainted with Boas. It was as if everything depended on me and on my generation . . . And of Brazilian problems, none bothered me as much as that of miscegenation. Once, I saw, after more than three heavy years of absence from Brazil, a group of the nation's sailors—mulattoes and *cafusos*—disembarking . . . in the soft snow of Brooklyn. They gave me the impression of caricatures of men. And the phrase from an American traveler's account of Brazil . . . came to mind: "the fearfully mongrel aspect of most of the population." Miscegenation resulted in . . . the individuals whom I judged represented Brazil.¹⁹

It may have been Lima who dissuaded Freyre from a thesis on either abolition or miscegenation in Brazil. Lima mentioned that abolition was being researched already and responded to Freyre's racial concerns by noting that these were very delicate and complex matters.²⁰

The concern with national identity, however, remained. In the end, Freyre's attempt while abroad to understand his nation took the form of a study of Brazil at mid-nineteenth century, based largely on research in travelers' accounts, memoirs, contemporary periodicals, and oral history.²¹ References to childhood were minimal, although the Proustian motif of recovering the past through its incidental, intimate detritus and personalized evocation is clear.²² In this impressionistic mosaic, the questions of slavery and race relations are idealized to the point of caricature. Those who read it will note the passage concerning musical appreciation among the elite, where Freyre's logic takes on gossamer wings: "Most of the [elite] men in those days played the piano or the violin or the flute. My

¹⁹ Freyre, *Casa grande*, xi. The term *cafuso*, in northern and northeastern Brazil, refers to the offspring of an Afro-Brazilian and an Amerindian. The "mongrel" reference was to C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata: The Personal Record of a Cruise* (1856), cited in Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *HAHR*, 5 (November 1922): 601. Compare *Tempo morto*, 68, where Freyre's reaction seems much more studied, cool, "scientific"—and, possibly, defensive; he cites a piece by Branner in which the geologist commented on the surprising capacity of people of multiple racial origin and apparently "unfavorable" aspect. Compare also the clearly racist response to the same incident in the letter to Lima quoted in n. 20, below.

²⁰ M. O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, December 25, 1920, February 14, 1921, February 20, 1921, AHFGF; it was Freyre's professor, William R. Shephard, who apparently first suggested the topic of abolition (see letter of February 14, 1921, cited above). Note that Lima's letter (February 20, 1921, cited above) on miscegenation was in response to one in which Freyre mentioned (seemingly in reference to the mulatto sailors) his being "alarmed" by the proportion of people of color and race "mixture" in Brazil (see Freyre, *Cartas*, 174–75).

²¹ Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1922), published in *HAHR*, 5 (November 1922): 597–630. Freyre announced his topic and tentative title to Lima in a letter of August 16, 1921, *Cartas*, 187–88.

²² In the thesis itself, Freyre relates, "In a way, the preparation . . . was begun years ago when, as a child, I used to ask questions of my grandmother . . . [I]n studying, more recently, my grandmother's days, I have approached them neither to praise nor to blame—only to taste the joy of understanding the old social order . . . Some of the facts . . . were gathered from survivors of the old order" (597–98). In *Tempo morto*, 59, he mentions interviewing a survivor and viewing a photograph, which then shows up in the thesis (614). The reference to Proust is an anticipation; as noted below, he did not read *A la recherche de temps perdu* until 1923 (when the volumes were also making their great impact in France). Gallic influence at this point was supplied by Edmund and Jules de Goncourt (see Freyre's epigraph to the thesis); Freyre also mentions Walter Pater (597; see *Tempo morto*, 46) but not with the sort of precision regarding inspiration that he does when he notes Pater's influence, by way of *The Child in the House* (1894), years later in introducing the Portuguese edition of his thesis; see "Prefácio à terceira edição em Língua Portuguesa," *Vida social no Brasil nos meados do século XIX*, 3d edn., rev. (Recife, 1985), 37–38.

paternal grandfather—a sugar planter—was a violin virtuoso. The keen taste for music was perhaps what made Brazilian slaveholders kind and gentle.”²³ This saccharine treatment and a brief assertion of mulatto social mobility are hardly accidental, given Freyre’s sensitivity to Jim Crow in the United States. Perhaps Freyre wished, if only in passing, to draw the strongest possible contrast to the violent and exclusionary racism ubiquitous in the United States. One senses an attempt to balance out the mulattoes in New York, to suggest that the burden of Brazil’s “mongrel” race was outweighed by benign racial harmony.²⁴

AFTER COLUMBIA, Freyre, possibly in response to Lima’s urgings, decided to study and travel in Europe. His thesis, perhaps through connections he owed to his Columbia adviser, William Shepherd, or to Lima, would be published in 1922, and to critical acclaim.²⁵ Lima, like Armstrong and others, argued that Freyre should remain abroad and make his career there, the only fitting context for a mind like his.²⁶ All to no avail; although he took enormous and enduring pride in his achievements overseas, Freyre had decided to go back to Brazil. He was eager to test himself abroad and to meet the intellectual elite there, with which he identified, but he seems to have seen all as preparation for his return home.²⁷ If he had initially been tempted by Armstrong to make a life in American letters or, later, by Lima, to find his natural ambit abroad, his attachment to his country seems to have increased overseas. The thesis was apparently a first step back, not just to Recife, or to his childhood memories, which preface the study, but to the “childhood” of his country. A personal identification with a reconstructed Brazilian past was emergent. When only a third of his thesis had been completed, Freyre wrote to Lima of his aspirations for the larger project of which the thesis was but a “‘preliminary inquiry’ . . . My plan is to deepen the exploration. It is possible that one day this friend of yours will appear with two volumes under his arms—a *Social History of the Brazilian Family* (during the two reigns).”²⁸

²³ Freyre, “Social Life,” 615; see also 600, 604–05, 606–09, 614, 616.

²⁴ Freyre’s shock at the brutalities of U.S. racism is marked in his diary (*Tempo morto*, 32–33), in which he reports the lynching and burning of a black man. Freyre’s widow recalled, some seventy years later, the impression this incident made on him, and she ascribed his loss of the Baptist faith to the incident, which occurred during his days at Baylor (Magdalena Freyre, interview, Appipucos, January 22, 1991). She also revealed that Freyre had earlier hoped to become a Baptist pastor (an ambition confirmed in an interview with Francisco de Assis Barbosa, Rio de Janeiro, March 14, 1991). Freston, while noting the impression made by the violence, discounts the linkage to Freyre’s abandonment of the Baptist faith (see “A carreira,” 8, 10). The passage and note regarding mulatto social mobility are in Freyre, “Social Life,” 611.

²⁵ Freyre’s history adviser, Shepherd, figured among early *HAHR* contributors. On Lima’s influence regarding Robertson and the *HAHR*, see M. O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, October 21, 1921, AHFGF; Gilberto Freyre, *Perfil de Euclides e outros perfis, com desenhos de Cândido Portinari e Thomaz Santa Rosa* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), 68. On the success of the thesis, see the letter noted just below and P. A. Martin’s comment in the letter to Robinson cited in n. 13. Regarding Europe, see M. O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, March 30, 1922, AHFGF.

²⁶ M. O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, November 22, 1921, AHFGF.

²⁷ See the entries for 1922–23 in Freyre, *Tempo morto*; and the letters for the same period to Lima in Freyre, *Cartas*.

²⁸ Gilberto Freyre to Meu ilustre amigo, New York, April 3, 1922, *Cartas*, 198. The reference to “the two reigns” is an allusion to the era of the monarchy in Brazil, customarily divided between the First Reign (Pedro I, r. 1822–31), the Regency (1831–40), and the Second Reign (Pedro II, r. 1840–89).

Going home to Brazil, Lima warned, would be a poor choice; returning to Recife, a worse one. Writers could not earn a good living in Brazil. The rare person who lived by the pen lived poorly, dependent on the large dailies and wretchedly paid. The great literati almost all worked as liberal professionals or lived on sinecures as public servants. Most of these traditional opportunities were to be found in the great urban centers—Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Recife had nothing to offer a cosmopolitan literary genius with a talent for modern social science. It was provincial, clique-ridden, and relatively impoverished. Lima declared, “To do criticism in Recife, God in Heaven! It’s the same as wanting to ice-skate under that fiery sky.”²⁹ Yet Freyre did not hesitate. Although he would travel within Brazil and abroad often and for the rest of his life, he never made his home anywhere else but Recife.

Even though he had written an irregular column for Recife’s *Diário de Pernambuco* since 1918, Freyre returned home a stranger in 1923. Abroad five years, he had departed as a provincial prodigy and returned a cultivated man of the world. Curiosity about him was rampant in the port’s tiny intellectual community. Shortly after his arrival, so were envy and hostility. Although open to criticism, charming, curious, and friendly, Freyre with his foreign clothes, intellectual “airs,” accomplishments, and aggressive opinions was a provocative figure. Nonetheless, he soon helped create an important clique of young literati and artists, particularly including those who treasured provincial traditions.³⁰

This was the local context of the Northeast’s *regionalismo*. As a broad theme, regionalism had already proved attractive to Freyre at Columbia in 1921 and in France in 1922.³¹ In Recife, it emerged as one of several responses across Brazil to the failed academic cultural milieu of the Old Republic. The younger generation of Brazilian intellectuals associated the frenchified culture of Brazil’s *belle époque* with the sagging façade of the social and political status quo. Indeed, the 1920s in Brazil were both a cultural and political watershed, linking *regionalismo*, the aesthetic and intellectual revolt of São Paulo’s Week of Modern Art (1922), and the political alienation and military rebellions of the Tenentes’ movements (1922 and 1924). *Regionalismo* and São Paulo’s *modernismo* were reactions against what was increasingly seen as an imitative, official high culture divorced from Brazilian reality.³²

²⁹ O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, November 22, 1921; compare same to same, December 25, 1920, both in AHFGF.

³⁰ O. Lima to Meu caro amigo, Washington, July 15, 1922, citing Monteiro Lobato, AHFGF; Gilberto to Meu caro amigo, Recife, August 14, 1923, *Cartas*, 209; Gilberto Freyre to Caro mestre e amigo [Recife], July 9, 1924, *Cartas*, 212; Magdalena Freyre, interview; José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello [Freyre’s younger cousin], interview, Recife, January 30, 1991; Nilo Pereira, “Prefácio,” Gilberto Freyre, *Tempo de aprendiz: Artigos publicados em jornais na adolescência e na primeira mocidade do autor, 1918–1926*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, 1979), 1: 17–20; Meneses, *Gilberto Freyre*, chap. 4.

³¹ The reference in his diary, New York, 1921 (*Tempo morto*, 49) is to “Geddes, Le Play, Mistral and Maurras . . . and above all Yeats . . . I have been guiding myself toward the study of the social and cultural problems categorized as regional: and toward the promotion of the regional in the arts.” He notes the contacts with Charles Maurras and his circle in Paris on 84–85.

³² On *regionalismo*, see note 33 below. The Week of Modern Art was a public exhibition put on in São Paulo that was soon consecrated as the first great challenge of *modernismo* to the canon and taste associated with francophile academicism in the fine arts and literature. On the cultural milieu challenged by *modernismo*, see Needell, *Tropical Belle Époque*, esp. chap. 6. On the national context of *paulista modernismo*, see Wilson Martins, *The Modernist Idea: A Critical Survey of Brazilian Writing in the*

At the time of Freyre's return, the regionalist movement in the Northeast did not exist, although a regional intellectual world did, long centered in Recife. *Paulista modernismo*, with its dramatic, nationalist iconoclasm, influenced some writers who figured in that world, such as Joaquim Inojosa; the noted *recifense* poet, Manuel Bandeira, resident in Rio, was likewise embraced by the *paulistas*. It is also true that Mário de Andrade, one of the preeminent figures of *modernismo*, set great store by regional folklore and traveled to the Northeast to sample and encourage the local cultural renovation. Soon, however, the dominant group in Northeastern literary and artistic circles was closely identified with Freyre and a distinct, hostile position regarding *modernismo*. The *regionalistas* deplored the European influence on *paulista* ideas and their embrace of "modernity." Instead, Freyre and his circle championed local tradition. Although Freyre was cosmopolitan in his formation, he led the *regionalistas* in an embrace of a provincial authenticity that set them against urban Europeanization, bemoaned the passing of the rural planter elite and its way of life, and sought the preservation of the old—old buildings, old streets, and anything else that seemed specific to the region's distinctive past—including Afro-Brazilian cuisine (Freyre's contribution to the Regionalist Congress of 1926, in which he later claimed to have played the central role).³³

Freyre was central to the group in a number of ways. His training and charm

Twentieth Century, Jack E. Tomlins, trans. (New York, 1970), pt. 1; and his *História da inteligência brasileira*, 7 vols. (São Paulo, 1977), vol. 6; João Cruz Costa, *A History of Ideas in Brazil: The Development of Philosophy in Brazil and the Evolution of National History*, Suzette Macedo, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1964), 249–55; and Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1978), 87, 98–100. On *modernismo*, see Martins, *Modernist Idea*; Antonio Candido, *Literatura e sociedade*, 5th edn. (São Paulo, 1976), 160–67; Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis* (Gainesville, Fla., 1958), 258–70. The Tenentes' revolts were military uprisings led by the so-called *tenentes* (lieutenants). These young men, military officers often of that rank, twice attempted (1922 in Rio, and 1926 in São Paulo) to overthrow the Old Republic by launching defiant revolts and calling for a general revolution on the part of the public. They were associated with a nationalist idealism and a condemnation of the backwardness and corruption of the regime; parallels in other contemporary Latin American armies (or other armies in the Third World) are clear. See Virgínio Santa Rosa, *O sentido do tenentismo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1933); John D. Wirth, "Tenentismo, the Brazilian Revolution of 1930," *HAHR*, 44 (May 1964): 229–42; José Murilo de Carvalho, "As forças armadas na Primeira República," in Boris Fausto, ed., *História geral da civilização brasileira* (São Paulo, 1977), t. 3, v. 2: 183–234; Neill Macaulay, *The Prestes Column: Revolution in Brazil* (New York, 1974).

³³ On *regionalismo* and *modernismo*, see Martins, *Modernist Idea*, 111–19, 142–56, 285–88; Castello, *Jose Lins do Rego*, pt. 1; Barros, *A década 20 em Pernambuco*, pt. 2; Levine, *Pernambuco*, 66–70; Francisco de Assis Barbosa, "Milagre de Uma Vida," in Manuel Bandeira, *Manuel Bandeira*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1958), 1: lxxxv–xc. On Freyre's role, see his articles in *Tempo de aprendiz* and *Artigos*; and Jardim, "Prefácio," 16–33. There has been considerable dispute over Freyre's role in the 1926 regionalist congress. Joaquim Inojosa has made the case that Freyre exaggerated his leadership by publishing a manifesto in 1952 that defined the regionalist movement, a manifesto that Freyre deceptively claimed was delivered to the congress in 1926. See, on this and other aspects of *regionalismo* and its linkages to *modernismo*, Joaquim Inojosa, *Sursum corda!: Desfaz-se o "equivoco" do manifesto* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981); or his *O movimento modernista em Pernambuco*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1968–69). There is a clear parallel between the turn to *regionalismo* (with its new valuation of folkloric roots) and the influence of the European *avant garde's* "modern" sensibility in Brazil and similar developments throughout contemporary Latin America, for example, Argentina's *regionalista* writers, the Afro-Cuban preoccupations of Alejo Carpentier and Fernando Ortiz Fernandez, the aesthetic and political trajectory of Peru's José Carlos Mariátegui, and the postrevolutionary aesthetic and intellectual explosion in Mexico. See Jean Franco, *An Introduction to Spanish-American Literature* (Cambridge, 1969), chap. 7; Richard M. Morse, *A volta de McLuhanáima* (São Paulo, 1990), chap. 4, esp. 182–86; Charles Martin, "Literature, Music and Art of Latin America, 1870–1930," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cambridge History of Latin America*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1986–), 4: 433–526.

made him a resource and a natural leader. He was credited by *regionalismo's* outstanding novelist, José Lins do Rego, with a creative, decisive influence on the style and substance of his writing. Others, too, were drawn to a more self-conscious creative position through Freyre's work as a columnist, his conversation, and his aesthetic rehabilitation of local civilization. Finally, Freyre, through his hostility toward the more influential *modernista* movement, helped distinguish *regionalismo* by defining it in contrast to the southern school.³⁴

All in all, Freyre's return to Recife was decisive for him. The voyage home, begun in the old accounts studied abroad, was completed in its first phase by the embrace of a regional past and culture, which he rehabilitated and helped define in reaction to local "modernization" and *paulista modernismo*. He fought to recover the Recife of his childhood, but he had not forgotten his proposed study of Brazil's childhood. By the late 1920s, now the state governor's secretary, he returned to this project. He wrote to Manuel Bandeira of his plans, binding the poet to strictest confidence.³⁵ What Freyre asked was help in securing both old sources and new studies—modern legitimization for his project to construct a past. He described his hopes and the books he had acquired with his public official's salary, noting,

This work and this collection of books . . . is linked to a study, from the psychological and historical point of view, that has held me for years . . . a study of the life of the child in Brazil . . . One more year and a half [and] I am free of these government complications and of [this] confrontation with [government] opposition elements who are without scruple—affairs that call for bullets and whips. I cannot stay in politics. It would end badly. But one and a half years from now [and] I am free—and I only see one thing capable of interesting me, [and] that would be that study. It is a virgin, original field.³⁶

³⁴ See Castello, *José Lins do Rego*; Jardim, "Prefácio"; José Lins do Rego, "Prefácio," Gilberto Freyre, *Região e tradição* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941); and Freyre's writings in *ibid.*, "Algumas notas sobre a pintura no Nordeste do Brasil," "Região, tradição e cozinha," and "Regresso à provincia."

³⁵ Gilberto Freyre to Meu caro Baby Flag [Recife], December 6, 1929, MB47 III211, Arquivo Manuel Bandeira, Centro de Literatura Brasileira, Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa (hereafter, AMB). ("Baby Flag" was a pet name Freyre used for Manuel Bandeira, the youngest sibling of his family, whose last family name means "flag" in English, the language whose poetry was a common ground between the two literati.) On his 1920s studies, see Gilberto Freyre to Max Fleiuss, Recife, April 16, 1927, L347P76, Arquivo Histórico, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (hereafter, AHIHGB). Meneses claims Lins do Rego was also in on the idea (*Gilberto Freyre*, 113). Meneses, Freyre's cousin, also offers (113–14), if only briefly, an analysis similar to mine: that there was linkage between Freyre's search for childhood and his reintegration into Recife and Brazil (contrast Freston, "A carreira," 37, who demonstrates the autobiographical and historical consequences without such an analysis). Freyre himself, unsurprisingly, was rather self-conscious about what he was doing, as his introduction to "Social Life" suggests. He recorded, for example, in *Tempo morto*, 134, his reaction to his Recife return: "Through sentiment I already feel the restitution to my Brazilian infancy . . . [T]his is the principal [matter]: this sentimental recuperation. The intellectual adaptation is secondary." This sense of recovery was closely tied to Freyre's preoccupation with regional cuisine (his offering to the Regional Congress of 1926 and something Meneses mentions, 113–14), a sentimental, sensuous attachment that had figured in his visits to the Lima household in Washington. Many readers will recall how this subliminal tie to national cuisine, childhood, and national identification has a superb, parallel evocation in the concluding pages of Alejo Carpentier's *El recurso del método* (*novela*) (Mexico City, 1974).

³⁶ Gilberto Freyre to Meu caro Baby Flag, December 6, 1929.

Old sources and new studies were to make for a fruitful conjunction, but the book Freyre finally wrote was to be a different one. The political conflicts he disdained forced themselves upon him. A revolution intervened.

THE UNSCRUPULOUS OPPOSITION MERITING BULLETS AND WHIPS is one of only a few references in Freyre's writings from the 1920s to an extraordinary period of class conflict in Pernambuco. Just as in the urban centers of the south, workers in Recife had begun to organize. One memoir alludes to the influence of Russia's 1917 revolution and another to the rise of leaders of state-wide fame. In the cane fields, the economic difficulties of the era felt from Cuba to Brazil pitted cane farmers against *usineiros* and drove the rural proletariat from the wretched horror of the *safrá* to the sordid squalor of burgeoning urban shantytowns.³⁷ In this context, Governor Estácio Coimbra, a representative of both the old plantocracy and the newer *usineiro* interests, apparently sought to maintain the status quo by a combination of reform, political charm (for the powerful), and ready police action (for the proletariat).³⁸

Such a political balancing act, either in Pernambuco or other states, hardly helped avoid a growing sense of crisis and malaise. While many intellectuals throughout Brazil responded politically to the increasingly obvious incompetence of the Old Republic,³⁹ Freyre's preoccupations with regionalist cultural particularism were seemingly uncolored by any sustained concern with such matters, despite his public position. Nothing in his contemporary writing suggests anything but shock and disdain for the Revolution of 1930, which focused the alienation of urban groups and dissident local oligarchies on the corruption and failures of the regime. Freyre wrote of the revolution in Pernambuco in terms of personal ill-fortune, like an event of nature, of which anonymous, selfish, and brutal forces took advantage, destroying a selfless statesman (Coimbra) and greedily violating traditionally sacrosanct property rights. The selective destruction of his family's

³⁷ *Usineiros* are the owners of the highly mechanized (and capitalized) sugar mills, *usinas*, which emerged throughout the Americas in the increasingly competitive world of late nineteenth-century sugar (in Cuba, they were called *centrales*). *Safrá* means the harvest of the sugar cane, a period when plantation workers labored under terrible conditions most hours of the twenty-four in order to bring the ripe cane into production rapidly and limit the loss of liquid that began immediately after it was cut. On the era analyzed in the paragraph, see Barros, *A década 20 em Pernambuco*, pt. 1; Levine, *Pernambuco*, chaps. 1, 2; Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Centro de Pesquisas e Documentação [hereafter, FGV/CPD], "Barbosa Lima Sobrinho (depoimento, 1977)" (Rio de Janeiro, 1981), *entrevistas* 1-3, *passim*. On Cuba, see Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom* (New York, 1971), chaps. 46-47. A succinct comparative survey of the sugar cane industry and labor in the era immediately preceding this is Rebecca J. Scott, "Defining the Boundaries of Freedom in the World of Cane: Cuba, Brazil, and Louisiana after Emancipation," *AHR*, 99 (February 1994): 70-102.

³⁸ See Barros, *A década 20 em Pernambuco*, chap. 3; Levine, *Pernambuco*, chap. 4, esp. 70, 80, 83, 90, 121; FGV/CPD, "Barbosa," 30-48; Gilberto Freyre, "Estácio Coimbra, governador de Pernambuco," in *Perfil*, 185-96.

³⁹ On the intellectuals' response, see Costa, *History of Ideas in Brazil*, 240-71, *passim*; Bolívar Lamounier, "Formação de um pensamento político autoritária na Primeira República," in *História geral da civilização brasileira*, t. 3, v. 2, chap. 10; Peter Flynn, *Brazil: A Political Analysis* (Boulder, Colo., 1978), chap. 3. An introduction to the milieu is best provided by the recent reedition of a seminal anthology first published in 1924: Vicente Licínio Cardoso, org., *À margem da história da República*, 2 vols. (Brasília, 1981).

residence is something that deeply affected him: references to it appear repeatedly in his correspondence, diary, and the memoirs of his circle.⁴⁰

Freyre had identified Coimbra with an aristocratic, enlightened, planter tradition; now, that had passed. The deposed governor asked Freyre to accompany him into exile. Freyre shared Coimbra's impoverished flight to Salvador and then to Lisbon, living hand to mouth in borrowed clothes. In a matter of a month or two, Freyre had gone from a position of power and patronage to one of genteel penury in Portugal. Only his intellectual occupations were left to him there. A network of patronage allowed him to pursue his research in private libraries and restricted collections. Then, Freyre's relations in the United States came to his aid. Percy A. Martin, Stanford's Latin Americanist and a specialist in Brazilian history, impressed with Oliveira Lima's protégé and his thesis published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, arranged for Freyre's appointment as a visiting professor of history at Stanford in 1931.⁴¹

At this point, Freyre's correspondence indicates that his proposed great work remained a study of Brazilian childhood. He had researched it in Portugal and must have anticipated continuing to do so in the collection of Brazilianiana that Branner had left to Stanford; he also wrote home for more recent Brazilian social-science works.⁴² Between the nourishing past (Portugal) and the supportive present (Stanford and social science), Freyre focused on self-discovery through the recovery of a lost childhood. A stop in Dakar made en route to Lisbon had brought no apparent shift in focus to Africa instead. Indeed, I can find no direct evidence from 1930 to 1932 of what might have submerged Freyre's preoccupation with children's socialization within another study. But there is clear evidence in the preface to *Casa grande* to suggest that Freyre's turn to a valuation of Brazil's patriarchy, racial hierarchy, and miscegenation occurred when he returned to the United States.

The context is suggestive. In Stanford, Freyre was once again expected to explain (and, in effect, defend) his country to foreigners, the experience that had been the germ of his master's thesis a decade earlier. National comparisons must have been much on his mind when, at term's end, he decided to cross the United States through the South. He traveled with two former Columbia colleagues, by

⁴⁰ On Freyre's response to the revolution, see Julio Bello to Meu caro Gilberto, Queimados, July 24, 1926, AHFGF; Francisco de Assis Barbosa, interview; Magdalena Freyre, interview; Gilberto to Meu caro amigo [Oliveira Lima], Recife, December 4, 1926, *Cartas*, 219–20; Gilberto to Ulysses [Freyre, Gilberto's older brother], Lisbon, December 18, 1930, *Cartas*, 279; Gilberto to Dearest Baby Flag, December 4, 1930, *Cartas*, 155; Freyre, "Estacio Coimbra," 185; Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 237–38, 246–48; Freyre, *Perfil*, 169; Meneses, *Gilberto Freyre*, 142–43. Compare Freston, "A carreira," 34–35. On the revolution itself, see the references in note 5 above; further orientation is provided in the bibliographical essay Fausto wrote, "Society and Politics," in Bethell, *Brazil*, 340. For the revolution in Pernambuco, see the oral testimony in FGV/CPD, "Barbosa."

⁴¹ On the exile, see Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 246–51; Freyre, "Estacio Coimbra"; on the continued studies, see besides *Tempo morto*, 246–51, *Casa grande*, ix–xi; Gilberto Freyre to Max Fleuiss, Lisbon, November 6, 1930, L472P14, *Coleção Max Fleuiss*, AHIHGB. On Stanford, see Gilberto to Dear Baby Flag, Lisbon, n.d., MB47, III212, AMB; Martin to Robinson, February 5, 1931; telegram, E. E. Robinson to Gilberto Freyre, Palo Alto, February 12, 1931; telegram, Gilberto Freyre to Edgar Robinson, Lisbon, February 14, 1931; Gilberto Freyre to Professor Robinson, Lisbon, February 26, 1931, all courtesy SCSUL.

⁴² Gilberto to Dear Baby Flag, Lisbon, n.d., MB47 III212, AMB; Gilberto to Dear Flag, Stanford, June 9 [1931], MB47 III213, AMB.

then scholars of Brazilian slavery and the South, Ruediger Bilden and Francis Butler Simkins.⁴³

Freyre had known something of the South as a Baylor student. His wife later recalled that he had been shocked by the violence of the Ku Klux Klan.⁴⁴ As noted earlier, his master's thesis partly focused on what might easily have been an implicit comparison with southern racism, in his apologia for Brazilian slavery during the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁵ The trip through the Deep South, then, accompanied by two scholars sensitive to the issue of comparative slavery, was a return to a set of earlier concerns but with a perspective profoundly affected by a decade of experience. The master's thesis had gilded a society Freyre had glimpsed through the eyes of his childhood, the memories of his aged planter kinfolk, and the evaluation of foreign travelers. He had branched out from it, by his late twenties, into renewed research on childhood socialization in old Brazil. His intermediate embrace of *regionalismo* could be understood as the glorification of a past society whose essential nature he also continued to associate with his childhood. The link between all three interests, thesis topic, *regionalismo*, and renewed research on childhood, was a personal search to redeem his own childhood and its context, the planter patriarchy of Pernambuco.

At this point, however, the continuities with the world in which he had grown up, and to which he constructed a return in 1922, had collapsed. Pernambuco's patriarchal *ancien régime*, still palpable in the Old Republic, was reeling from an uncontained, ideologically threatening political revolution galvanized by profound social and economic conflicts. The house of his fathers, both literally and figuratively, had been destroyed. The continuities with the past were threatened—and, with them, the personal search for identity on which Freyre's student exile had set him.

The fundamental similarities with and contrasts to old Pernambuco that Freyre encountered in the South confronted him with the question of his national as well as his personal identity again, and he bound them together. In 1921, Freyre had attempted a straightforward narrative analysis of mid-nineteenth-century Brazil, putting aside a sociological interest in the playthings of childhood to study past society as a whole. In Recife, in the late 1920s, successfully involved in *regionalismo*, he shifted back to an intimate study of childhood socialization. Now, he would tie the two together; he would join his search for a lost childhood with a search for the society challenged by the fearsome modern forces he associated with the Revolution of 1930. In essence, Freyre, in exile once again, seems to have decided to fight back. His project was to reconstruct Brazil's past as the nation's childhood, thus defining and defending its essential identity and, with it, his own. Something of this is made explicit through Freyre's evocation of Marcel Proust in the introduction to *Casa grande*:

⁴³ Freyre, *Casa grande*, x–xi; Freyre also mentions the influence of Ernest Weaver, a colleague in Boas's class. Simkins had already written *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Durham, N.C., 1926); *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1932) was apparently under way.

⁴⁴ Magdalena Freyre, interview.

⁴⁵ See Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 33; and compare Freyre, "Social Life," 607–08, 614.

The study of the intimate history of a people has something of a Proustian introspection to it . . . [O]ne senses the character of a people [in the analysis of everyday family life]. Studying domestic life in the past, we feel ourselves completed bit by bit: it is another way of searching for "lost time."⁴⁶

As before, Freyre had his vision of Brazil while abroad, but this time, he returned to his country to construct its past. It had been in Brazil that he had lost his father's house, and it would be in Brazil that he would rebuild it. And this time, Freyre would write of a *casa grande e senzala*—a big house and a slave hut. Freyre sought to contain the new forces that had arisen and engulfed the old ways in 1930. He sought to address, indirectly, the conflicts he had ignored in the 1920s by vindicating the social order that they had rent in two. He turned to Brazil's majority—its people of color—but only to return them to "their place." Freyre would reach out to the masses by reaching down to his servants and back to his past. The 1921 pastiche of the slaves singing in the fields would be made flesh in the celebrated form of the *mulata*: the mixed-race object of sexual desire.

FREYRE HAD CONFRONTED THE QUESTION OF HIS IDENTITY when he beheld his countrymen through foreign eyes: at Columbia, beginning his study of foreign travelers' accounts, he came upon Brazilian mulatto sailors and recalled the racist response of foreigners. As a Brazilian abroad, Freyre felt compelled to identify with people whom he most likely would have ignored in Recife. If they were the same as he, what was the link? If they were part of the same nation, what was their role in it? What did their physical and social condition, so easily fitted within the offhand racism of the era, suggest about the fate of the nation, much of which was made up of similar people? In a letter regarding the incident written in 1921 to Oliveira Lima, Freyre linked it to a racist preoccupation with miscegenation:

Have you read *The Rise of the Color Tide* and *The Passing of a Great Race*? . . . They are interesting studies of the race problem, mixing, etc., from which our Brazil suffers. We need to oppose the white immigrant to the "*salt atroz*" [*sic*]. The more I study the problem from the Brazilian point of view, the more alarmed I get. I noted the crew of the *Minas* the other day: 75 percent must be people of color.⁴⁷

Nonetheless, the joined issues of racism and miscegenation had gone largely unresolved in the early 1920s. Freyre emphasized the glories of the planters in his thesis; when he mentioned planter miscegenation, he defended its results on racist grounds: he argued that mulattoes were often naturally able and socially mobile, as the children of aristocratic white fathers.⁴⁸ In his mid-1920s essays on regionalism, the same focus on planters is present. Slaves again provide only a

⁴⁶ Freyre, *Casa grande*, xx.

⁴⁷ Gilberto Freyre to Meu caro amigo, New York, February 18, 1921, *Cartas*, 175. *Salta atrás* (literally, "jump back") is a particularly telling, racist regionalism for a person of mixed black and mulatto origin; the *Minas*, one of the prides of the Brazilian navy, was the battleship whose crew concerned Freyre. The titles Freyre cites are apparently references to Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (New York, 1920); and Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History*, 3d rev. edn. (New York, 1920).

⁴⁸ Freyre, "Social Life," 611.

happy and exotic tone. Yet, although these essays recall the thesis in this regard, there is an important addition—a positive treatment of Afro-Brazilian contributions and an aesthetic, sexual valuation of Afro-Brazilian women: “the *mulatas*, with much hip swinging, their hair fragrant with coconut oil, their breasts jumping inside their lace blouses, their trinkets tinkling like bells, the light *mulatas* even more vain than the others with their reds and yellows that they used to color their clothes, . . . [entered the dance] to tap with their little slippers.”⁴⁹ Thus Freyre still replicated his sources’ perspective. He recreated the society from the outside, the view of the travelers’ accounts. But, as the sensual description of the *mulatas* suggests, a significant shift occurred in what he made of the society observed. It was not simply the championship of Afro-Brazilian cuisine in 1926; there was a glimpse of a general appreciation of an Afro-Brazilian contribution, a sketch of what was later developed fully in *Casa grande*. In a pivotal 1925 essay, “Aspectos de um século de transição no Nordeste do Brasil” (Aspects of a Century of Transition in Brazil’s Northeast), Freyre was already writing,

It is fitting to recall the . . . Negress of the stove . . . [i]nfluencing nutrition as she influenced the social type—influenced social morality itself—we all underwent, in this regard, African influence . . .

Nor let it go unnoticed that the melodic sensibility [and] the rhythmic sense were developed in the Northeastern child under the principal influence of the songs of African flavor with which at another time the chambermaid and, still today, his grandmother or his own mother made him sleep.⁵⁰

More important, in this same essay, while Freyre accepted that miscegenation was a cultural pathology, he reversed Raymundo Nina Rodrigues’s claim that miscegenation was at the root of a biological pathology.⁵¹ He argued, “Would not the mixing, on the contrary, have brought to the Brazilian appearance a note of new beauty . . . Would not the mixing have given to the Brazilian a special resistance to the climate in certain respects . . . hostile to whites and favorable to people of color?”⁵²

In the mid-1920s, Freyre had begun to touch on what would be the main themes of his great work. In these quotations, it is clear that his perceptions of Africans and Afro-Brazilians were racist; yet, in the Brazil and the United States of his time, such views marked a significant advance. He was, as a subordinate part of his reevaluation of regional civilization, placing Afro-Brazilian elements in a positive and active light, rather than ignoring them as passive or condemning them as corrupting elements, the prevailing assumption among Brazilians at the time. But

⁴⁹ Freyre, *Região*, 179–80, 182. This essay, “Aspectos de um século de transição no Nordeste do Brasil,” was Freyre’s contribution to the 1925 centenary celebration of the *Diário de Pernambuco*, which took the form of a book, *O livro do Nordeste*, which Freyre was commissioned to edit. The essay is, to my mind, the true antecedent of *Casa grande e senzala* and the key transition between his thesis and his great work.

⁵⁰ Freyre, *Região*, 183–84.

⁵¹ Raymundo Nina Rodrigues (1862–1906), an Afro-Brazilian medical professor and pathologist, was a great pioneer of Afro-Brazilian studies; trained in the era of scientific racism, however, he also made his mark as a proponent of Afro-Brazilian racial inferiority. See Freyre, *Perfil*, 211–18; Skidmore, *Black into White*, 57–62; Dain Borges, “‘Puffy, Ugly, Slothful, and Inert’: Degeneration in Brazilian Social Thought, 1880–1940,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 25 (1993): 235–56.

⁵² Freyre, *Região*, 185.

the reassessment of the Afro-Brazilian role was tangential to his focus. Until 1930, the project he had in mind centered on childhood, not race relations. If the 1925 essay is any indication, in such a project race would have remained a secondary element. It was the experience of 1930–1931, the revolution and the trip through the South, that had apparently brought race to the fore, as he sought to come to grips with the specificity of the old Brazil he mourned.

In the company of his former Columbia colleagues in the Deep South, Freyre recovered the teachings of Boas as he compared race relations in the realm of Jim Crow to his perception of Brazil. He noted the similarities in the institutions thrown up by slave plantations and the differences, which were apparently rooted in the masters' language, race, and religion.⁵³ In Brazil's case, these were Portuguese, Iberian, and Catholic elements: ethnicity and culture. Here, Freyre sought the basis of such different historical race relations—hostile separation as opposed to a familiar miscegenation, conflictual exclusion as opposed to a harmonious racial patriarchy.⁵⁴ The transitions in his introduction show the logic in his thinking. He relates, in order, the journey through the South, the incident with the Brazilian sailors, the issue of miscegenation and Brazil's racial predicament, and then his debt to Boas, the source of the cultural solution to that predicament.⁵⁵

Boas has rightfully been accepted from the beginning as *Casa grande's* patron saint. It was he, after all, who broke away from commonly accepted, late nineteenth-century scientific racism to suggest the importance of culture as a contributing factor to (though not the exclusive cause of) racial differences.⁵⁶ By providing this cultural alternative to inherent African inferiority as an explanation for such differences, Boas offered Freyre a way out of the taint implied by his mulatto countrymen. Freyre would reconstruct the escape route into a triumphal entry.

There are inklings of this use of culture in "Aspects of a Century of Transition." In *Casa grande*, Freyre does not simply counter negative racist determinism and argue that Brazilians were not irrevocably cursed by racial taint; rather, he holds that they have benefited by the race mixing natural to Brazil's particular slave society, which, despite its corruptions, had its own splendor. "Let us have the honesty," he wrote, "to recognize that only great landholding and slaveholding colonization could have been capable of resisting the enormous obstacles that were raised against the European civilization of Brazil. Only the big house and the slave hut."⁵⁷ The mulatto, born of the union of the master of the big house and

⁵³ Freyre, *Casa grande*, xi.

⁵⁴ Here, as in "Social Life," Freyre is repeating the common assumptions and perceptions regarding comparative race relations in the two countries. Miscegenation, for example, was common and clear in the United States; it was perceived to be far more common and important in Brazil, and mulattoes were thought to enjoy much greater social mobility.

⁵⁵ Freyre, *Casa grande*, xi.

⁵⁶ On Boas, see the anthology of his work and the useful commentary in Franz Boas, *The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883–1911*, George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. (New York, 1974), esp. 189–91 and following; see also Michael P. Banton, *Racial Theories* (Cambridge, 1987), 79. On *Casa grande* and Boas, see *Casa grande*, xi, 318 n.1, 319 n.1, 323; Freyre, *Perfil*, 67; Francisco de Assis Barbosa, interview; Darcy Ribeiro, "Prólogo," Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande y senzala* (1933; Caracas, 1977), xx–xxii.

⁵⁷ Freyre, *Casa grande*, 274.

the slave of the hut, was the essence of this strength, for he derived from and facilitated Brazil's triumph—the accommodation and adaptation of the two races in the tropics:

The strength, or, better, the potential of Brazilian culture seems to us to reside wholly in the wealth of its balanced antagonisms . . . Not that in Brazilians subsist, as in the Anglo American, two antagonistic halves, black and white; that of the ex-master and ex-slave. In no way. We are two, fraternal halves . . . that come mutually enriched by diverse values and experiences when we complete one another in one whole.⁵⁸

This celebration of patriarchal slavery and race mixing is the key to Freyre's work. To arrive there, Freyre had begun by using Boas to attack the central ideological charge against his nation—the generally accepted idea that Brazil was inevitably crippled by its African heritage, because the African slaves had transferred their racial corruption to Brazil through extensive "interbreeding." The use of Boas allowed Freyre, first, to refute the problem of an *inherent*, racial corruption by refuting the idea that social characteristics linked to race were transferred through birth and, second, to pose the issue as one of culture, specifically, a culture generated through miscegenation. Freyre's focus on supposed racial corruption and miscegenation led to their patriarchal origins, as he understood them to be the socio-cultural legacy of the Brazilian plantation.

The result brought him to a new evaluation of all the constituent elements of colonial plantation society. The research on childhood had given him a broad knowledge of colonial society, Portuguese culture, and family life. After 1931, he turned to a reexamination of Africans, Amerindians, and miscegenation within the confines of a racial, patriarchal hierarchy. If miscegenation were the origin of most Brazilians, and if, as he had realized in his studies, it was inextricably associated with Brazil's beginnings under Portuguese colonialism and the plantation, then this was the *locus classicus* of the nation. Brazilian origins would have to be rehabilitated if the slur against the nation's essential identity were to be erased.

Freyre did so with unnerving candor. To engage with the issue of miscegenation as the key to Brazilian origins was also to address sexuality and gender relations between the races. No one who reads *Casa grande* and *Sobrados e mucambos* is unaware of their pervasive sexual charge. While a reader might not be surprised to see sex arise in books on miscegenation, Freyre, in a shocking break with the proprieties of his society and literary culture,⁵⁹ not only presented miscegenation as basic to the national identity and culture but also praised it, described sexuality as pervasive, and used coitus as a metaphor for racial and social hierarchy.

Perhaps biography helps to explain his approach. For, just as one might argue that Freyre was searching for his cultural and personal identity in the 1920s, one can also argue that he was simultaneously searching for his sexual identity. Indeed, he was apparently attempting to reach closure on all counts in the 1930s in the great book at issue here. In his published diary and an interview printed in

⁵⁸ Freyre, *Casa grande*, 377.

⁵⁹ José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, Freyre's cousin, noted that the work was considered pornographic by some, especially by the religious, in an interview, January 30, 1991, Recife.

Freyre's eightieth year, a number of missing facts surface.⁶⁰ First, it becomes clear that Freyre was caught up in the era of sexual experimentation that followed World War I, and he thought of his own sexual experience and that of others as a measure of cultural and ethnic difference. Second, much of Freyre's celebration of miscegenation derives from an evocation of the sexual relationship between privileged white boys and *mulata* servants.⁶¹ It is now evident that Freyre was partly generalizing from a crucial experience of his own. He discloses in the interview that his first sexual intercourse took place with a woman, a family servant whose physical description appeared in *Casa grande: a morena*, with small feet.⁶² Third, Freyre reveals that he experimented with homosexual intercourse in the early 1920s. He maintains that he did so only in Europe and that the experiment was a failure; he thereafter rejected coitus with males as a personal preference.⁶³

The new information suggests that Freyre, at the time when he was defining himself intellectually, from fifteen to twenty-three, was also doing so sexually, and as part of the same process. His penchant for the woman of his first coital experience endured his whole life long, at least in terms of memory and sexual aesthetics.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, his exile from Brazil and his embrace of a cosmopolitan intellectual life at Columbia and in Europe was matched by sexual experiments with a young blonde American "puritan," a sexually mature Cuban, others of the varied women of Columbia, Greenwich Village, and a number of European capitals, as well as a brief fling with European males.⁶⁵ His return to Recife was also a return to the sexual use of *mulatas*: "that which feminine Recife has which is most *recifense* and that comes in a variety of colors . . . The hot colors of flesh with which one cannot compare the clinical white."⁶⁶ Freyre's embrace of a patriarchal past was not only figurative; in a personal sense, it was quite literal. Freyre's return home was a return to dominant sexual and racial relations and a rejection of the cosmopolitan sexual experimentation of his early youth.

Miscegenation and identity with patriarchy are key here. For Freyre to engage the issue of Brazilian origins at the level of race mixing was to address sexuality and gender relations between the races. I have suggested how these issues are linked to Freyre's sexual journey back to a remembered sexual past; now let us explore how they bear on his intellectual journey to a similar, larger construction.

⁶⁰ See Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 6–7, 52–53, 61, 63, 74, 75, 76–77, 80, 87–88, 91, 92, 166; and Ricardo Noblat, "Playboy entrevista Gilberto Freyre," *Playboy*, 5 (March 1980): 27–37, esp. 29–30.

⁶¹ See the discussion of miscegenation in the text just below for a close analysis of this point and the appropriate documentation.

⁶² See Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 6–7; and Noblat, "Playboy," 29; I mean to argue that it is the evocation of this lover that appears in *Casa grande* and *Sobrados e mucambos*, where he discusses the special attractions of small-footed *mulatas* and the attractions and sexual relations between small boys and *mucamas*. *Morena* is a racial euphemism for a person who is darker than white in complexion; it can mean a person of African descent but does not have to. *Mucama* refers to a female domestic servant of African descent, generally assigned to attend a specific person.

⁶³ Noblat, "Playboy," 29, 30; compare Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 91, 92, where he notes the accessibility of attractive blond boys, prostituting themselves in the wretched poverty of postwar Berlin, and 170–71, where he notes the homoerotic milieu at Oxford and Cambridge.

⁶⁴ Noblat, "Playboy," 29.

⁶⁵ See the references in nn. 60 and 63 above.

⁶⁶ Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 142; compare 172, 207, 216, 231. The quotation refers to the women available to him through a procuress.

IN *CASA GRANDE AND SOBRADOS E MUCAMPOS*, Freyre ties sadism, sexuality, and racial domination together both explicitly and implicitly, in a gendered account in which the Brazilian white male creates Brazil through a dominating intercourse atop women of color, an intercourse that Freyre writes of as natural and creative but that might now be perceived as rape. These women are objectified into willing, sensuous creatures made for sexual gratification. They are accessible by their nature and by their natural position in the social hierarchy. Sadism comes in by way of hierarchy—Freyre notes it in two explicitly related activities: sexual relations and servile relations. The white male child learns to look to servants of color for sensual gratification and sadistic pleasure. Power, penetration, and punishment were naturally arranged from the top down. In a passage in which Freyre sought to defend Africans from the traditional charge of introducing sexual depravity into Brazilian society, Boas and sexual domination are both brought to bear:

The . . . African became a decided pathogenic agent in the midst of Brazilian society. Because of "racial inferiority," shout the Aryanist sociologists. But against these shouts arises the historical evidence—the cultural and principally the economic circumstances—within which contact between white and black took place in Brazil. The Negro was pathogenic but at the service of the white, as a nonresponsible part of a system articulated by others.

In the social and economic conditions favorable to masochism and to sadism created by Portuguese colonization . . . and in the Brazilian slavocratic system of agrarian organization, in the division of the society into all-powerful masters and into passive slaves is where the principal causes must be sought for the abuse of Negroes by whites, through the sadistic forms of love that are so accentuated among us.⁶⁷

Freyre's (self) exploration led him to portray Brazilians, by which he implicitly meant Brazilians who were white elite males, as driven by their libidos and the sensual ambiance of the tropics to a predatory, unceasing search for penetration. Initially, any orifice reminiscent (however vaguely) of a woman's vagina would do; later, inevitably, they must perforce move on to Afro-Brazilian women themselves. In this fashion, such women were reduced to being part of the passive, sensual, accessible flora and fauna by which white males begat Brazil:

The children of the sons of the sugar planters slipped into . . . vices, in which, partly through the effect of the climate and more as a consequence of the life conditions created by the slavocratic system, they always anticipated their sexual activity by way of sadistic and bestial practices. The first victims were the young black riff-raff [*os muleques*] and domestic animals; later, the great bog of flesh came: the Negress or the mulatta. It was in there that was lost, as in greedy sand, much insatiable adolescence.

Because of this, the Negress or mulatta is blamed for the too-early erotic life and for the sexual dissolution of the Brazilian boy. With the same logic they could blame the domestic animals; the banana tree; the watermelon; the fruit of the mandacará, with its sticky and

⁶⁷ Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 358–59. The attack on Aryanist sociologists is doubtless meant for Francisco José de Oliveira Viana (1883–1951), Brazil's most prominent social thinker in the 1920s. See n. 72 below. My summation here derives from a close reading of 80–81, 90, 303–04, 348–59, 378–82, 403, 425, 427, 437, 461, 467.

almost fleshy astringency. For all were objects in which was exercised—and still are exercised—the sexual precocity of the Brazilian boy.⁶⁸

Sexual activity with *white* females is mentioned much more briefly in *Casa grande*. Freyre did not treat that subject in a general way until 1936, with the sequel, *Sobrados e mucambos*. In both books, he addresses white women's sexuality as centered on an act of shame and terror, a wretched coupling in which cloistered doll-girls are deflowered and passive matriarchs repeatedly impregnated, a frightening tragedy whose last acts are women's premature aging, obesity, and death in childbirth.⁶⁹

For Freyre, sexual activity and racial domination are metaphors for one another, and they form the matrix for Brazilian society. By generalizing a dominant sexual role associated with *mulatas* as the essential act of national creation, Freyre was affirming his own ambiguous heterosexuality and legitimizing his enduring taste for a relationship he first experienced as an adolescent, a union between a privileged white male and an accessible woman of color. Freyre's obsession with reconstructing a seigneurial past might have Freyre's sexual identity as an integral part of its intensely personal drive. In short, Freyre was affirming his nationality, his family status, and his heterosexuality all at once in his sexual relations with *mulatas*. Here, Winthrop Jordan's phrase, white over black,⁷⁰ is rendered both sexual and gendered. Freyre, too, constructed the image of his slave society as white over black—but in the explicitly coital sense and, thus, as a society that legitimizes miscegenous rape as its initial and ongoing basis.

IF FREYRE RESOLVED THE CHALLENGE OF MISCEGENATION and his own sexual identity in *Casa grande*, he also grappled with that of modernity vis-à-vis traditional patriarchy. Here, he took up the struggle he had initiated in *regionalismo*. *Casa grande* articulates miscegenation into the central definition of the Brazilian society that Freyre had been putting together in the 1920s. This construction, the reader may recall, was initiated by Freyre's master's thesis and continued in conferences and essays of the period. It was a static and benign apologia for the provincial planter elite projected onto the mid-nineteenth century. Yet it had another aspect, an anti-liberal authoritarianism attached to an idealization of benevolent, autocratic hierarchy.

In his letters, essays, and conferences, a seemingly incidental element is repeated too frequently to neglect. Oftentimes, Freyre, like many intellectuals of Brazil's first Old Republic generation, dismissed the representative, democratic, liberal ideology of the regime as inappropriate to Brazil, an exotic and false system, bankrupt abroad and failing at home. Freyre counterposed to it the idea of a state reflecting "organic" realities, even embracing monarchy and a paternalist syndicalism as natural to Brazil's patriarchal hierarchy. In at least one place, he also anticipated a crucial theme of *Casa grande* and *Sobrados e mucambos*: that

⁶⁸ Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 427. Compare 104, where Freyre recalls his own pastoral pleasures.

⁶⁹ See Freyre, *Casa grande*, chap. 4; and *Sobrados e mucambos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936), chap. 4, *passim*.

⁷⁰ Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968).

patriarchal hierarchy was the essential basis of Brazilian society, a society whose decline could be induced by the hierarchy's destruction through natural causes (the Great Drought of 1877, which eroded the Northeast's hinterland society) or socio-political forces (urban, liberal professionals, *bachareis*, alienated from the national reality).⁷¹ In these 1920s positions, Freyre approached the analysis of Oliveira Viana, with whose work Freyre was very familiar. However, both in the 1920s and 1930s, Freyre did not take the next step that Viana and other authoritarians did: corporatism. Rather than pose a "modern" solution, one claiming a scientific assessment of the nation's history and racial and social pathologies (Viana's path), Freyre lodged a protest, based on a historical reconstruction and evocation of colonial patriarchy. His brief mention of a kind of monarchical syndicalism never went further than suggestions; he neither sustained nor developed his prescriptions for the present or the future in this regard. Against the trauma of "modernization" so palpable in the 1920s and 1930s, Freyre offered only a profoundly reactionary mythology of the past.⁷²

In *Casa grande* and its sequel, Freyre argued that the natural origin and classical expression of Brazilian civilization was the colonial patriarchal racial hierarchy. In this civilization, the fortuitous libido and acculturative disposition of the Portuguese made it possible to create a society out of distinct racial elements in the tropics. The society was organic in that it evolved naturally, over time, in a congenial, familial harmonizing of tropical agriculture, two tropical races, and one dominating but adaptable race. The result took its ideal form in the seventeenth-century slave plantation and its offspring, the mulatto.⁷³

On this plantation, a cruel paternal figure begat heirs by his pedigreed child-bride and sired the Brazilian masses on his women of color. Men of color

⁷¹ In Freyre's writings, the distaste for liberalism emerges often, if without much development; the ideas concerning a syndicalist authoritarianism or monarchy are much less frequent. See Gilberto Freyre to Meu caro amigo [Oliveira Lima], Lisbon, January 26, 1923, *Cartas*, 206–07; Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 83–84, 85, 86–87, 149; *Tempo de aprendiz*, 1: 237, 277–78; *Região*, 50, 64–65, 68, 69, 75–76 [note in the latter mention of Oliveira Viana, *et al.*], 173, 174–75; *Perfil*, 11, 93, 106–07, 132–33, 134, 135–38, 140–41, 142, 143, 185. The paternalist syndicalism seems to derive from a reading of Georges Sorel and the influence of French rightist circles (for example, Charles Maurras); see *Tempo morto*'s Paris entries in the 1922 period, esp. 84–85, 86–87. Compare Meneses, *Gilberto Freyre*, 108–11. On patriarchy and its decline, see *Região*, 113, 166–68, 174, 188–94. The term *bacharel* (plural, *bachareis*) derived from the degree given someone completing law school or a university, was a title of great prestige and pretension. A *bacharel* was customarily addressed as *doutor* (doctor), and the designation was used, by extension, for the class of people who had achieved a higher education.

⁷² See the references in n. 39, above, particularly the Lamounier citation, for the intellectual reaction against the Old Republic. The most recent work on Oliveira Viana includes Elide Rugai Bastos, João Quartim de Moraes, orgs., *O pensamento de Oliveira Vianna* (Campinas, 1993); and Jeffrey D. Needell, "History, Race, and the State in the Thought of Oliveira Viana," *HAHR*, 75 (February 1995), forthcoming.

⁷³ These major themes are most clear, however dispersed, through the preface and the first and last two chapters of *Casa grande*; in *Sobrados e mucambos*, compare the first chapter to the last, which suggests the ideal by way of analysis of its decline. Note Freyre's sensitivity to comparative possibilities with the United States and the Caribbean in *Casa grande*, x, xi, 435–36. Freyre had identified the mid-nineteenth century as the culmination of the plantation ideal in the 1920s (see *Região*, 154); perhaps it was the continued research into the colonial period (and a desire for legitimization through a long tradition) that pushed his mythologizing back. The centrality of adaptation, acculturation, and balance between distinct, antagonistic elements, a theme central to Freyre, has been ably treated by Elide Rugai Bastos, "Gilberto Freyre e a Questão Nacional," in Reginaldo Moraes, Ricardo Antunes, and Vera B. Ferrante, orgs., *Inteligência brasileira* (São Paulo, 1986), esp. 48–57, 73–74.

performed the gang labor in the fields, singing all the while. African women brought this culture its exotic music and food, Amerindian women its wise folkways about the enveloping rain forest and rivers. Class and racial conflict did not exist, nor did contact with foreign ways, save for the occasional infusion of European blood by a new, adaptable Portuguese. Everything this society required, it made for itself, adapting the best aspects of an aristocratic Portugal to Brazilian realities—making *manuelino* furniture from tropical hardwoods, mingling the spiritual riches of Africa and America with a rich Portuguese Catholicism. Sugar was traded for only a few luxuries, and these came from mother Portugal. It was a complete society, devoid of conflict—creative, aristocratic, authoritarian, in organic, natural harmony with a special, exuberant nature.

Against this, the origin and essence of Brazil, Freyre arrayed the forces of “modernization.” The onus of patriarchal decline he assigned to urban life and commerce and associated with the Jew, their agent, all of which create and represent “modernity.” For the nineteenth century, Freyre substituted *bacharel* liberals, especially urban mulatto “upstarts,” for Jews as the “modernizing” agents of decline.

This attack on “modernity” requires some extended discussion, given its occasionally veiled nature and relative scholarly neglect.⁷⁴ It first appears in *Casa grande*’s passages on medieval Portuguese civilization, in which Freyre asserts a model for the Brazilian plantation in a static construction of a rural, Portuguese feudalism. This ideal, he avers, was perverted and forced into decline by Jews and the international, urban-based commerce over which they supposedly presided.⁷⁵ Later, Freyre argues that it was Jewish heredity and tradition that imparted prestige to urban professions and urban learning, the historical context for the rise of the liberal professionals and *bachareis* of the modern era. In the nineteenth century, such urban professionals were often mulattoes, who found in such roles their means of social ascent. In doing so, they undercut the authority of the ignorant rural patriarchs and provided the social base for an exotic and unnatural liberalism.⁷⁶ Thus the association in Freyre’s mind is clear—“modernization” (cities, class conflict, bourgeois values) undercut patriarchy (countryside, class

⁷⁴ Although Freyre’s embrace of tradition and his antagonism to “modernity” are generally recognized, they are rarely analyzed. I know of no careful attention to his use of Jews or the city or the mulatto liberal in this regard. Most analysis focuses on his use of miscegenation and championship of patriarchy (and thus his legitimization of the old agrarian elite). Among the most important recent critiques are Viotti da Costa, *Brazilian Empire*; Mota, *Ideologia da cultura brasileira*; and Bastos, “Gilberto Freyre.” Skidmore’s contextualization of Freyre’s racial analysis turns on different concerns, as does Levine’s (although he draws our attention to *regionalismo*’s reactionary relationship to modernization). In a seeming irony, Mota shows how Freyre’s work facilitated modernization by the elites through legitimizing them and providing the hegemonic possibility of the myth of racial democracy, with its obfuscation of historical conflict, a critique owing much to Viotti da Costa. Andrews’s focus, like Skidmore’s, turns on Freyre’s importance in regard to race. Borges’s concerns are with Freyre’s miscegenating patriarchal mythology and its impact on the historiography associated with the Brazilian family. Skidmore, *Black into White*, 190–92, 274–75; Levine, *Pernambuco*, 68–69; Mota, *Ideologia*, 53–74; Viotti da Costa, *Brazilian Empire*, chap. 6, *passim*; Andrews, *Blacks and Whites*, 7–10, 152–54; Borges, *Family in Bahia*, 4–6.

⁷⁵ Freyre, *Casa grande*, 250–51, 256, 258–59, 265–66.

⁷⁶ Freyre, *Casa grande*, 252–54; in *Sobrados e mucambos*, chap. 7. Freyre, as a central part of the book, ties the *bacharel*’s ascension to that of the mulatto (this, among the most celebrated of his analyses, was broached in “Aspectos,” in 1925).

harmony, paternalist and aristocratic values) in a perversion of the natural order inflicted on Portuguese and Brazilian landed patriarchs by mobile, parasitic, alien Jews and their modern-day counterparts.

Freyre's egregious anti-Semitism, which goes generally unremarked,⁷⁷ though buttressed by 1920s Portuguese historians, has other obvious sources. Beyond the traditional European hatred, clear in the image of the Jew as a deracinated, parasitical moneylender, there is the variety associated with "modernity." One finds it commonly enough, of course, in many of the societies in which reaction to "modernization" was associated with rapid, traumatic change, strong rural traditions, and aristocratic values. Although Freyre's response to Jews in New York was ambivalent, he may have found the anti-Semitism common in the rightist intellectual circles of Paris persuasive.⁷⁸

An intriguing aspect of Freyre's anti-Semitism is its linkage to his own intellectual identity. Freyre was himself an urban intellectual and the son and nephew of "modernizing" urban intellectuals. His great intellectual debt was to Boas, who was a Jew, and Freyre had been a cosmopolitan, deracinated student of "modern" artistic and literary movements abroad. In his diary are admiring references to Isaac Goldberg, a pioneering scholar of Brazilian literature; a marked fascination

⁷⁷ Among recent critics, I have seen Freyre's anti-Semitism noted only by Darcy Ribeiro, who remarks, "The portrait . . . of the Jew is a caricature and implacable" ("Prólogo," xxix), and then he details briefly Freyre's defense of the Inquisition, condemnation of Jews' supposed parasitic financial role, and their alleged influence on *bacharelismo*. Ribeiro quotes there the passage that was somehow dropped from the English translation of 1946 (but that remains in all of the Portuguese editions): "Technicians of usury, such the Jews became almost everywhere, through a process of specialization almost biological that seems to have sharpened their profile into that of a bird of prey, [imparted] their mimicry of constant gestures of acquisition and possession, [made] their hands into talons incapable of sowing or creating. Capable only of penny pinching." Freyre, *Casa grande*, 249. Samuel Putnam, translator of *The Masters and the Slaves*, does not mention this abridgement. What was left was still apparently thought offensive enough (in 1946) that Putnam felt compelled to state (230 n. 105), regarding Freyre's attitude, that "the reader should bear in mind that what he is striving for, here as elsewhere throughout his work, is the rigorous objectivity of the social scientist . . . Historical circumstance happened to identify the Portuguese Jew with mercantilism and "plutocracy" in this era . . . but to assume from this that the author regards such attributes as permanent racial ones is to contradict the very method of historical determinism that he professes and so consistently endeavors to practice." Putnam goes on to reassure the reader by a reference to Karl Marx's supposedly similar censure of Jews. One reads with fascination the disclaimer Freyre wrote for the second English edition (1956, xix), where he notes that "some Jewish leaders . . . went so far as to see 'anti-Semitism' in my book." Robert M. Levine, *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934-1938* (New York, 1970), 21, reports the rise of anti-Semitism in Brazil during the 1930s, a trend often identified with Gustavo Barroso, the writer, historian, president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and noted Integralist (see Levine, 28, 81; and Skidmore, *Black into White*, 205-07; compare Flynn, *Brazil*, 72). In Freyre's case, the anti-Semitism went back at least to the 1920s in New York, where he may first have met Jewish intellectuals and seen large numbers of Jews; his response is clear in both private (*Tempo morto*, 63-65) and public writings (*Tempo de aprendiz*, 1: 93-94).

⁷⁸ In support of his anti-Semitic rendering of Portuguese history, Freyre cites Mario Sâa, *A invasão dos judeus* (1924); and João Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos cristãos novos portugueses* (1922). On Sâa, see Levine, *Vargas Regime*, 21. On modern anti-Semitism, see Howard Morley Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (New York, 1958), chap. 11; or George L. Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York, 1978). On its appearance in Europe, ca. 1900, see Norman Stone, *Europe Transformed, 1878-1919* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 54-57, 180-82, 408-11; E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York, 1987), 89, 158-59. On what Freyre might have picked up in French rightist circles in the early 1920s, see Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times*, 3d edn. (New York, 1981), 274-75, or Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, 3 vols. (New York, 1963-65), 3: 85-90.

with Yiddish leftist intellectuals in New York; and an appreciation of the influence of Jewish intellectuals such as Karl Marx.⁷⁹

All in all, what emerges in Freyre's symbolic use of the Jew is a profoundly ambivalent and reactionary attitude toward much that he himself had been or was. Perhaps this was the price of his studied identification with rural patriarchy. Freyre's returns home, in 1923 and 1932, emerge in this light as attempts to return to a past of which he was a part by descent and by childhood but of which his career (and, as argued earlier, his sexual identity) since adolescence was the repudiation. The tension between what he was and what his family had been, between what he found at home and what he had studied of home abroad, was central to his life's work. Indeed, in this light, it seems understandable that Freyre made the tension and adaptation between opposites his central motif. For he himself had mastered contradictions in his own experience and identification, just as his patriarchs had subjugated distinct races and women in their own households. And, just as self-mastery had apparently been a key to his creative process, so, he argued, had patriarchy been the foundation for the creation of Brazil.

Thus, even though Freyre had creatively harnessed recent American social science to a project of creating a vision of traditional society, there is no doubt about his own prejudices. While profoundly "modern" in his training and his experience of personal and social antitheses, he could not truly sustain a balance; he hungered for the security of the past. "Modernity," liberalism, homosexuality, and Jewry were discarded or disdained. Although his work is punctuated with criticisms of patriarchy's sadism and cruelty to Africans, women, and children, his identification with his forefathers is manifest. His critical distance is overpowered in his work by his embrace of patriarchy.

Through the 1920s and 1930s, it is clear that Freyre felt Brazil's natural vocation was for an authoritarian paternalism congenial with the historic, organic specificity of the nation. For example, his 1920s critique of Dom Pedro II, Brazil's widely respected monarch for a half-century, turned on the emperor's allegedly unnatural liberalism and bourgeois style. These Freyre characterized as a "detestable anomaly." Instead, Freyre posed an organic authoritarianism:

a certain Brazilian tradition—tradition of the Brazilian common man—a tradition friendly to governments of powerful planters, of shrewd and tough bosses, of patriarchs hard and simultaneously paternal in the exercise of dominion. A tradition in which there exists some masochistic residual of our patriarchal formation, with the majority of the population submissive to planters, to fathers, to grandfathers, to priests, to uncles, and to officers.

In the midst of books, Pedro II lost sight of Brazil: a Brazil that wanted not the [bourgeois] top hat but the crown.⁸⁰

Despite this dismissal of the emperor, Freyre's generally approving attitude toward monarchy, authoritarian monarchy that is, runs through his works of the 1920s. He wrote then of a monarch presiding over a syndicalist harmony—a tradition *cum* modern formula that again suggests Freyre's ambivalence, in which

⁷⁹ Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 62–65.

⁸⁰ Freyre, *Perfil*, 133.

the balance tilted toward the past.⁸¹ Although Freyre never took the trouble to develop such ideas, they remained fundamental to his perception of Brazilian political potential in the past and present. In *Casa grande*, Freyre argued something hinted at in his critique of the emperor years before: Brazilians, formed in the sado-masochistic context of patriarchal racial hierarchy, ultimately desired its return in an authoritarian regime:

Our revolutionary, liberal, demagogic tradition is only apparent and limited to foci easily preventable politically: intimately, what most of what one can call the "Brazilian people" enjoy is the pressure over it of a masculine and courageously autocratic government. Even in sincere individualist expressions . . . one senses the stain or the masochistic trace: less the desire for reforming or correcting certain vices of the political or economic organization than the pure pleasure in suffering, in being the victim, or in self-sacrifice . . . Between [the] . . . two mystiques—that of Order and that of Liberty, that of Authority and that of Democracy—one sees balancing among us political life, precociously emergent from the regime of masters and slaves. In truth, the balance continues to be between the traditional and profound realities; sadistic and masochistic, masters and slaves, graduates and illiterates, individuals of predominantly European culture and others of principally African and Amerindian culture.⁸²

In this extended quotation, Freyre explicitly weaves together the threads of race and the state. For him, the gendered understandings of miscegenation, patriarchy, hierarchy, and political authority were mutually reinforcing. The socio-racial origins of the people in violent rape conditioned them to embrace authority. History and nature compelled them to take their pleasure in being dominated by a masculine and courageously authoritarian state.

Freyre plainly disliked the "modernization" of his country, and he portrayed that process as the perversion of its essential nature. While Freyre believed that Brazil's supposed solution to the "race problem," miscegenation, socio-cultural mediation, and mulatto social mobility, was superior to that of Jim Crow, he also regarded the dissolution of the old hierarchy (a dissolution of which the mulatto's rise and new mediating role was an integral part) as a form of national deracination.⁸³ Such dissolution, such "modernity," signified for Freyre the destruction of Brazil's unique artifacts, customs, and social relations. It led inevitably to urban social anomie and class and racial conflict, mitigated only by mulatto intervention. Thus he once argued,

The system of big house—slave hut . . . came to be—in some points at least—a near marvel of accommodation: of the slave to the master, of the black to the white, of the son to the father, of the wife to the husband. Also a near marvel of adaptation of man, by way of the house, to the physical milieu.

When the social landscape began to change among us . . . that accommodation was broken and new relations of subordination, new social distances, began to develop

⁸¹ See Meneses, *Gilberto Freyre*, 108–11; compare Freyre, *Tempo morto*, 84–85, 86–87.

⁸² Freyre, *Casa grande*, 80–81; see also 78–80.

⁸³ See Freyre, *Região*, 184–92; *Casa grande*, 81–82, 83–84, 493; this is the great motif of *Sobrados e mucambos*; see the preface and the first and last chapters.

between rich and poor, between white and people of color, between big house and little house. Greater antagonisms between dominators and dominated.⁸⁴

Against this wretched falling out, in the deepening dusk, the mulatto offered the traditional succor of accommodation:

The patriarchal house lost, in the cities and the farms, many of its antique qualities: the masters of the mansions and the freedmen or runaways of the shanties became antagonistic extremes; quite different, the relations between them, from those which had developed between the masters of the big house and the blacks of the slave huts, under the long rural patriciate. Between these hard antagonisms it is that there always acted in a powerful way, in the sense of softening them, the socially most plastic element, and, in a certain sense, most dynamic, of our formation: the mulatto.⁸⁵

Because Freyre apparently thought the process of “modernization” irreversible, his response seems to have been to attempt to brake it or slow it down. From the 1920s on, he fought for the preservation of whatever remnants of the past survived. His life’s work was an attempt to rehabilitate or, better, create and celebrate the origins and nature of Brazil’s unique national identity as the stable, patriarchal childhood he had lost: “studying the domestic life of one’s ancestors, we feel that we are completing ourselves little by little: it is another way of searching for “lost time.”⁸⁶

IN LATER YEARS, FREYRE USED THE INFLUENCE he accumulated to institutionalize his intellectual preoccupations in the Instituto Joaquim Nabuco, dedicated to the social-scientific analysis of Brazil’s tropical civilization.⁸⁷ Yet this apparent adaptive balance between “modernity” and the origins of the national reality suggests an intellectual poise belied by Freyre’s flight to patriarchy. Although Freyre supported the Instituto from its founding to his death, he himself lived and worked at Appipucos, the nineteenth-century mansion he restored and fitted out as a museum of patriarchy and a personal monument. His father’s home had been destroyed in the Revolution of 1930; his brother’s country place, where he had written most of his great book, had been torn down for reasons of development. Freyre married and begat children in the patriarchal house in which he closeted himself to write. There, in Appipucos, on the higher ground inland from the port of Recife, he fashioned his own *casa grande*—like his *oeuvre* and seigneurial persona, a refuge and a reproach against the erosive tide of “modernity” rising from the city and the Atlantic down below. There, in Appipucos, the stranger was at home.

⁸⁴ Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, 115–16.

⁸⁵ Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, 14–15.

⁸⁶ Freyre, *Casa grande*, xx.

⁸⁷ See Freston, “Um império na província.” Joaquim Aurélio Barreto Nabuco de Araújo (1849–1910), born in Pernambuco, was a noted abolitionist, historian, diplomat, and man of the world. This Europeanized *littérateur*, a favorite son of Recife, was a figure with whom Freyre seems to have identified (interview, Magdalena Freyre).

The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire": Henry II's and His Sons' Vision versus Late Twelfth-Century Realities

RALPH V. TURNER

HENRY II, RICHARD LIONHEART, AND KING JOHN were not simply English monarchs but lords of wide domains in western France. Henry II had garnered a block of lands that included his Angevin patrimony of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, his mother's Anglo-Norman heritage, and the possessions of his queen, Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine. He and his sons saw the Plantagenets' ancestral lands in the Loire Valley as the center of their empire, linking the Anglo-Norman realm with Aquitaine, yet Richard I and John considered themselves more Poitevin than Angevin. Neither viewed himself as English; both valued England for the wealth that its strong government enabled them to tap. Like their father, Henry's two sons squandered its riches in endless conflicts on the Continent against their rebellious vassals and the French king.

The Angevins' dominions formed "an elegant geographical bloc stretching from Northumberland to the Pyrenees."¹ England's unity was assured by geography and history before Henry II's Norman great-grandfather had conquered it. Although the Angevins' Continental lands incorporated the two strikingly different cultures of northern France and the *Langue d'oc*,² potential existed for their integration with the sea, the Seine, and the Loire, providing easy access to such commercial centers as Rouen, Tours, La Rochelle, and Bordeaux, while old Roman roads running south to Bordeaux from Caen or Rouen afforded land links. Some scholars have noted possibilities for a "sea-borne empire" with commerce serving as the network.³ The problem facing Henry and his successors was to create out of these territories a coherent political entity whose inhabitants—or nobility, at least—were bound together in loyalty to the Plantagenet dynasty.

In terms favored by recent writers on warfare, the Angevin "empire" was hegemonic rather than territorial.⁴ The object of most pre-modern empires was

¹ Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France 987–1328* (London, 1980), 180.

² Yves Renouard, "Essai sur le rôle de l'empire angevin dans la formation de la France et de la civilisation française aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles," *Etudes d'histoire médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), 2: 851–54; first pub. in *Revue historique*, 195 (1945): 289–304.

³ John Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978), 281; Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843–1180* (Oxford, 1985), 344, 346–47. Renouard, "Essai sur le rôle de l'empire angevin," 2: 850, sees Henry giving all western France "a single government, active and effective and tending to make all its constituent parts participate, to a certain degree, in a common life."

⁴ Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (Norman, Okla., 1988); Edward

not direct occupation and administration by the conquerors but indirect exploitation with local leaders left in charge. In this system, the imperial power maintained its homeland as a central zone of direct control—"royal demesne" in feudal terminology—where armed forces could be kept ready to be dispatched to a surrounding zone of client states or feudal vassal lordships to enforce tribute payments and performance of services. Beyond this second zone of indirect control lay a third zone, where control was less strong because a rival power center—in the case of the Angevins, the Capetian monarchy—could lure local leaders into its orbit, for example, the counts of Toulouse. While this pattern to some extent describes Henry II's block of lands (and perhaps better fits the Capetian territories with their compact royal demesne in the Île de France), the Angevin empire lacked a central core. The geographical center of Henry's territories was the patrimony of the counts of Anjou in the Loire River valley, linking the Anglo-Norman realm with Eleanor of Aquitaine's duchy to the south. Treasuries at Chinon and Loches castles, centers for paying and supplying armies, attest to the region's strategic importance. Yet the Angevin financial base was the less central Anglo-Norman realm, where the king/duke held powers approaching sovereignty, which made for efficient raising of funds for mercenary forces in Anjou-Maine and farther south.

The Angevin king's powers ranged from "the intensive and authoritative" in England and the Norman duchy to "the diffused and occasional" in the domains acquired through Henry II's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁵ Although the most strongly governed were England and Normandy, little attempt was made to impose a uniform administration on these two territories. Historians long assumed that William the Conqueror and his sons had unified their duchy and their new kingdom into a single Anglo-Norman *regnum*, which they contrasted with Henry II's larger, looser empire. Recently, however, scholars have doubted that either the Anglo-Norman or the Angevin kings did much to unite Norman and English administration.⁶ Nonetheless, in the north, the king/duke had effective machinery for exercising power; in Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, however, public authority was less concentrated in the count's hands, and something closer to the "classic" feudal regime prevailed, with public functions—

Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore, Md., 1976). I owe these references to Professor Stephen Morillo, Wabash College.

⁵ R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, 1100–1300* (Cambridge, 1990), 46. The basic work on the Angevin "empire" is Jacques Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt* (Paris, 1956). A recent short work is John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London, 1984); see also his *Richard the Lionheart*; W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973); and John Le Patourel, "The Plantagenet Dominions," *History*, 50 (1965): 308; reprinted in his *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (London, 1984), article 8.

⁶ On a single "Anglo-Norman realm," see C. Warren Hollister, "Normandy, France, and the Anglo-Norman *Regnum*," *Speculum*, 51 (1976): 202–42; reprinted in his *Monarchy, Magnates, and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London, 1986), 17–58; and John Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976). For scholars recently questioning an "Anglo-Norman *regnum*," see David Bates, "Normandy and England after 1066," *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989): 851–76; Judith Green, "Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State," *Historical Research*, 63 (1989): 115–34; and David Crouch, "Normans and Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?" *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, David Bates and Anne Curry, eds. (London, 1994), 51–67.



THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE

Map courtesy of Elsevier Science.

law enforcement and revenue collection—exercised by local lords who tolerated little interference from their overlords.

Farther south was the patrimony of Eleanor of Aquitaine, where few institutions existed to enforce ducal authority over a bellicose and anarchical nobility. Regional lords in Poitou and Gascony proclaimed allegiance to their Plantagenet lord when he presented himself at the head of an army, but they promptly rebelled upon his departure. Their power within their territories prevented the Angevins from enforcing control over castles, taxation, and other rights of lordship that they enforced fully in their Anglo-Norman lands and somewhat less

effectively in Anjou.⁷ In the south, Eleanor's ancestors had lost most powers outside their demesne lands to local lords who had constructed castles in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. While the court of the count of Anjou or his seneschal continued to be a center for the settlement of disputes, in the duchy of Aquitaine lawsuits before the duke or his seneschal were rare. Most disputes were settled by arbitration, sometimes in the local bishop's court or other times informally outside any tribunal.⁸

Historians tend to reject the notion that Henry II wanted this collection of lands to achieve permanence and political stability. The historian of the Capetians, Robert-Henri Bautier, observes that there was never an Angevin "empire," rather "an odd conglomeration of diverse powers over territories of widely differing status." Another French scholar, Robert Fawtier, writes of "the artificial union brought about by Henry II, just strong enough to hold together in his own lifetime," while C. Warren Hollister states that the concept of an "Angevin Empire" is "nothing more than a convenient invention of modern historians."⁹ Although these possessions are usually lumped together under the convenient term Angevin or Plantagenet "empire," few see strong evidence for a concept of imperial doctrine or permanent union. Modern preoccupation with "nation-building" as a theme for medieval history makes it seem inconceivable that parts of both modern Britain and France might have been molded into a single, stable political entity.¹⁰ Yet state boundaries are, after all, human creations, not products of nature. As John Le Patourel pointed out, "The effective political units from 1066 until sometime in the fourteenth century were not England and France . . . ,

⁷ Robert Hajdu, "Castles, Castellans and the Structure of Politics in Poitou, 1152–1271," *Journal of Medieval History*, 4 (1978): 27–53. For Anjou, see Jacques Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils 1151–1204* (Paris, 1938). The inconstancy of Gascon and Poitevin nobles is illustrated by the biographies of Bertrand de Born and Savaric de Mauléon: see Léon Cledat, *Du rôle historique de Bertran de Born* (Paris, 1879); H. J. Chaytor, *Savaric de Mauléon: Baron and Troubadour* (1939; rpt. edn., Folcroft, Pa., 1973).

⁸ Michel Garaud, *Les châtelains de Poitou et l'avènement du régime féodal, XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Poitiers, 1967), 22, 29, 109; for Anjou, *Le cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, Bertrand de Broussillon, ed. (Paris, 1903), gives disputes settled before the seneschal.

⁹ Robert-Henri Bautier, "Le traité d'Azay et la mort de Henri II Plantagenêt: Un tournant dans la première guerre de Cent ans entre Capétiens et Plantagenêts (juillet 1189)," in his *Etudes sur la France capétienne* (London, 1992), article 5, 33; Hollister, "Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum," in *Monarchy, Magnates, and Institutions*, 56; Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation, 987–1328*, Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam, trans. (London, 1960), 145. M. T. Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers, 1066–1272: Foreign Lordship and National Identity* (Glasgow, 1983), 114, describes Henry's lands "as the lucky acquisition of a quarrelsome family and not as an institution." John Le Patourel's phrase is "a family assemblage"; "The Plantagenet Dominions," *History*, 50 (1965): 301, reprinted in *Feudal Empires*, article 8; however, in "Angevin Successions and the Angevin Empire," also in *Feudal Empires*, article 9, p. 2, he reconsidered and declared the phrase "ill-judged."

¹⁰ F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy, 1189–1204: Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire*, 2d edn. (Manchester, 1961), still the basic work on Plantagenet-Capetian rivalry, represents the older national approach. For a study of a French sense of "manifest destiny," see Georges Duby, *La dimanche de Bouvines* (Paris, 1973); *The Legend of Bouvines: War, Religion, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, Catherine Tihanyi, trans. (Cambridge, 1990). Le Patourel, "Plantagenet Dominions," *Feudal Empires*, article 8, opposes a national approach. See also Robert-Henri Bautier, "'Empire Plantagenêt' ou 'espace Plantagenêt' y eut-il une civilisation du monde Plantagenêt?" *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 29 (1983): 139–47.

but a Norman empire and an Angevin Empire and a kingdom of France . . . overlapping and interpenetrating."¹¹

The Angevin monarchs' concept of their "empire" is difficult to discover. Henry II had no more ambition of cementing his diverse lands together into a tightly integrated state than did any other medieval monarch; he accepted their continued existence as distinct political units. While Norman and English governmental institutions under Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings followed closely parallel lines, Henry never imposed uniform laws or institutions on his domains south of Normandy. Neither did Philip Augustus construct a centralized administration for the territories that he took from King John in 1202–1204. Indeed, it is anachronistic to look for such centralization in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, when hegemonic empires were still the rule. Henry and his two sons had no name for the block of lands they ruled. Their seals bore the inscription *Rex Anglorum, Dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavorum*, and they never imposed a common coinage bearing their portraits.¹² They never called their body of possessions an "empire," for the only one that they recognized was the Roman Empire and its successors in the east and the west.¹³ Some scholars conclude that neither Henry nor his successors sought permanence, that they saw this assemblage of principalities as a means of providing for their offspring, who would take their lands and go their own ways.¹⁴ Nonetheless, Richard Lionheart and his brother, King John, both concentrated their energies and resources on preserving this nameless empire assembled by their father, fighting to preserve domination over their vassals and to protect it from the Capetian king.

THE LITTLE EVIDENCE EXISTING for the Angevins' view of their domains consists mainly of changing plans for succession to them. Henry II assumed, like many aristocratic parents, that advance arrangements for succession would prevent quarrels among his sons; and he expected natural family feeling, strengthened by feudal ties, to bind his younger sons to their eldest brother for pursuing the family's best interests. He assumed that his congeries of territories could have some cohesion despite partition, through a continued common family interest. Indeed, among early counts of Anjou and pre-1066 Norman dukes, the fathers, sons, and siblings had cooperated effectively for family interests. Under the later

¹¹ Le Patourel, "Plantagenet Dominions," 308; see also Renouard, "Essai sur le rôle de l'empire angevin," 2: 850–61.

¹² On coinage, see Françoise Dumas, "La monnaie dans les domaines Plantagenêt," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 29 (1986): 53–59. Late in Henry's reign, the *livre angevin* became the coin of reference for greater Anjou and Normandy, but many local coinages competed south of the Loire.

¹³ Robert Folz, *L'idée d'Empire en occident du V^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1953), trans. as *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, Sheila Ann Ogilvie, trans. (London, 1969).

¹⁴ J. C. Holt declares, "None of the Plantagenets intended their dominions to continue as a single estate." "The End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," in his *Magna Carta and Medieval Government* (London, 1985), 40; also see p. 41, "Neither Henry nor Richard was inspired by a concept of a single united dominion." Gillingham in *Richard the Lionheart*, 282, views Henry's succession schemes as showing "that princes were more concerned about the interests of their family than the unity of their lands."

Capetian apanage system, cadets, or younger sons, would accept their royal elder brothers' priority without rancor.¹⁵

Models for the disposition of Henry's "empire" came not from public law but from a body of feudal custom prevailing across northwestern France and post-Conquest England, modified for application to a collection of larger princely territories. In the eleventh century, feudal princes had abandoned old Frankish traditions of dividing their territories among heirs. Instead, they adopted a patrilinear model to safeguard the status of aristocratic families, rejecting equal partition among sons in favor of male primogeniture that preserved the patrimony. A strictly linear pattern was never universal, however; many territorial princes, while passing the bulk of their possessions to their eldest son, still sought some provision for cadets.¹⁶ Often, they limited land grants to one or two younger sons. In some regions, custom decreed that when the mother had brought a landed inheritance to her new family, that land should go to the second son.¹⁷ If a couple had more than two or three sons, marriages to heiresses or ecclesiastical livings had to be found for the rest, or else they were left without resources.

In parts of these areas, and most notably in Normandy, the custom of *parage* arose. While giving preference to the eldest son, it required that younger sons be given some holdings out of their father's possessions. A deceased tenant's sons made a private agreement providing shares of the fief for cadets, while family unity was maintained by the homage of the eldest son alone for the *caput*, or chief castle, with his brothers holding their shares of him and assisting him in fulfilling feudal services. Eleanor Searle, in her study of the early Norman ducal family, described *parage* aptly as "a kind of partible inheritance under the chairmanship of one son."¹⁸

¹⁵ Bernard S. Bachrach sees "a Norman tradition of family hostility," with fifteen acts of major hostility in the ducal family, from 1027 to 1106; and he contrasts the family tradition of harmony among the counts of Anjou with this Norman tradition of conflict: Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," *Albion*, 16 (1984): 112–30. Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), finds much family strife in pre-feudal Normandy, but on the whole she sees strong family ties contributing to the growth of ducal power. On the Capetians, see Charles T. Wood, *The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy, 1224–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); and Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

¹⁶ J. C. Holt, "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: [Part] II. Notions of Patrimony," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 33 (1983): 211–13; David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 82–88. Eleventh and twelfth-century Angevin charters illustrate a shift from an "organisation communautaire" to an "organisation du lignage . . . autour de l'ainé qui fait figure de chef"; H. Legohérrel, "Le parage en Touraine-Anjou au moyen-âge," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., 43 (1965): 223–38. For variations within a single region, see Paulette Portejoie, "Le régime des fiéfs d'après la coutume de Poitou," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4th ser., 3 (Poitiers, 1959): 127–53, "Succession aux fiéfs," esp. 130–35. See in general Jane Martindale, "Succession and Politics in the Romance-speaking World, c. 1000–1140," in *England and Her Neighbours, 1066–1485: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale, eds. (London, 1989). For the Capetians' inheritance patterns, see Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 195–96; also Andrew W. Lewis, "The Capetian Apanages and the Nature of the French Kingdom," *Journal of Medieval History*, 2 (1976): 119–34.

¹⁷ Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 30–31, 162–63. Or Richard I's claim that he was entitled to his mother's inheritance of Aquitaine; *Radulphi de Diceto, Opera Historica*, William Stubbs, ed., 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1876), 2: 18–19.

¹⁸ Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power*, 143. See her summary of the *coutumiers'* treatments of successions, 174–75. On *parage*, see also Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, L. A. Manyon, trans. (Chicago, 1961), 199–208; F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, 2d Eng. edn., Philip Grierson, trans. (New York,

A variation on *parage*, passing the patrimony intact to the eldest son but allowing the father to apportion his own acquisitions among younger sons, spread to England from the Continent after 1066.¹⁹ This custom apparently governed succession to the Anglo-Norman lands following William the Conqueror's death in 1089. William had previously made his eldest son, Robert, his associate in Normandy, sharing the ducal title.²⁰ He felt free, however, to bequeath his conquest, England, to his second son, William Rufus, leaving only a large sum of money to Henry, his youngest son. Recently, Emily Zack Tabuteau has argued convincingly that William was following a rule of law already operative in Normandy, and evidence suggests that a custom of making acquisitions more freely disposable than patrimony was "thoroughly familiar" to late eleventh-century Normans.²¹

When the counts of Anjou rose to power in the tenth century, they accumulated diverse lands by marriage, conquest, or other means; and the Angevin dynasty sought to keep its possessions intact, preserving the largest part of inherited land and acquisitions for the eldest son, although providing other sons with portions. Henry's succession schemes for his own "Angevin empire" reflect this tradition among his ancestors of a "broadly based and flexible" network of family ties that preserved some family unity for their smaller block of lands. While some scholars argue that Henry's father, Geoffrey le Bel, planned a deathbed partition of his lands that would allot Henry his mother's Anglo-Norman inheritance and his younger son the Angevin patrimony, such a plan would have dispersed an assemblage of lands representing the fulfillment of long-held family ambitions.²²

1961), 144; Legohérel, "Le parage en Touraine-Anjou," 230-37; Portejoie, "Le régime des fièfs," 148; J. C. Holt, "Politics and Property in Early Medieval England," *Past and Present*, 57 (1972): 10, 44-45; Warren, *Henry II*, 594-95.

An early example of *parage* is Count Geoffrey Martel's succession plan of 1060 for Anjou, which apportioned his property between his two nephews, Geoffrey le Barbu and Fulk le Réchin, with Fulk holding of his elder brother; Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972), 1: 102-03.

¹⁹ *Leges Henrici primi*, L. J. Downer, ed. (Oxford, 1972), 224, chap. 70, no. 21: "The first-born son shall have the father's ancestral fee; the latter shall give any purchases or subsequent acquisitions to whomever he prefers." Also see *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England, Commonly Called Glanvill*, G. D. G. Hall, ed. (London, 1965), 70-72, bk. 7, chap. 1.

²⁰ Imitating Capetian practice. See R. H. C. Davis, "William of Jumièges, Robert Curthose and the Norman Succession," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, eds. (Oxford, 1981); reprinted in Davis, *From Alfred the Great to Stephen* (London, 1991), 101-31.

²¹ Emily Zack Tabuteau, "The Role of Law in the Succession to Normandy and England 1087," *Haskins Society Journal*, 3 (1991): 144-69. She disputes the view of John Le Patourel, "The Norman Succession, 996-1135," *English Historical Review*, 86 (1971): 225-50. See also Bates, "Normandy and England after 1066," 872: "William's general attitude appears to have been the traditional Frankish one that the succession was entirely his to dispose as he saw fit, and that provision should generally be made for more than one son. What he produced was a family settlement conforming to existing traditions and customs."

²² On succession plans of Henry's father, see Le Patourel, "Angevin Successions and the Angevin Empire," 2, 10, 16; also Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," 126, 129-30. Their view questions C. Warren Hollister and Thomas K. Keefe's argument that Geoffrey le Bel bequeathed the Anglo-Norman realm to Henry and Anjou-Touraine to his second son, in "The Making of the Angevin Empire," *Journal of British Studies*, 12 (1973), reprinted in *Monarchy, Magnates, and Institutions*; also see Thomas K. Keefe, "Geoffrey Plantagenet's Will and the Angevin Succession," *Albion*, 6 (1974): 266-74. Hollister and Keefe find support only in a source from the 1190s, William

Henry II had both Angevin and Anglo-Norman precedents, then, for his succession plans. Henry refused to accept a strict primogeniture, which would have left younger sons landless, but his failure to solve issues of inheritance proved his undoing. Older Carolingian custom may have inspired him to seek some land for all four of his legitimate sons, as indicated by plans for the youths' future heritages spelled out in 1169.²³ The eldest, Young Henry, was to have the central core, the Angevin counts' principality together with the Anglo-Norman realm; and he was crowned king of England the next year. Younger sons would take outlying appendages in the second zone. Richard, the second son, was promised his mother's duchy of Aquitaine and was installed there in 1172; the third boy, Geoffrey, would become count of Brittany, to whose heiress he had been betrothed in 1166. John "Lackland," born only in 1167, had no place in this tripartite partition; and Henry II's later attempts to make provision for him increased tensions with his older sons.²⁴

Henry's schemes for his younger sons call to mind the later Capetian apanages, a practical means of providing for cadets while protecting dynastic interests. Yet the French royal apanage, a restricted land grant that descended only to direct male heirs, took shape in the thirteenth century, too late to serve as a model for him. Its origins lie with Louis VIII's will, which in 1225 made grants to three younger sons, alienating one-third of the royal domain.²⁵ Chances of mortality meant that lands given to cadets would often revert to the senior line, yet the Angevins lacked the special devices of the Capetian apanage or of late medieval English barons' entailed estates to encourage reversions.²⁶

Henry's Angevin ancestors' experience with *parage* led Henry to expect that his sons could maintain an alliance despite partitions, with ties of vassalage providing cohesion and consultation on common measures. Probably, Henry had realized

of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles, Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, R. Howlett, ed., 4 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1885–90). For doubters, see Le Patourel, 6–9; and Warren, *Henry II*, 45–47, who writes, "Almost certainly the story was spread to justify young Geoffrey's second rebellion against his brother in 1156." Other doubters are Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother, and Lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991), 155 and n. 65; and Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society's Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989), 272–76.

²³ Robert de Torigny, *Chronicle*, in Howlett, *Chronicles, Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 4: 1240–41; Warren, *Henry II*, 108–11, 594–95.

²⁴ Kate Norgate, *John Lackland* (1902; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 3–4, 24–25; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 237–38, n. 105. Henry II asked his eldest son to grant John Lackland the county of Mortain, Normandy, traditional holding of cadets of the Norman ducal family; John did not gain the county until after his brother Richard's accession, however.

²⁵ Wood, *French Apanages*, 6–14; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 158–62; the Parlement of Paris in effect defined the apanage in 1284, stating, "Following the customs generally observed by many generations of kings, when any heritable gift was given to one of his brothers by the lord king, and the former died without heirs, these gifts are returned in full right to the donor, or to his heir, successor to the kingdom." *Actes du Parlement de Paris*, E. Boutaric, ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1863–67), 1, app., no. 537; translation from Wood, 14. See also Lewis, *Royal Succession*, who concludes, "The apanages appear as a familial institution, not a royal one" (pp. 164, 176, 196–97). For the "constitutional" interpretation of "the increasingly public character of the monarchy, which made alienation of the royal domain constitutionally difficult," see Wood, *Apanages*, 25, also 148.

²⁶ See Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 29–30, for reversions of grants to cadets by dukes of Normandy and counts of Blois. On the entailed estate or "fee tail," see Donald W. Sutherland, "Law, English Common: After 1272," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Joseph R. Strayer, ed. in chief, 13 vols. (New York, 1982–89), 7: 452.

the difficulties of governing his far-flung domains by 1169, and he hoped that his sons could share the task with him; as Henry's biographer W. L. Warren observes, "He conceived the future of the Angevin dominions not as an *empire* but as a *federation*."²⁷ Henry was to be deeply disappointed, however, for his arrangements demanded strong fraternal affection, younger brothers' acceptance of their portions, and cooperation with their eldest brother, all of which his sons lacked. Henry's periodic proposals for changes in the succession fueled their resentment of him and their jealousy of each other. His failure to share power with his eldest son in the Angevin heartland especially aroused the boy's bitterness. The Young King saw his father thwarting him from reaching full manhood, forcing him to spend time with other landless youths seeking fame and plunder in a manner that conforms to Georges Duby's description of "youths" in twelfth-century France.²⁸

Eleanor of Aquitaine, for all practical purposes estranged from Henry, returned to Poitiers in 1169, and she sought revenge against her husband through exercising influence on their sons.²⁹ The discord between the royal couple contributed to the boys' resentment against their father and led to a series of rebellions. In 1173–1174, all three elder sons, urged on by their mother and by their overlord Louis VII, launched a large-scale rebellion. As Henry II continued to tinker with succession to his territories, his new schemes angered his three elder boys, making them jealous of each other and of young John "Lackland," whose birth in 1167 had exacerbated their tensions with their father. The king sought a feudal solution in January 1183 by insisting that his second son, Richard, do homage as duke of Aquitaine to his elder brother, Henry the Young King.

When Henry asked Richard to do homage to Young Henry, the boy refused to acknowledge his own brother as superior, "since they had been born of the same father and the same mother."³⁰ As Richard protested, their previous homage to Philip Augustus made the two equals; and because both held directly of the French king, he could not be made subject to his elder brother by doing homage to him. Such homage would have dropped him one degree in the feudal hierarchy, reducing him to a subtenant of Philip Augustus and thus breaking his direct feudal tie to the French monarch.³¹ Because Aquitaine, the maternal inheritance, had never been subject either to Anglo-Norman kings or to counts of Anjou, Richard also feared that homage to his brother would make it a

²⁷ Warren, *Henry II*, 561–62, 627, "a dynastic federation"; or 560, on Henry's hope to withdraw from day-to-day activity into something like "the chairman of a family consortium." Or, in R.-H. Bautier's words, "une sorte d'Etat fédéral"; "Le traité d'Azay et la mort de Henri II," 23.

²⁸ Georges Duby, "Les 'jeunes' dans la société aristocratique dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XII^e siècle," in *Hommes et structures du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1973); also in *The Chivalrous Society*, Cynthia Postan, trans. (London, 1974), 112–22; see also Duby, "Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XII^e siècle dans la région maconnaise: Une révision," in *Hommes et structures*; rpt. in *Family and Society: Selections from the "Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations,"* Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1976).

²⁹ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Eleanor of Aquitaine: Parent, Queen, Duchess," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Patron and Politician*, William W. Kibler, ed. (Austin, Tex., 1976); E.-R. Labande, "Pour une image véridique d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4th ser., 2 (1952): 175–324; Ralph V. Turner, "Eleanor of Aquitaine and Her Children: An Inquiry into Medieval Family Attachment," *Journal of Medieval History*, 14 (1988): 321–35.

³⁰ *Radulphi de Diceto, Opera historica*, 2: 18–19.

³¹ Warren, *Henry II*, 588; Legohérrel, "Le parage en Touraine-Anjou," 230.

dependency of the Plantagenet territories. Richard's refusal pushed the Young King into another rebellion, ended by Young Henry's death in June 1183.

New schemes for partition, aimed at providing for John after the death of Young Henry and then of Geoffrey of Brittany in 1186, rankled with Richard. The soft spot in Henry's heart for John Lackland moved him to seek a larger legacy for him than the lastborn son in any feudal family could expect, and he paid a price in Richard's resentment and rebellions.³² He was at war with his father, defeating him, when Henry II died in July 1189, just after learning that John, too, had abandoned him. Perhaps John became Henry's favorite because his greater youth made him seem more compliant than his elder brother, perhaps because Eleanor so obviously favored Richard. John did not appear promising to contemporaries, but his father apparently saw in him some potential that others missed.³³ It is unlikely that Henry actually planned to replace Richard with John as his heir; more likely, he privately accepted Richard as heir but was unwilling to acknowledge this publicly.³⁴ According to Gerald of Wales, the king in 1187–1188 proposed that Richard succeed only to the Anglo-Norman domains, with all other fiefs held of the French crown (except Normandy) passing to John.³⁵

Clearly, the status of Henry's Continental lands as fiefs of the Capetian monarch complicated matters; only a portion of Eleanor's inheritance, Gascony, was free of feudal ties to France.³⁶ In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, homage by the count of Anjou or duke of Normandy to the French king had signified no more than "a tenuous non-aggression pact."³⁷ By the last decade of Henry II's reign, however, hierarchical modes of thought among Paris philosophers and theologians were influencing political thought. They encouraged a similar patterning of the French monarchy into an orderly pyramid of feudal lords and vassals

³² The author of *Glanvill*, 70, bk. vii, chap. 1, may have had Henry II in mind when discussing a rule denying a father's right to give part of his land to a cadet without the heir's consent: "For, if this were allowed, the disinheritance of eldest sons would often occur, because of the greater affection which fathers tend to have for younger sons."

For chroniclers' discussions of hostility between Henry and his offspring, see William of Newburgh, 1: 281; trans., *English Historical Documents*, vol. 2, 1048–1189, David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway, eds. (London, 1968), 372; Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione*, in *Geraldi Cambrensis Opera*, J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, G. F. Warner, eds., 8 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1861–91), 8: 172–73; also see Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *The Conquest of Ireland*, A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin, eds. and trans. (Dublin, 1978), 130–33; *Radulphi de Diceto, Opera historica*, 1: 355.

³³ Warren, *Henry II*, 599–600.

³⁴ Kate Norgate noted, "Henry's schemes for John were probably in reality much less definite and less outrageous than Richard imagined"; *John Lackland*, 23. Warren, *Henry II*, 622, notes, "The circumstantial evidence undoubtedly suggests that he did, but it is not conclusive." H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), 328, dispute Henry's intention of disinheriting Richard.

³⁵ *Opera*, 8: 232; no other source supports Gerald's statement. See *Gesta Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbas*. William Stubbs, ed., 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1867), 1: 320, for a hint that Henry II planned at the end of 1184 to turn Normandy over to Geoffrey of Brittany. Gerald of Wales, *De Vita Galfridi*, *Opera*, 4: 369; also *De Principis Instructione*, *Opera*, 8: 231–32, hints that Henry in the weeks before his death sought to make John his heir.

³⁶ Pierre Chaplais, "Le traité de Paris de 1259 et l'inféodation de la Gascogne allodiale," *Le moyen âge*, 61 (1955): 121–37; reprinted in Chaplais, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (London, 1981).

³⁷ Quotation, Joseph R. Strayer, "Fief," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 5: 59. See also Hallam, *Capetian France*, 94–97. The basic work on this is Jean François Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marches et les frontières féodales* (Lille, 1945).

surmounted by a king to whom all owed fealty but who owed homage to no one. Louis VII and his son were no longer content with their former vague overlordship but undertook to compel their counts, dukes, and other royal vassals to acknowledge that their subordinate status made their principalities fiefs of the French crown.³⁸ Philip Augustus freely intervened in the territories of France's feudal lords, seeking to interpose his authority between them and their own vassals; and he turned his suzerainty to financial advantage, collecting previously neglected feudal dues to fill his war chest for campaigns against Henry's sons.³⁹ Ironically, both Richard I and John contributed to Philip's war chest through large sums paid him as relief upon their accessions. The Angevins had no ideology to counter the Capetian's claims; and, with the Treaty of Messina in March 1191, the Lionheart acknowledged that he was Philip's *ligius homo* for all fiefs that his predecessors had held of the French kings.⁴⁰ Later, John, with the treaty of Le Goulet in May 1200, formally acknowledged that his vassalage to the Capetian monarch meant subjection to the French *curia regis*.⁴¹

The Capetian monarchs with their claims to suzerainty constituted an alternative power center, encouraging appeals for assistance from discontented Angevin vassals, including Henry's own sons—Young Henry, Richard, Geoffrey—and also from neighboring princes who feared Plantagenet expansion. The French subjects of the Angevins did not consider the Capetians their enemy; Aquitainians often dated their charters by the regnal years of both their Angevin lord and their Capetian overlord. As Kate Norgate stated in her 1887 book on the Angevins, "Paris and its king, even when his practical authority was at its lowest ebb, had always been in theory the accepted rallying-point of the whole kingdom, the acknowledged head of the body politic."⁴² Costly struggles, encouraged by the Capetians, threatened to exhaust the Angevin empire's resources, if they did not split it apart.⁴³ Once Philip Augustus returned from the Third Crusade in mid-1191, his goal was no longer simply enforcing lordship over Richard Lionheart but expelling the Angevins from the Continent.⁴⁴ Whenever warfare broke out, he held an advantage in his compact base in the Île de France, simplifying the dispatch of forces to attack Angevin-held castles in the Seine or Loire valleys. Richard and John had the disadvantage of defending a long frontier

³⁸ Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation: 900–1200*, Caroline Higgitt, trans. (New York, 1990), 202–10; *La mutation féodale, X^e–XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1980); Hallam, *Capetian France*, 168–73.

³⁹ Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Kingdom and Principality in Twelfth-Century France," in *The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the Ruling Classes of France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century*, Timothy Reuter, ed. (Amsterdam, 1978), 264, 273–74; trans. of "Königtum und Fürstentum des französischen 12. Jahrhunderts," *Vorträge und Forschungen*, hrsg. vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, Band 12 (Sigmaringen, 1968). Also see John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), chap. 11, "The King as Seigneur." On the Plantagenets' feudal relations with the Capetians, see Jacques Bousard, "Philippe Auguste et les Plantagenêts," in *La France de Philippe Auguste: Le temps des mutations*, R.-H. Bautier, ed. (Paris, 1982), 263–87.

⁴⁰ Text of the Treaty of Messina, in Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. 1, 1101–1272, Pierre Chaplais, ed. (London, 1964), no. 5.

⁴¹ Text of the Treaty of Le Goulet, Chaplais, *Diplomatic Documents*, no. 9.

⁴² Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, 2 vols. (1887; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 2: 361.

⁴³ Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 42–43.

⁴⁴ Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, 2: 363; Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, 87.

extending from the Channel to the Pyrenees, stretching lines of communication and requiring dispersal of resources among widely scattered fortresses.

Henry's hope of permanence for his domains was doomed by mutual mistrust among father, mother, sons, and siblings, exacerbated by the Capetians' meddling, which their feudal supremacy made possible. For Henry's offspring, the bond of vassalage to their Capetian overlord proved stronger than the force of filial affection for their father. Such hostility was not inevitable in families of feudal nobility; perhaps it was fueled by the bitterness of Henry's marital situation. Despite the mistrust within the family, accidents of mortality kept the Plantagenet domains intact after Henry II's death in July 1189. Richard Lionheart succeeded unchallenged to all his father's domains, and he refused to entrust his sole surviving legitimate brother with one of the Continental provinces. While John retained his lordship of Ireland, Richard exercised suzerainty over the island by granting lands there, sometimes over John's objections.⁴⁵ John also received from his brother a fief in Normandy, the county of Mortain, and custody of so many escheated honors in England that he controlled some six shires.

Richard shared Angevin traditions of providing portions of land for younger sons. Plans he made in 1191 before setting sail for the Holy Land assumed that a yet-unborn son would succeed to the English crown and would hold the bulk of the Plantagenet's Continental lands in chief of the French monarch, while an anticipated second son would hold an unspecified county or duchy. Philip Augustus's success in asserting suzerainty forced Richard to agree, however, that any younger son would hold his fief also in chief of the Capetian king, not as an apanage of his elder brother.⁴⁶ Richard's failure to produce these sons did not prevent his spending his last years fighting in France to defend his patrimony. A similar agreement between Philip and Richard's brother John, made in January 1194 during the crusader king's captivity, also provided that if John had two or more sons, each would hold fiefs directly of the French king.⁴⁷ Such arrangements would have likely precluded continued unity for the Plantagenet domains, preventing Richard's or John's eldest son and heir from binding his younger brothers to him by a bond of vassalage. In effect, political circumstances—a need to come to terms with their overlord, the French king—forced Henry II's two sons into sanctioning a future partitioning of the Angevin patrimony among their sons.

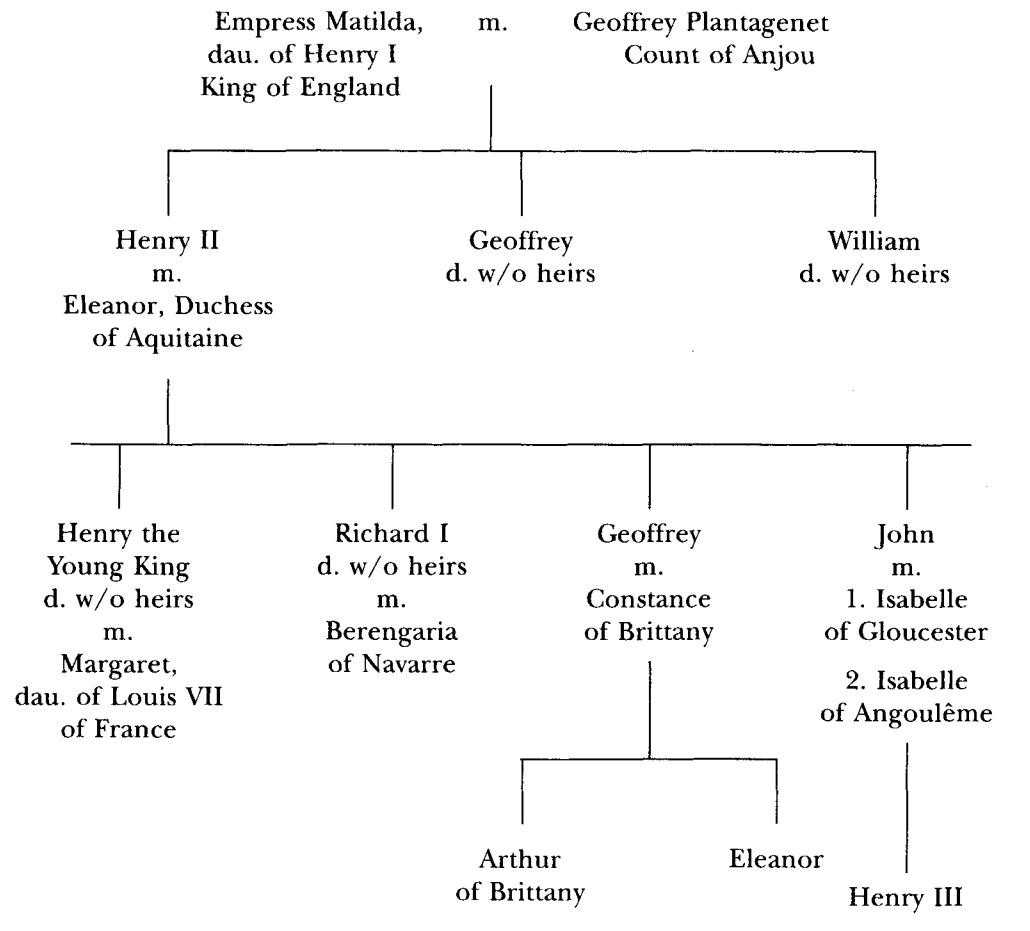
When the Lionheart died childless in 1199, John succeeded to all Richard's possessions, surmounting rival claims by his nephew, Arthur of Brittany. Following Richard's death, Eleanor of Aquitaine acted vigorously despite her advanced years to secure possession of Aquitaine for John. She rushed to reassert her rights over the duchy, taking her subjects' homage and in turn doing homage to the French king; once she had forestalled Philip Augustus's intervention on Arthur's behalf,

⁴⁵ On Richard I and Ireland, see Flanagan, *Irish Society*, 280–84; and W. L. Warren, "King John and Ireland," in *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven*, James F. Lydon, ed. (Dublin, 1981), 31–32.

⁴⁶ According to the Treaty of Messina, one of three "baronies" was to go to a younger son: Normandy, Anjou-Maine, or Aquitaine-Poitou.

⁴⁷ For John's agreement, see *Layettes du trésor des Chartes*, A. Teulet, ed., 5 vols. (Paris, 1863–1909), 1: no. 412. See Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," n. 41, nn. 2 and 3.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE



she ceded control to John.⁴⁸ Philip Augustus encouraged John's Continental vassals to appeal to his *curia regis* at Paris, just as Henry II had earlier encouraged English subtenants to appeal for justice from their lords' feudal courts to royal judges at Westminster.⁴⁹ The result was John's condemnation by the French *curia regis* in 1202 after an appeal from Poitevin vassals. John's refusal to submit to Philip's court supplied a legal pretext for French campaigns that resulted in Capetian conquest by 1204 of all Angevin possessions from the Loire Valley northwards.

Philip Augustus's position as feudal suzerain, then, gave him opportunities for intervention in the Angevin Continental lands; and the fierce friction within the Plantagenet family—wife against husband, sons against father, and brothers against one another—gave Philip further opportunities for fomenting conflict.

⁴⁸ On John's succession, see J. C. Holt, "The *Casus Regis*: The Law and Politics of Succession in the Plantagenet Dominions 1185–1247," in *Law in Medieval Life and Thought* (Sewanee, Tenn., 1990), 24; Holt, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Jean sans Terre et la succession de 1199," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 29 (1986): 95–100.

⁴⁹ Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II*, 581.

Without the complication of Capetian suzerainty and with more docile sons, Henry II might have devised a workable scheme for keeping his empire intact. The Angevin and Norman practice of *parage*, common throughout northwestern France, provided Henry II's predecessors a model for building a stable succession framework; with less quarrelsome sons, Henry could have constructed a structure similar to Louis VIII's later apanages. The French monarch was the vassal of no one, however; and Louis VIII's sons had no rival lord to whom they could appeal if dissatisfied with the shares that their father apportioned to them.

PERHAPS NOTHING COULD HAVE HELD THE PLANTAGENET possessions together, not even a succession plan accepted by all Henry's sons in a spirit of family harmony. Nineteenth-century historians, who set the fashion for making nation-building a major theme of medieval history, accepted Henry's failure to create a lasting political unit as inevitable, with or without Angevin family enmity. More recent historians agree, describing Henry II's domains as lands "which did not automatically belong together" and that had resulted from "an unholy combination of princely greed and genealogical accident."⁵⁰ John Gillingham and the late John Le Patourel are almost alone among recent British historians in seeing the Plantagenet possessions not as "just a bundle of territories" but as a potentially permanent maritime empire. A few French scholars join them in taking a positive attitude toward Henry II's achievement in drawing all western France under his rule.⁵¹

Despite tendencies toward uniformity in the governments of England and Normandy, Henry II had no ambition of constructing a centralized state on the modern model. He never sought to impose identical laws or institutions on his territories, issuing only four "imperial acts" binding throughout all his lands, and, as mentioned, his lands never shared a common coinage.⁵² The administrative machinery that Henry began constructing for his empire after his sons' 1173–1174 rebellion recognized its constituent parts as separate regional entities. Beginning about 1176, he gave each of his domains its own seneschal or viceroy, comparable to the English justiciar. As stated earlier, two of his provinces—Aquitaine and Brittany—were placed under the rule of his two sons, Richard and Geoffrey. After

⁵⁰ Hollister, "Normandy, France, and the Anglo-Norman *Regnum*," 50; Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 281; Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 40; or H. G. Richardson, "a rickety, ramshackle affair, kept together by the military prowess of Henry and Richard," review of Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II*, in *English Historical Review*, 73 (1958): 660. Hallam, *Capetian France*, 180, sees Richard I's and John's accession to the whole of the Plantagenet lands as disregarding "the sensible and natural principle of division between heirs" and "interference with the ordained course of events."

⁵¹ Gillingham blames John's loss of Normandy and Anjou, during 1203–1204, less on structural factors than on "the contingencies of war and politics," notably because "John did not know how to rule"; *Richard the Lionheart*, 304; *Angevin Empire*, 46. Hallam, *Capetian France*, 182, accepts Gillingham's view. For Le Patourel's stance, see "Plantagenet Dominions"; and "Angevin Successions and the Angevin Empire." Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II*, also takes a positive view of Henry II's accomplishment, for example, 546.

⁵² Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 27. Henry's father, Geoffrey le Bel, had advised him against imposing uniform laws; Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, 18–19. Gillingham, *Angevin Empire*, 59, nonetheless contends that he worked "to push regional variants in the direction of legal uniformity."

Geoffrey's premature death in 1186, his widow nominally ruled Brittany but under close supervision by Henry and his seneschal.⁵³ Jacques Boussard, author of a massive study of Henry II's government, saw this post-rebellion structure as a strongly organized feudal state, enabling Henry "to enforce efficiently his authority" and functioning well in Richard I's reign, despite his long absences on crusade and in captivity.⁵⁴ While the Plantagenet polity fits the definition of a pre-modern hegemonic empire, it could not achieve permanence without fostering among its English, Norman, Angevin, or Aquitanian subjects a common will to resist Capetian advance.

Apart from Normandy, Henry II and his sons had only rudimentary mechanisms for administering their Continental lands; administration in the lands to the south remained "primitive and fragile."⁵⁵ Their lack of direct control required them to impose authority over their southern vassals by military means with violent punishment for rebellious acts, the force supplied by mercenaries paid from English funds. Chronicles are full of accounts of Richard Lionheart's punitive expeditions as count of Poitou, punishing rebellious vassals in the Angoumois, Limousin, and farther south by destroying their castles and devastating the countryside. Indeed, soon after Richard became king, he marched almost to the Pyrenees to punish vassals who had been attacking pilgrims on their way to Compostella. While he was on crusade and in captivity, 1191–1194, he relied on invasions of Aquitaine by his ally and brother-in-law, the king of Navarre, to put down rebellions.⁵⁶ The costs and cruelty of military campaigns aroused animosities that reached a peak in King John's first years. Preoccupation with warfare hampered cultivation of any sense of dynastic loyalty, impeded construction of new governmental machinery, and induced a political vacuum that local lords—particularly in Poitou and further south—rushed to fill, consolidating regional power blocs. The hostile counts of Angoulême and Périgord, viscounts of Limoges, and the lords of Lusignan threatened to cut off Poitou from Gascony, splitting the duchy of Aquitaine.⁵⁷ In their southern domains, the Plantagenets could not even rely on the episcopate to support their strong enforcement of law and order; instead, Aquitanian bishops became "essentially local figures working for their own interest."⁵⁸ Always adding to the problem was an alternate power to which these barons and bishops were attracted: the Capetians with their lawful claims for rights to intervene on behalf of wronged subvassals.

⁵³ John Le Patourel, "Henri II Plantagenêt et la Bretagne," in *Feudal Empires*, article 10, pp. 104–07.

⁵⁴ Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II*, 546; see Richardson's review, *English Historical Review*, 73 (1958): 659–63. For summaries of Boussard's views, see "Aspects particuliers de la féodalité dans l'empire Plantagenêt," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4th ser., 7 (1963): 29–47; and "La diversité et le traits particuliers du régime féodal dans l'Empire Plantagenêt," *Annali della Fondazione italiana per la Storia amministrativa*, 1 (1964): 157–82.

⁵⁵ J. C. Holt on the seneschalsies of the southern provinces, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 43–44. Also see Charles Higounet, *Histoire d'Aquitaine* (Toulouse, 1971), 179–80, on Aquitaine's lack of "a solid administrative framework."

⁵⁶ Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1903), 2: 263, 274; John Gillingham, "Richard I and Berengaria of Navarre," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 53 (1980): 167–68.

⁵⁷ Geoffroi de Vigois *Chronica*, in *Novae Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum*, 2, Père Labbé, ed. (Paris, 1657); see also Hajdu, "Castles, Castellans and the Structure of Politics in Poitou"; and John Gillingham, "The Unromantic Death of Richard I," *Speculum*, 54 (1979): 37–41.

⁵⁸ David W. Walker, "Crown and Episcopacy under the Normans and Angevins," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 5 (1982): 232.

Although Henry's block of lands had the potential to become a maritime empire with commercial ties fostering unity, it never achieved real solidarity. A fundamental flaw was the Capetian monarchs' suzerainty. Not only did it wreck Henry's hopes for binding his younger sons to their senior brother by ties of vassalage, it also afforded Philip Augustus a wedge of feudal rights for forcing his way into the internal affairs of his vassals' lands. Early in John's reign, many nobles in the Angevin heartland decided that the king of England's intermediate lordship as count of Anjou caused too many complications with their French overlord and offered them too few compensations. As J. C. Holt points out, the only two territories that remained under Plantagenet rule after 1204 were England and Gascony, lands not subject to the French crown. Commercial ties between these two territories grew stronger during Henry III's reign than they had under his father and grandfather.⁵⁹

The Plantagenets devised no unifying myth, no common culture to bind their English, Norman, Angevin, Poitevin, and Gascon subjects together, although the Capetians were cloaking themselves in the prestige of their Carolingian predecessors. Twelfth-century propagandists at the abbey of Saint-Denis began creating a myth of French national unity centered on the person of the king and the royal family.⁶⁰ Some scholars follow R. W. Southern in making much of the Capetians' reputation for good lordship and the cultural prestige of their capital in the late twelfth century fostered by an ardent anti-Angevin, Gerald of Wales. Although some clerics shared this favorable view of the Capetians, chiefly because they had "a lightness of touch in their ecclesiastical dealings that the Angevins could not match," Southern and his followers allow the unfavorable contrast between Henry II's despotism and Capetian liberty painted by Gerald to color too darkly their impressions of Angevin rule. Gerald's view rests heavily on his rosy recollections of student days at Paris, written down long afterward during the civil war between the "tyrannical" King John and English barons, 1215–1217.⁶¹ While Philip did show himself generous toward the Norman church before his conquest was complete, once he was fully in control, he proved to be the Plantagenets' equal in asserting royal rights over the clergy and their property.⁶²

Nonetheless, some contrast between Capetian and Plantagenet methods of governing was clear to contemporaries. While commercial classes in the port cities could see advantages in their incorporation into an Angevin empire and proved

⁵⁹ Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 54; Robert C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy, and Finance under Henry III, 1216–1245* (Oxford, 1987), 160; and Bautier, "'Empire Plantagenêt' ou 'espace Plantagenêt,'" 140.

⁶⁰ Hallam, *Capetian France*, 174–79; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal Transformation*, 195–202; and especially works by Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The *reditus regni ad stirpem Caroli Magni*: A New Look," *French Historical Studies*, 7 (1971): 145–71; "The Cult of Saint-Denis and the Capetian Kings," *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975): 43–70; and "'Defense of the Realm': Evolution of a Capetian Propaganda Slogan," *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977): 115–45.

⁶¹ Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982), 94. R. W. Southern, "England's First Entry into Europe," in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York, 1970), 135–57, follows Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione, Opera*, 8: 258–59. On dates of composition, see Bartlett, 69–70, 94, 98. Warren, *Henry II*, 618, n. 3, finds Gerald's account of Henry II's last years "so blinkered and wildly partisan that it is worthless for the purpose of interpreting events." Bartlett, 84, notes that "this judgement, if overstated, is basically true."

⁶² John W. Baldwin, "Philip Augustus and the Norman Church," *French Historical Studies*, 6 (1969): 30.

most loyal supporters of John against his Capetian foe, other subjects were coming to regard this congeries of lands as “a curious anachronism.”⁶³ The Continental nobility could conclude that little advantage came from submission to Plantagenet “tyranny” since the hegemony of their Capetian overlord offered an attractive alternative. A recent study of Angevin and Capetian castle policy contrasts Philip Augustus’s reputation for good lordship, gained by bowing to feudal realities, with Henry II’s and his sons’ authoritarian approach, based on late Roman and Carolingian definitions that asserted the public character of fortresses. The author compares unfavorably the Angevins’ “ruthlessly *dirigiste* and opportunistic policy” of arbitrary confiscation and destruction of noble strongholds with the French king’s “only mildly interventionist” policy.⁶⁴

The Angevin kings’ endless fighting, employing numerous mercenaries, required more and more revenues in the face of Philip Augustus’s expanding resources. The financial burden fell chiefly on England and Normandy, whose efficient exchequers could collect funds matching the Capetian king’s new income, and they were tiring of the burden.⁶⁵ Richard and John were forced to organize a “war economy” in England and Normandy, and their rule took on a “strong military colour.”⁶⁶ A result was indifference by the Norman baronage to John’s struggles against the French, 1202–1204, if not their outright treason; indeed, Sidney Painter saw “the unenthusiastic if not actually treasonable behavior of the Anglo-Norman baronage” as the basic cause of the loss of Normandy.⁶⁷ Of course, the financial burden of warfare abroad contributed heavily to discontent among the English baronage, culminating in their rebellion at the end of John’s reign. Although financial burdens were lighter in the south because of ineffective revenue-collecting machinery, the people still paid a heavy price for the fighting. Periodically, bands of foreign mercenaries called *Branbançons* went on a rampage and ravaged the countryside. More than once, the bishop of Limoges had to raise an army to drive these freebooters out of his region.⁶⁸

⁶³ Warren, *Henry II*, 627; Gillingham, *Angevin Empire*, 45–46, on towns’ loyalty; also see David Bates, “Rouen from 900 to 1204: From Scandinavian Settlement to Angevin ‘Capital,’” in *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Rouen*, Jenny Stratford, ed., *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, 12 (1993): 1–11.

⁶⁴ See Charles Coulson, “Fortress-Policy in Capetian Tradition and Angevin Practice: Aspects of the Conquest of Normandy by Philip II,” *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 6 (1984): 12–38.

⁶⁵ Gillingham rejects estimates showing Angevin resources inferior to Philip’s; *Richard the Lionheart*, 303–04; *Angevin Empire*, 41, 72; J. C. Holt rejects Gillingham’s optimistic estimates of Angevin finances: “The Loss of Normandy and Royal Finances,” in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, 92–105; see also Holt, “End of the Anglo-Norman Realm,” 34–39, where he argues that Angevin income from the Anglo-Norman lands did not even equal that of the Norman king/dukes until John’s reign.

On Philip II’s resources, see Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Le premier budget de la monarchie française: Le compte général de 1202–1203* (Paris, 1932); Michael Nortier and John W. Baldwin, “Contributions à l’étude des finances de Philippe Auguste,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des chartes*, 138 (1980): 5–33; and Baldwin, “La décennie décisive: Les années 1190–1203 dans le règne de Philippe Auguste,” *Revue historique*, 266 (1981): 311–37; also Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, chap. 7.

⁶⁶ J. O. Prestwich, “War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman Realm,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 4 (1954): 20; J. E. A. Jolliffe, “The Chamber and Castle Treasuries under King John,” *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, and R. W. Southern, eds. (Oxford, 1948), 118.

⁶⁷ Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, Md., 1949), 27.

⁶⁸ Roger Limouzin-Lamothe, *Le diocèse de Limoges des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Strasbourg and Paris, 1951), 91–92.

The Anglo-Norman domains themselves seem to have been drifting apart. In the view of Lucien Musset, dean of Norman historians, "The old equilibrium between England and Normandy had reversed itself completely, in favor of England."⁶⁹ Native Normans felt that Plantagenet rule benefited primarily their English cousins, and few regretted the separation of Normandy from England in 1204. Family and tenurial ties were no longer binding together Norman and English nobles. Those barons in England still holding large estates across the Channel were growing more English and less Norman in outlook, and most chose the island kingdom over Normandy after 1204. Below the baronial level, the majority of knights had become exclusively English in outlook, and only a small elite had holdings in Normandy. Many Norman lords, especially those on the marches, were more likely to hold additional lands in the Île de France than in England, leaving them susceptible to "Capetian blandishments." Such marcher lords were among the earliest Norman nobles to defect to Philip Augustus.⁷⁰ Norman bishops came to consider Philip Augustus more benevolent, less eager to exploit church property or to impose his will on cathedral chapters electing new bishops. Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, turned against Richard Lionheart after 1194 and sought accommodation with Philip of France, despite owing his office to his long service to the Angevin king/dukes.⁷¹ Meanwhile, increasing insularity among many English barons was leading them to resist Richard's and John's summonses to fight in campaigns to defend their Continental lands, or to recover them after 1204.

Ties binding the Plantagenets' Aquitainian subjects with their fellow subjects north of Poitou were even looser than those linking the English and Normans. Indeed, antagonism between Frankish culture and the Mediterranean culture of Aquitaine stretched back to the early Middle Ages. Each of these peoples thought of themselves as a distinct *gens* or *natio*, that is, a group sharing common descent yet somehow also as a part of the kingdom of France.⁷² Anglo-Norman lords neither acquired large landholdings in Anjou or Aquitaine nor married southerners in significant numbers.⁷³ Aquitainian barons had a distinct culture, and their interest in lands to the north was limited to profits earned there fighting as mercenaries. Over time, Henry II's and his sons' cosmopolitan approach to appointing officials could have knit together a single ruling class; but decades were needed to overcome hostility between their Anglo-Norman and southern

⁶⁹ Lucien Musset, "Quelques problèmes posés par l'annexion de la Normandie au domaine royal français," in Bautier, *La France de Philippe Auguste*, 294; see also 292–97. Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 47, sees well before 1204 "signs that Normandy and England were beginning to go their separate ways." For a contrary view, Hallam, *Capetian France*, 185: "But in 1204 the ties between the two states, the duchy and England were strong."

⁷⁰ David Crouch, "Normans and Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?" 61–63; also Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 59–63.

⁷¹ Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, 304–28, contrasts Philip's friendly policies toward the church and Angevin exploitation; on Walter of Coutances, see Peter Poggioli, "From Politician to Prelate: The Career of Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, 1184–1207" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1984).

⁷² Renouard, "Essai sur le rôle de l'empire angevin," 2: 850–54. See also Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal Transformation*, 231–32, 326; Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford, 1990), 254–55, 280. See R. H. C. Davis, *The Normans and Their Myth* (London, 1976), 49–69, on the Normans' view of themselves as a distinct people yet French.

⁷³ Le Patourel, "Plantagenet Dominions," 293; Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 26.

subjects, as revealed by English barons' hatred of Richard I's and King John's "alien" officials. Prejudice ran in the other direction as well. The particularist sentiments of Henry II's Poitevin and Gascon subjects hindered his appointment of Anglo-Normans to offices there, although he occasionally assigned outsiders to military responsibilities in the south.⁷⁴ The Angevins' hegemonic rule over the south without administrative structures meant that no class of administrators interested in preserving and expanding royal power arose there. In England and Normandy, by contrast, royal servants saw the king/duke's expanding feudal prerogatives as a means of enriching themselves with custodies of confiscated lands, wardships of widows and minors, and marriages of heiresses.

The Plantagenets could devise no ideology that their diverse subjects could share to knit them together in dynastic loyalty. Capetian suzerainty stood in the way of Henry's making his Continental principalities into dependencies of the English crown. Although Henry II's court popularized Arthurian legends, perhaps as a conscious counter to the Capetians' propaganda, poets under Angevin patronage did not share the dynastic preoccupations of the Saint-Denis historians.⁷⁵ Saint-Denis was busy spinning out legends that stressed the unity of the whole kingdom of France under the Capetian dynasty, lawful successors to the Carolingians. Time might have permitted Henry II and his successors to construct political institutions, a cosmopolitan ruling class, and patterns of commerce to foster a sense of unity among their subjects. Philip II took advantage of his feudal lordship, of the Plantagenets' family hostility, and of his growing resources to ensure that neither Henry nor his two sons would have time to complete the task.

Despite ill will within Henry's family, the two sons who succeeded him saw the Angevin empire as more than a temporary collection of scattered territories. The childless Richard I devoted his energies to fighting to preserve his Continental possessions for his successor, although he accepted a possibility of partition within the Plantagenet family. King John pursued his projects for recovery of the empire that he lost in 1204 so single-mindedly that he pushed his English barons into rebellion. Over a century later, his descendant Edward III still dreamed of reconstituting that empire. Not only Henry II but the entire Plantagenet line believed that the Angevin "empire" was worth preserving as a family enterprise possessing some measure of political cohesion.

⁷⁴ Holt, "End of the Anglo-Norman Realm," 52–53; on English resentment of alien administrators, see J. C. Holt, "King John," in *Magna Carta and Medieval Government*, 106–08; for the paucity of English or Norman officials in Poitou, see Pierre Boissonade, "Administrateurs laïques et ecclésiastiques Anglo-Normands en Poitou à l'époque d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1152–1189)," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 3d ser., 5 (1919): 156–90. Richard Heiser, "The Royal Familiares of King Richard I," *Medieval Prosopography*, 10 (1989): 36, points out that although Richard I had many Poitevins among his household knights, he avoided appointing them to posts in England.

⁷⁵ Georges Duby suggested in *Les trois ordres: Ou, L'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978) that Henry II "deliberately scoured the culture of the British isles for material out of which he might build an ideological edifice to rival the ideology of the Frankish monarchy." He noted Henry's patronage of writers who used the "matter of Britain," "pitting against the image of Charlemagne that of King Arthur"; Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, 1980), 287. Emma Mason more recently recognized Angevin use of the Arthurian cult as "perhaps consciously designed to counter the contemporary propaganda of the Capetian kings," in "The Hero's Invincible Weapon: An Aspect of Angevin Propaganda," in *Ideals and Practice of Knighthood*, vol. 3, *Papers from the Fourth Strawberry Hill Conference* (Woodbridge, Suff., 1990), 136. A thorough study of this question is needed.

Corporate Space, Communal Time: Everyday Life in Shanghai's Bank of China

WEN-HSIN YEH

THIS ARTICLE OFFERS A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS of the way several hundred ordinary male employees of Shanghai's Bank of China lived their daily lives during a few years of negotiated peace in the Republican period (1911–1949).¹ None of these men made names for themselves individually. As a social type, however, they represented a new breed on the Chinese landscape unique to the modern metropolis: the hard-working, educated, career employees who held professional positions in a large corporate organization.

Although far from being the majority of the city's middle class, these men worked in businesses and professions that lent substance to Shanghai's dominance of financial and manufacturing industries in China. Hardly among the rich in Shanghai, their tastes and spending nonetheless sustained the city's department-store culture, entertainment businesses, and publishing industry, which in turn contributed to Shanghai's claim to be China's capital of fashion as well as of opinion. Visible in daily life as tram passengers, shoppers, moviegoers, newspaper readers, sports participants, race-course spectators, and restaurant patrons, they occupied the middle sector that bridged the vast social space separating the city's small financial elites from its multitude of migrant laborers from the countryside.

Past research has shed much light on the city's capitalists and the working poor, on Shanghai's foreign concession authorities and the neo-traditional secret societies, on the conflict and collaboration between the city's much-compromised law enforcers and its operators in opium, gambling, and prostitution.² This

¹ For an account of the localized armed conflicts and repeated attempts at peaceful settlements in the early 1930s that preceded the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), see Parks M. Coble, *Facing Japan: Chinese Politics and Japanese Imperialism, 1931–1937* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

² Research on Shanghai has flourished in recent years. Marie-Claire Bergere's important book, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911–1937*, Janet Lloyd, trans. (Cambridge, 1989), connected Republican China's failed democratic institutions to the relationship between the city's financial elites and the political authorities. Parks M. Coble, Jr., *The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927–1937* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), refutes the Maoist thesis that the Nationalist regime was bourgeois in class composition. Concerning the lower level of Shanghai society, Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919–1949* (Stanford, Calif., 1986), shows that working-class consciousness in Shanghai was conspicuous only by its absence. Elizabeth J. Perry, *Shanghai on Strike: The Politics of Chinese Labor* (Stanford, 1993), examines the division of the labor force into levels of skill and groups of common places of origin and explores the political significance of such divisions in affiliations with the Nationalists versus the Communists. Other scholars devote their attention to the social tension and political unrest that troubled the city for most of the Republican period. Po-shek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937–1945* (Stanford, 1993), presents typologies of moral and political choices

scholarship, carried out with an eye toward the drama and action that gripped the "Paris of the Orient" and "Paradise of Adventurers," focused attention on urban existence at either end of the social spectrum. It invoked, often quite successfully, the passion and commotion of the protests, demonstrations, riots, and struggles that punctuated Shanghai's turbulent political history through the wars and revolutions of the Republican era. It painted, by and large, the picture of a metropolis of extraordinary tension and complexity.

On the important question of Shanghai's place in modern Chinese history, these studies showed that neither the capitalists nor the workers were able to assert their presence effectively on the national scene as agents of change and members of a new class. Sometimes referred to as the "beachhead" of Western imperialism in China, Shanghai was divided administratively into two foreign concessions and one Chinese city and seen more as an antithesis than a continuum of the rest of the country. The Communists' triumphant march into the city in 1949 was therefore a victory of the countryside over the city, achieved despite the absence of a viable urban working class and against the wishes of the bourgeoisie. Not much attention, meanwhile, has been paid to the city's "salary man" in the middle.³

My goal is not only to draw attention to a little examined area but also to suggest a different pattern in the city's relationship with the countryside. As new types of business organizations came into being in Shanghai, they fostered a new style of life among employees, who felt the need to adjust themselves to the imperatives and routine of corporate existence. Unlike either the cosmopolitan financiers or the migrant villagers from the countryside, white-collar workers regarded themselves as Shanghai's urbanites, and they were firmly enmeshed in the city's networks of corporate and neighborhood ties. Not wealthy enough to have private

made by Shanghai writers living under Japanese military occupation. Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China: The View from Shanghai* (Stanford, 1991), analyzes the symbolic mediation of collective political protests. How the city was administered and whether it was effectively controlled is masterfully explored by Frederic E. Wakeman in *Policing Shanghai* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995). How the newly ascendant Guomindang regime established control of this complicated city via the Shanghai municipal government from 1927 to 1937 is the subject of Christian Henriot's informative study, *Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization*, Noel Castellino, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). On the other side of law and order, Brian Martin studies "The Green Gang in Shanghai, 1920-1937: The Rise of Du Yusheng" (Doctoral dissertation, Australian National University, 1991); and Gail Hershatler analyzes the world of Shanghai's prostitutes in "Courtesans and Streetwalkers: The Changing Discourse on Shanghai Prostitution, 1890-1949," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 3 (October 1992): 245-69; and "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution, 1870-1949," *Modern China*, 15 (October 1989): 463-98. Important studies of Republican Shanghai's national and international businesses include Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890-1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980). On merchant organizations, Joseph Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930* (Honolulu, 1985), and Bryna Goodman, "The Native Place and the City: Immigrant Consciousness and Organization in Shanghai, 1853-1927" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1989), examine the transformation of such groups in Republican society. A recent conference volume I co-edited with Frederic E. Wakeman, *Shanghai Sojourners* (Berkeley, 1992), contains discussions of many important aspects of Shanghai's social, political, and cultural history and draws together new research findings made by several of the scholars named above.

³ For a classic study of the life of a "salary man" in modern Japan, see Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb*, 2d edn. (Berkeley, Calif., 1971). For a succinct definition, see 32-39.

mansions and gardens of their own yet sufficiently well-off to have leisure time on their hands, they were the ones who favored greater municipal spending on public projects and who responded positively to corporate provisions for their other needs. As these men moved between home and work, a pattern of existence evolved that was embedded in the material as well as social characteristics of the city.

The urban form of life that developed in connection with the growth of modern enterprises such as the Bank of China bears a striking resemblance to the collective socialist organization known under the People's Republic (1949–) as the *danwei*—the ubiquitous “work unit” in urban areas that combined employment with social welfare, medical coverage, housing, neighborhood surveillance, internal security, and political training. Western social scientists generally regard the *danwei* as a product of the Communists' mobilizational strategies developed during their long years in the countryside.⁴ The reconstitution of urban businesses and factories into the socialist *danwei* was thus seen as a concrete expression of the country's victory over the city. By drawing attention to the rise of an urban communal existence with corporate underpinning before the days of socialism, however, I hope to suggest a continuity between the country and the city in the rise of Chinese socialism.

Modern business enterprises in Shanghai, like similar organizations elsewhere, placed high value on discipline and efficiency and developed full sets of corporate schedules to orchestrate the activities of individual employees. The clock, which paced the comings and goings of members of the corporate community, became in this sense the ultimate metaphor for urban middle-class existence in Republican Shanghai. But the mechanical clock, like many other material aspects of the city, was not a well-established indigenous invention; it was a recent Chinese adaptation of an old European import. The use of the clock thus carried its own special implications, both in the city and in the countryside outside Shanghai.

ONE OF THE LANDMARKS OF SHANGHAI in the Republican period was the giant clock above the Maritime Customs Building, which stood on the waterfront. More than any other city in Chinese history, Shanghai was a place where mechanical timepieces of European origin achieved prominence in public space. Large clocks commanded sweeping views atop buildings in schools, banks, factories, docks, hospitals, municipal offices, department stores, and train stations. With the clocks came tables and schedules that not only made a necessity of the habit of punctuality but also turned standardized measurements of time into basic units in the structure of everyday life.

To be sure, the clock was less audible where Shanghai's urban boundaries dissolved into its rural hinterland, or where tramways, buses, and other modern

⁴ For recent studies on the *danwei* and Chinese socialist organizations, see Gail E. Henderson and Myron S. Cohen, *The Chinese Hospital: A Socialist Work Unit* (New Haven, Conn., 1984); William L. Parish and Martin King Whyte, *Village and Family in Contemporary China* (Chicago, 1978); Martin King Whyte and William L. Parish, *Urban Life in Contemporary China* (Chicago, 1984); and Andrew G. Walder, *Communist Neo-Traditionalism: Work and Authority in Chinese Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986).

facilities failed to reach, whether in back alleys or along the hovels by the river front. Shanghai's urbanites, who kept time by observing the impersonal ticking of the mechanical clock, looked with disdain on the city's recent arrivals from the countryside, who, not unlike imperial astronomers of the olden days, followed an agricultural calendar bounded by the changing seasons and the evolution of heavenly bodies. In the various walks of urban life where the ticking of the clock was plainly heard, however, the purely mechanical "public" time of the city was reconstituted into an involved sense of communal time within Shanghai's urban society.⁵ Modern Shanghai business organizations delineated their singular corporate space with the synchronizing power of the organizational clock. For the ordinary urbanites who made their living as white-collar employees in Republican Shanghai, mechanical clocks created the temporal frame in which their everyday life was to be lived, following the organizational imperatives of the corporate machine.

European clocks and watches had been finding their way steadily into China at least since the sixteenth century. From Jesuit missionaries to English trade missions, clocks had often been used as gifts that opened doors into high official circles in Beijing. By the eighteenth century, the Imperial Palace was reportedly stuffed with clocks, watches, carillons, repeaters, organs, spheres, and astronomical clocks of all sorts, "more than four thousand pieces from the best masters of Paris and London."⁶ But, with rare exceptions, Chinese nobles and officials regarded the clock essentially as "a toy and only as a toy."⁷ These "curious oddities" were passed around principally through gift-giving, although, with the quantity production of inexpensively priced English and Swiss timepieces, they also became objects of commercial transaction—a kind of chronometric currency.⁸ Despite the ready availability of instruments capable of telling time with much greater precision than water clocks and sundials, until the turn of the century in most of China time continued to be counted "in days and months, not in minutes or hours."⁹

The clock did not become part of everyday life, because, as Carlo Cipolla has argued, a machine has a "practical meaning" in a socio-cultural environment "only as an expression of man's response to the problems set by his environment and by his fellow men";¹⁰ it does not in itself usher in a new phase in technological culture that governs its usage. To the extent that "[t]he ordinary Chinese did not need to know the hour in order to do what had to be done,"¹¹ no number of mechanical clocks, simply by their presence, changed the temporal structure of

⁵ On the collectivizing force of "public" time versus the heterogeneity, fluidity, and reversibility of a modern sense of "private" time, see Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 33–35.

⁶ David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 42.

⁷ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture, 1300–1700* (New York, 1977), 87.

⁸ This trade, however, was restricted largely to the Canton area, and it attracted customers who saw the timepieces more as status symbols and decorative items than anything else. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture*, 92.

⁹ Chiang Menglin, *Tides from the West* (New Haven, Conn., 1947), 34–35; quoted in Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture*, 88.

¹⁰ Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture*, 89.

¹¹ Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 29.

everyday life in late imperial days. For clocks to become of everyday importance, it took a significant shift in the underlying structure of socioeconomic life. Jacques Le Goff has shown, for instance, that in Europe the rise of the mechanical clock and an accompanying sense of public time in stringent units of measurement was linked to a specific set of historical circumstances in the fourteenth century, when crises in the textile industry in Italian mill towns permitted the mill owners to elevate the importance of clocks and impose greater organizational discipline on their laborers. The church bells that rang Terce and Nones gave way to the stridently ticking “work clocks” of mill owners and cloth merchants, which thereafter wove “a sort of chronological net in which urban life was caught.”¹² The use of the mechanical clock and the emphasis on a precise measurement of time was thus an integral part of an emerging socioeconomic order dominated by urban-based merchants, manufacturers, and their fellow members of the bourgeoisie.

Late imperial Chinese society, in contrast with Europe, was dominated by an officialdom of landed gentry-literati whose preoccupation was less with manufacturing than with culture and learning.¹³ It was not that there was ever a shortage of skilled craftsmen in Ming and Qing China who could learn the construction and maintenance of European clocks. Rather, the sort of precision in time keeping offered by European clocks was simply of marginal importance to a society that had different priorities.

When the clock came to pace the life of middle-class urbanites in Republican Shanghai, large parts of the rural hinterland remained beyond the reach of its mechanical ticking. The urban shift in socio-cultural environment, which contributed to the everyday use of the clock, can be traced, no doubt, to the increasingly prominent presence of the West in the city since the mid-nineteenth century, as Shanghai rose to become China’s leading treaty port. Like their counterparts elsewhere, Shanghai’s emergent class of mill owners imposed on their wage earners—a majority of whom were recent migrants from the countryside—an industrial work discipline with the help of the clock. But when the city’s white-collar employers, who recruited from among the sons of the landed proprietors and gentry-merchants, turned to the use of the same clock, it signified not only an introduction of discipline but also a departure from an established way of life with its own order of things.¹⁴

¹² Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, 1980), 43, 48–49. See also Thomas C. Smith, *Native Sources of Japanese Industrialization, 1750–1920* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 199–235, in which Smith points out that the source of divergence in the pre-industrial meaning of time between eighteenth-century England and Tokugawa Japan has less to do with time sense than with different conceptions of the individual in society.

¹³ Joseph Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: The Problem of Intellectual Continuity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958), 15–43, 51–53. Levenson placed emphasis on the “amateur ideal” supposedly espoused by the landed gentry-elites of late imperial China, which led them to diminish the value of technical expertise and professional precision. This suggestion has been challenged by scholars who draw attention to the Statecrafts School and its emphasis on pragmatic expertise. None has gone so far as to suggest, nonetheless, that clocks were used in connection with the development of any particular aspect of Neo-Confucianism.

¹⁴ This is not to suggest that Shanghai’s white-collar employees in the early decades of the twentieth century came either *directly* or *exclusively* from gentry-merchant families with landed holdings but, rather, in contrast with the city’s industrial laborers, that they came from backgrounds of means and

It was not so much the “foreign” origin as the “modern” and “urban” nature of its adaptation that held the key to an understanding of the place of corporate Shanghai in the rise of socialist China: the *spatial* question of the country and the city was linked to the *social* issue of relationships within the city as mediated by time, especially to time as experienced by the white-collar employees, who were not masters of their own pace but part of an orchestrated work force synchronized to a corporate clock set by their superiors. The coming of the mechanical clock to Republican Shanghai was no laggard version of the development Le Goff discerned for fourteenth-century Europe. Because the timepiece at issue was a distinctly urban and recent adaptation, resistance to its impersonal discipline took the form of an active idealization of an alternative style of life that could be developed in the countryside. Points of tension that strained relationships within Shanghai’s corporate hierarchies did not, as it turned out, find expression in social antagonisms within the city. They were configured instead into a dialogue between country and city.

1928 WAS A TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE BANK OF CHINA.¹⁵ That year, a new Nationalist government was established in Nanjing following several months of fighting. It brought into the new capital the Central Bank, a state institution fully under the government’s control. The Bank of China, which until then had functioned as one of the official banks under the government in Beijing, was cut off from its sources of state funds and granted a new charter by the Nationalist Ministry of Finance to become a “special institution” to transact foreign exchange.¹⁶ To adjust to this new situation, the bank relocated its headquarters to Shanghai, where foreign banks were concentrated, and began reorganizing itself

literacy—the sort of setting characterized, from the 1860s onward, increasingly by the rise of “gentry-merchants” as a new social type and by the fusion of mercantile and landed wealth in response to new economic opportunities. On the rise of the “gentry-merchants” (as opposed to a “bourgeoisie” in the Western sense), see Mary Backus Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911* (Stanford, Calif., 1986). On the careers and organizational ties of some of the leading members of the Zhejiang “financial clique” that dominated Shanghai’s old-style native banks as well as new-style banks, see Susan Mann Jones, “The Ningpo Pang and Financial Power at Shanghai,” in Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner, eds., *The Chinese City between Two Worlds* (Stanford, 1974), 73–96. On the inability of the Shanghai bourgeoisie to convert its economic strength into political power, especially in the 1920s, see Bergere, *Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie*.

¹⁵ Although the economy of the Nanjing decade (1927–1937) has received considerable scholarly attention in the West, much of it has focused on the agrarian sector. For insightful accounts about banking and money in this period, see Frank H. H. King, *A Concise Economic History of Modern China (1840–1961)* (New York, 1968); Arthur N. Young, *China’s Nation-Building Effort, 1927–1937: The Financial and Economic Record* (Stanford, Calif., 1971); Frank M. Tamagna, *Banking and Finance in China* (New York, 1942); and Ramon H. Myers, ed., *Selected Essays in Chinese Economic Development* (New York, 1980). The most significant recent publication in this area is Frank H. H. King, *The History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1987–91).

¹⁶ On the reorganization of the Bank of China in May 1912, see Zhongguo yinhang zonghang and Zhongguo dier lishi dang’an guan, eds., *Zhongguo yinhang hangshi ziliao huibian, shang bian, 1912–1949* (Collected materials on the history of the Bank of China, 1st edition, 1912–1949) (Beijing, 1991), 6–17.

from a predominantly state-owned institution into a principally private one accountable to shareholders.¹⁷

Before 1928, the Bank of China, headquartered in Beijing, processed tax funds, paid official salaries, transported legal specie, and issued paper currency. Created by an imperial decree in 1897, it was China's first Western-style bank with central government backing.¹⁸ It drew on state as well as merchant sources of funding and operated as a modernizing arm of the Board of Revenue. It was staffed with former tax collectors and government clerks said to have "one cold face and two copper-coin eyes," who knew how important it was to maintain their connections with state monopoly salt merchants, money brokers, and regional warlords.¹⁹ Being a senior bank official in those days meant wheeling and dealing among contending political factions. Banking was conducted in political clubs and on social occasions. Part of the job was to strike deals behind the scene.²⁰

¹⁷ The reorganization of the Bank of China was announced by the Nationalist government on October 26, 1928. The bank was incorporated with a total of 250,000 shares valued at 100 yuan each. Of these, 50,000 shares were held by the government. A twenty-member board of directors was created. Four members of the board were Ministry of Finance appointees; the remaining sixteen were elected by the shareholders. For details, see *Zhongguo yinhang hangshi*, 380–82; Tan Yuzuo, *Zhongguo zhongyao yinhang fazhan shi* (History of the development of major Chinese banks) (Taipei, 1961), 173, 219–26; Hong Jiaguan, *Zai jinrongshi yuandi li manbu* (A stroll in the field of the history of finance) (Beijing, 1990), 261–64; *Zhongguo renmin yinhang zonghang jinrong yanjiu suo jinrong lishi yanjiu shi* (Research Unit, History of Finance, Institute of Financial Research, Head Office, People's Bank of China), ed., *Jindai Zhongguo jinrong ye guanli* (Management practices in modern China's financial industry) (Beijing, 1990), 354–56.

¹⁸ Numerous proposals were drafted in the second half of the nineteenth century for the creation of a Chinese-owned Western-style bank. The first such bank was the *Zhongguo Tongshang Yinhang* (Commercial Bank of China), formally inaugurated on May 27, 1897 in Shanghai, under the auspices of Sheng Xuanhuai, minister of Railroad Affairs. The bank was neither a central bank nor a central government bank, although its creation required the approval of the imperial court. Its founding "capital" included 1,000,000 tael in silver from the Board of Revenue, in the form of a five-year deposit that required interest payments. But the bank was neither an official nor a private bank. It was governed by a board of merchants appointed by Sheng Xuanhuai in his ministerial capacity and drew its capital primarily from investments made by late Qing Western-style enterprises formed under the formula of "official supervision, merchant management" (*guan du shang ban*). The Commercial Bank of China created ten branches nation-wide in the next three years, appointing to positions of regional heads provincial bureaucrats and holders of civil service examination degrees. The bank sustained heavy losses in subsequent years, especially during the Boxer Uprising in 1900, when its Beijing and Tianjin branches were burned and looted by Allied soldiers. By 1905, the bank was reduced to only three branches. In August 1905, the imperial court approved the creation of the Board of Revenue Bank. In 1908, this bank, with a national network of twenty-one branches, was renamed Da Qing Bank. Like the Commercial Bank of China before it, the Board of Revenue Bank was not a central bank, even though it was sponsored by a branch of the central government. Its capital came from the Board of Revenue (funneled through a corporation of limited liability) as well as from private merchants. It was neither official nor private, and it featured a board of directors dominated by official appointees. This bank was entrusted, among other things, with the management of "all state funds and funds of the government treasury," including the issuance of government bonds and securities. After the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution, all operations of the Da Qing Bank were suspended. The creation of the Bank of China in May 1912 (see note 16 above) through a "reorganization" of previously existing semi-official banks incorporated assets and personnel of the former Da Qing Bank as well as the Commercial Bank of China. For a detailed discussion of this history based on late Qing archival documents, see Hong Jiaguan, *et al.*, *Zhongguo jinrong shi* (History of Chinese finance) (Chengdu, 1993), 171–77.

¹⁹ Editorial remark, *Zhonghang shenghuo* (Life in the Bank of China; hereafter, *ZS*), 1.3 (July 15, 1932): 48; Cao Erlong, "Wo suo yujian de guke" (My experience with customers), *ZS*, no. 16 (August 1, 1933): 319.

²⁰ Zhang Gongquan, "Women de chulu" (Our way out), *ZS*, no. 21 (December 1, 1933): 429. Zhang Gongquan was also known by his courtesy name, Zhang Jia'ao. He lived in New York for many

After 1928, with a reconstitution of its board and investors, the Bank of China was no longer in the business of state funds and war loans and had to focus instead on private deposits, factory loans, and foreign exchange.²¹ The move to Shanghai signified a determined break with the fiscal bureaucracy of the former imperial and warlord governments. It also marked the bank's entry into a highly competitive environment: in the Eight Immortals Bridge district alone, there were over a dozen rival private banks and scores of old-fashioned native banks (*qianzhuang*).²² Under such circumstances, the leadership of the bank sought to create a new, fast-paced corporate culture. It hired young graduates trained in business, economics, English, and law from Western-style colleges and universities and concentrated on the creation of a disciplined work force responsive both to instructions from above and to demands arising from the larger environment.

The man presiding over the bank's reconstitution was Zhang Gongquan (1889–1979), who had become a vice president of the bank at the age of twenty-eight in 1917 and was then elected to serve as its top officer, general manager at the head office, at the age of thirty-nine in 1928. Zhang, a native of Shanghai, came from an eminent gentry-official family of progressive bent. He received his early training in classics and Neo-Confucian moral philosophy from leading contemporary masters such as Tang Wenzhi and Yuan Guanlan, who taught him Mencian doctrines of “sincerity,” “integrity,” and “generosity.”²³ He went on to study monetary theory and banking at the private Keio University in Tokyo (1906–1909) and acquired a preference for theories of liberal political economy over those of state capitalism.²⁴ Zhang used his spare time to master the formal practices of Japanese banking institutions in Tokyo. Through his brother Zhang Jiasen, the finance expert and political philosopher, he also became a member of the well-connected gentry-reformer group of Constitutionalists led by Liang Qichao. Both activities contributed greatly to Zhang's career. In 1913, back in Beijing, Zhang became one of the executive secretaries of Liang's Progressive Party, which after the 1911 Revolution enjoyed extensive connections with the

years after 1949 and published in English under the name Kia-ngau Chang. He died in Palo Alto, California, in 1979.

²¹ This is not to say that the Bank of China thereafter ceased to hold assets in the form of government bonds but, rather, that as the result of a redefinition of its primary functions, it was no longer in the business of handling state funds for the government treasury. Government bonds as an item either for investment or speculation were held by private individuals as well as financial institutions in the Republican period. It is not the objective of this essay to present a history of China's financial institutions and monetary systems in the Republican period, but interested readers may wish to consult Kia-ngau Chang, *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); and Arthur N. Young, *China's Wartime Finance and Inflation, 1937–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

²² Zhang Gongquan, “Women de chulu,” 430. On the history and operation of the native banks, see Andrea McElderry, *Shanghai Old-Style Banks (ch'ien-chuang), 1800–1935: A Traditional Institution in a Changing Society* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1976).

²³ Yao Songling, *Zhang Gongquan xiansheng nianpu chugao* (Draft chronological biography of Mr. Zhang Gongquan) (Taipei, 1982), 1: 10. Tang Wenzhi was one of the most important Neo-Confucian moral philosophers of the Zhu Xi School of his time, and he served as president of the National Communications University until 1919. See Wen-hsin Yeh, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919–1937* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 97–102.

²⁴ Yao Songling, *Zhang Gongquan xiansheng*, 11–12.

new government.²⁵ In late 1913, he was named the associate manager of the Shanghai branch of the Bank of China. In Shanghai, he formed several lifelong friendships in its banking circles, which included not only founders, shareholders, and managers of the city's Chinese-owned Western-style banks but also heads of the largely British foreign financial institutions.²⁶

The Bank of China of the late 1920s, reconstituted under Zhang's tutelage, was remarkably successful in its new endeavor. By its own account, the early 1930s was a golden era in the history of the bank. It was well regarded by the wealthy and attracted a large share of private deposits. It presented a conservative image of high security, and by 1933 it commanded a national network of 2,000 employees in over 140 branches. Significantly lower fees in the long-distance remittance business distinguished the bank from its arch rivals, the traditional-style native banks of provincial towns, which appeared to be too embedded in local environments to move nimbly over the map.²⁷ With the assistance of English and German advisers from the Midland and Darmstadt banks, the Bank of China modernized its accounting system, improved branch communications networks, set up offices in London, New York, and Osaka, opened up Foreign Exchange, Trust, and Deposits departments and staffed them with new graduates bearing professional degrees from abroad. It also created a research unit to collect economic data and invited specialists to publish journals on finance and the national economy.²⁸ In Shanghai, it soon replaced the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation as the central clearing house to which all financial institutions brought their bills of exchange at the end of each business day.²⁹ Under Zhang's leadership, the bank also acquired the image of a modern, public-spirited institution that consistently placed national economic interests above corporate profits.

Beneath the utilitarian surface of Zhang's impressively modernized banking organization lay a profoundly moralistic managing philosophy, which was in full accord with the senior leadership's training in Neo-Confucian classics. It placed heavy emphasis on the character and behavior of individual employees instead of on the overall division of labor and structure of incentives. The "personnel handbook" (*hangyuan shouce*), a copy of which every employee was required to carry, contained detailed discussions of the "proper spirit and attitudes" that a good company man was expected to possess. The fortune of the bank, this handbook proclaimed, rested ultimately on competent men of integrity devoting themselves to corporate goals. To maximize the collective strength of the institution, each employee owed his superiors unreserved dedication and absolute

²⁵ On politics in the warlord period, see Andrew J. Nathan, *Peking Politics, 1918–1923: Factionalism and the Failure of Constitutionalism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976).

²⁶ Yao Songling, *Zhang Gongquan xiansheng*, 21–28. On the Anglo-Chinese patronage network in Shanghai's financial circles at this time, see especially Zhang Zhongli and Chen Zengnian, *Shaxun jituan zai jiu Zhongguo* (The Sassoons in old China) (Shanghai, 1983), 127–44.

²⁷ Tang Yusun, "Ruhe chengwei benhang de jinglu" (How to become crack units of our bank), *ZS*, no. 22 (January 15, 1934): 459. The number of branches increased to 203 by the end of 1934. See *Jindai Zhongguo jinrong ye guanli*, 359.

²⁸ *Zhongguo yinhang Shanghai fenhang shi* (History of the Shanghai Branch of the Bank of China) (Shanghai, 1991), 84–85; Tan Yuzuo, *Zhongguo zhongyao*, 174, 193; *Jindai Zhongguo jinrong ye guanli*, 358, 362–63.

²⁹ Tan Yuzuo, *Zhongguo zhongyao*, 209–11; *Zhongguo yinhang Shanghai fenhang shi*, 77–79.

obedience as “one would obey a parent.” To better prepare himself for corporate service, each employee was further urged to use his spare time for self-improvement by participating in activities such as evening classes, lectures, reading clubs, and study societies. White-collar workers of Republican Shanghai lived in an age of “relentlessly changing trends,” their superiors announced. To avoid becoming obsolete on the job, one had to “seize every moment to gain broad exposure” to various branches of new knowledge and “adapt to the trends of the time.”³⁰

The most striking aspect of the bank’s corporate culture, however, was the belief that top leaders were not merely executive administrators with the full power of their offices but also moral leaders and professional teachers whose conduct and standards were to set an example for the average employee. Much as in the corporate culture developed in Japan and in the rest of the Pacific Rim countries later in the century, it was inappropriate for a subordinate ever to openly question the judgment and integrity of a superior, since superiority in the corporate hierarchy was sufficient certification of an individual’s vision and ability.³¹ Furthermore, from an opposite perspective, it was insufficient for the purpose of earning a promotion for members of the rank and file merely to concentrate on assigned tasks and not pay attention to overall self-cultivation. A promotion was a recognition not of fulfillment of duties alone but of superiority in general standing. Because of this moralistic philosophy, life with the bank included a heavy dose of Neo-Confucian self-improvement.

It was part of the job at the bank to be constantly involved in learning and teaching: either in the role of the less informed and accomplished subordinate learning from a manager-superior or in the role of the better educated and morally exemplar superior instructing his juniors. Several forms of this process took place daily in the reconstituted Bank of China. Designated mentors trained lower-level recruits, the majority of whom were secondary school graduates. Evening courses were offered in accounting, economics, English, and Japanese for the mid-level clerks. Values were inculcated through corporate rituals in group gatherings. Few social occasions were free from didactic implications, and participation was imperative if one wished to become part of the collective whole.

ONE SUCH TRAINING SESSION took place, for instance, after the end of the business day on September 6, 1933. More than a hundred members of the Shanghai Branch gathered in the fifth floor dining hall to attend a dinner lecture titled “Important Dates in the History of the Bank of China.” This was part of a series of scheduled evening lectures designed to have managers and senior experts familiarize lower-level employees with the operation of the bank. Junior clerks were required to take notes during the presentation as if attending a class. Three

³⁰ Bank of China, *Zhongguo yinhang hangyuan shouce* (Bank of China employee handbook), 3–9, copy in Shanghai Municipal Archives.

³¹ In the case of Japanese corporations of the mid-twentieth century, Ezra Vogel offers the following observation: “Superiors do not promote someone who cannot win the liking and cooperation of his peers, for an individual’s value to his unit is determined by his capacity to work effectively with his peers, his superiors, and his subordinates.” Vogel, *Japan as Number One* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 56.

days later, after they had put them in order, the clerks submitted their notes to the associate manager for review. He, in turn, like the head instructor in a school, graded the notes and selected the superior ones for circulation.

On this particular September evening, the speaker, a senior accountant, attributed the bank's rise to the enlightened leadership of Zhang Gongquan, after his assumption of the associate manager position of the Shanghai Branch. The speaker recounted the financial crisis of 1916 when the Shanghai Branch defied a government order and held onto its reserves; he told of the drastic measures that Zhang had taken to uphold the credibility of the bank's paper notes. The speaker concluded with an observation about Zhang's exceptional qualities and his courageous defiance of state authority.³²

Different topics were presented on other evenings, but they nearly all served a consistent purpose: the creation and circulation of a narrative about the bank among its own members. This narrative located its points of reference within the institution, as opposed to major events external to it. It showed the thought and action of the bank's senior leadership, rather than impersonal economic conditions, to be the major factor behind the institution's growth. It projected the image of a bank uniquely capable of preserving its integrity from state interference and thus more deserving than any other financial institution of the full confidence of its shareholders, its depositors, and the general public.

In order to sustain this tradition of leadership, junior employees were expected to acquire the same broad vision and moral courage that their seniors had presumably displayed in the past. Junior employees were grouped into classes according to the year of their entrance and assigned to a manager who was their class mentor. To sanctify the teacher-student bond, twice a year the "disciples" were required to present themselves to their mentors in a choreographed public ceremony analogous to the rituals traditionally observed by an apprentice in relation to his master.³³

From the bank's perspective, loyalty, sincerity, reverence for one's superiors, and dedication to work were much-needed virtues. It was the duty of the manager-teacher to use a firm hand in guiding and disciplining trainees.³⁴ Once the bond was formed, the relationship between trainees and managers was often compared to that of "a company of soldiers of sons and younger brothers to their commanding father and uncle." Ideally, both would "feel for each other as members of the same family" and regard their interests as shared. Eventually, junior employees would develop such a profound attachment to the corporate home that they "would be reluctant ever to leave."³⁵

A trainee's day was fully scheduled from dawn to dusk. He was to rise at a certain

³² "News Brief," in *ZS*, no. 17 (September 1, 1933): 379; Zhang Gongquan, "Zhongguo yinhang zhi jichu anzai" (Where does the Bank of China lay its foundation?) *ZS*, no. 14 (June 15, 1933): 271-72.

³³ In the Shanghai Branch, the first such ceremony was held on August 2, 1931. See *ZS*, 1.6 (October 15, 1932): 89, 95.

³⁴ It is instructive in this connection to consider Alfred Chandler's presentation of the development of managerial hierarchy in the United States, which he saw primarily as a result of division of labor by function and specialty in response to a major expansion of the market and significant advances in modern technology. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 381-414, *passim*.

³⁵ *ZS*, 1.6, pp. 89, 95.

hour, to take classes in the abacus, calculator, the English language, and Chinese composition. He was to practice calligraphy, read “beneficial journals, books, and newspapers,” and—as was the habit in old Confucian academies as well as contemporary Japanese banks—keep a diary.³⁶ Here he was required to put down personal reflections and prepare a statement evaluating his own conduct. This record was daily submitted to the mentor for review. Thereafter, the diary became the basis of the manager’s annual personnel evaluation of a trainee in categories such as “competence,” “diligence,” “responsiveness,” and “willingness to cooperate.” The diary gave the corporate mentor a chance to “raise questions and make comments,” to “offer guidance on personal conduct,” and to prevent his charge from “going astray.”³⁷ Managers rated trainees by these yardsticks, and awards and punishments, shame and honor, were openly distributed. One came to be known in the corporate hierarchy precisely for where one stood vis-à-vis others on this moralistic scale.

While the initial molding of a trainee took place in the seclusion of the corporate offices, further conditioning of the average employee, typically married and with children, required the construction of a larger, more encompassing corporate space. In the late 1920s, the Bank of China, like many other Chinese-owned modern enterprises at the time, began building housing compounds for its employees in city after city. These projects were not met with much enthusiasm when the time came for the rank and file to give up their established living arrangements and move into the new living units. It did not escape attention that the spatial deployment of the residential units bespoke a certain corporate imposition of values. A good number of employees nonetheless overcame their initial resistance and moved in.³⁸

THE BANK MAINTAINED THAT having employees living next to each other brought many advantages: “order,” “convenience in management,” “friendship,” “unity as a group,” and “uniformity in thinking.” These advantages were especially important “during an emergency,” such as a military coup or bandit raid.³⁹ Whatever the justifications, dormitory compounds were expressions of the corporation’s extensive reach into the everyday life of its employees.

³⁶ ZS, no. 15 (July 1, 1933): 304. Diary keeping as part of an employee’s moral training was apparently a common requirement in those days. See Zhang Jia’ao (Zhang Gongquan), *Yinhang hangyuan de xin shenghuo* (New life for a bank employee) (Nanjing, 1934), 36–38; Dai Ailu (Dai Zhiqian), *Yinhang jia, yinhangyuan zuoyouming* (Rules of thumb for bankers and bank employees) (Shanghai, 1932), 178–79. Dai’s account took note of diary keeping as a corporate practice in contemporary Japanese banks. Barry Keenan’s research shows that diary keeping was practiced by Tongcheng School academists including the mid-Qing statesman Zeng Guofan. See Barry Keenan, *Academists in Jiangnan during the Post-Taiping Era* (Berkeley, Calif., forthcoming), 33–35.

³⁷ ZS, no. 11 (March 15, 1933): 197.

³⁸ Former employees with the Bank of Communications in Shanghai spoke of similar experiences. Interview with Lu Shengzu in the dormitory of the Bank of Communications, Shanghai, January 12, 1991.

³⁹ Yihou, “Gongtong shenghuo zhi yiban—Jinzhongli” (Communal life in the Jinzhongli), ZS, 1.4 (August 15, 1932): 60; Xiaoyi, “Gongtong shenghuo zhi yiban, jiushisi hao” (Communal life at the No. 94), ZS, no. 13 (May 15, 1933): 259; Li Jin, “Wuren yingdang xingcha ziji de bingtai” (We ought to examine our own shortcomings), ZS, no. 12 (April 15, 1933): 233.

The Bank of China's Tianjin compound was a fully fenced area prominently marked by main gates with the name and logo of the bank on them. On the other side of the logo was a giant mechanical clock, visible to all who passed under it as a daily reminder of the central place of time in the occupants' corporate life. Leading straight from the gates into the center of the landscaped compound was a long footpath that ended at the steps of a large, two-story Western-style building, which was the residence of the branch manager. Flanking the manager's residence, two to a side, were four more two-story buildings for the four associate managers, reduced in size to reflect the occupants' comparative status. Behind these five buildings were eight units of three stories facing each other in two rows. Uniformly constructed in concrete, each apartment house was partitioned into six standardized units with separate entrances, private kitchens, and bathrooms.⁴⁰ These regular employee residences were limited to two bedrooms, so that each unit was only large enough for a couple with small children. Although space was allowed in every residence for a maid, no room was made for the multi-generational extended family, the norm for households in the Republican period.⁴¹

While the bank excluded the extended family from the compound, it sought to make the enclosed space a world unto itself.⁴² Interconnected by shaded footpaths were gardens, pavilions, athletic fields, tennis and basketball courts, an auditorium, and classrooms. The latter were used for an elementary and secondary school, which in the early 1930s had a staff of three professional teachers and an enrollment of over thirty students, whose mothers worked as voluntary teachers' aides. These same classrooms were used in the evenings for residents to study English, economics, accounting, and the local dialect. The auditorium was used for meetings and special occasions, such as the birth of a new child, the marriage of a young clerk, the anniversary of a manager—all joyous occasions celebrated in

⁴⁰ These units in the style of a multi-story communal townhouse were apparently new to the Chinese urban landscape, with first appearances dating back to the late nineteenth century in Shanghai and Tianjin. In the Republican period, they tended to be built in blocks with scores of units and rented by petty urbanite families. Large-scale construction of these dwellings signified the commodification of urban space in modern Chinese cities. See Luo Suwen, *Da Shanghai: Shikumen, xunchang renjia* (Greater Shanghai: gates of carved ornament, homes to ordinary households) (Shanghai, 1991), 3–38.

⁴¹ Yihou, "Gongtong shenghuo," 58–60.

⁴² On the rise of the *xiao jiating* (nuclear family) in Republican cities and its significance, defined in opposition to the *da jiazhu* or extended lineages that continued to be the norm in the hinterland, see Wen-hsin Yeh, "Progressive Journalism and Shanghai's Petty Urbanites: Zou Taofen and the Shenghuo Enterprise, 1926–1945," in Wakeman and Yeh, *Shanghai Sojourners*, 205–14; and also Susan Glosser, "The Business of Family," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, March 25–27, 1994, Boston, Massachusetts.

Past scholarship on the twentieth-century Chinese "family revolution" has placed much emphasis on the influence of Western liberal ideology and romantic individualism. Recent studies approach the issue from the angle of the political economy of the city and place the discussion in the context of the rise of the Chinese nation-state. These studies have been able to show the conservative dimension of the nuclear family and its embeddedness in urban commercial culture. The rise of the nuclear family in Republican Chinese cities, of course, is a separate issue from the question of the role of families and kinship networks in Chinese business organizations. With the rapid industrialization of East and Southeast Asian economies in recent decades, this topic has attracted a considerable amount of interest. For a recent conference volume rich in empirical information, see Gary Hamilton, ed., *Business Networks and Economic Development in East and Southeast Asia* (Hong Kong, 1991).

the corporate home. Three times a week, a physician, paid by the bank, visited the compound to see patients. Every morning, early risers could play tennis or study martial arts with an instructor on the athletic field. While children played in the gardens, their mothers socialized in the pavilions. Household chores were borne by domestic servants. With the exception of shopping, the genteel wives of the Bank of China's employees saw little need to venture outside the gates of their comfortably designed urban compound. Similar conditions prevailed in other cities.⁴³

The Shanghai Branch dormitories were located across town from the business office, west of the International Settlement. Shanghai Branch employees thus had the additional routine of taking the bank's bus to work, eating lunch in the company dining hall, and riding back to their residences in the late afternoon. Shortly after the bank moved its head office to Shanghai in 1928, it bought a spacious, English-style country estate at No. 94 Jessfield Road. A meticulously landscaped estate with gardens, lawns, tennis courts, fish ponds, and multiple guest suites, No. 94 was supposed to be the official residence of General Manager Zhang. He chose, however, to occupy only a portion of the house and turned the rest of the mansion into a regular meeting place as well as a guest house for visiting branch managers. Every Friday, about sixty members of the bank gathered there for an informal dinner meeting. Zhang set a chatty and confiding tone for the conversation, encouraging those present to speak their minds. The importance of these dinners in smoothing the internal operation of the bank can hardly be exaggerated. Colleagues traded information, heard about developments outside their own departments, and read the collective company mood. Important business plans were often formulated in the dining room at No. 94, which functioned as a high-level policy center rather than a mere residential appendage to the corporate office down along the Bund.⁴⁴

Sports and physical exercise were emphasized in the corporate compound. Tennis on Sunday mornings was a favorite pastime for many at the head office and the Shanghai Branch. At the Harbin Branch, ice hockey took the place of tennis for a good part of the year. At Yichang in Hubei, horseback riding was favored over other sports. All of these outdoor activities were associated with a Western style of life available only to the well-to-do—those who could readily muster the spare time, the money, and the cultural capital of such pursuits.⁴⁵ They helped form a public image of bank employees as dashing, innovative, and affluent youth with cosmopolitan tastes and enhanced the impression that employment with the bank was like membership in an exclusive club.

Team sports strengthened the Shanghai group's sense of solidarity. At least fifty people joined the soccer club of the bank, which also organized basketball teams in 1931. These teams officially represented the Bank of China at annual sports meets held by the YMCA, linking the bank's players to counterparts from other

⁴³ Yihou, "Gongtong shenghuo"; Xiaoyi, "Gongtong shenghuo," 259. The dinner party was apparently the most common form of socializing among these families. Interview with Li Wenquan, Shanghai, January 12, 1991.

⁴⁴ Yihou, "Gongtong shenghuo"; Xiaoyi, "Gongtong shenghuo."

⁴⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, "Sport and Social Class," in Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson, eds., *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 368.

financial institutions and missionary colleges. These colleges were where many young employees had acquired their skills in soccer and basketball in the first place.⁴⁶ In this respect, the popularity of team sports among the bank's employees in the 1930s signaled the ascendance within the corporation of a new cohort of financial workers with college degrees, as opposed to an older generation of experienced money men who had done their apprenticeship in the old-style native banks.

By 1933, several genres of activities had become firmly established in the daily routines of the Bank of China. There were the organized lectures and classes that permitted the senior experts to appear as instructors and role models for their junior subordinates. The dinner talks and club meetings made possible the free exchange of ideas and the forging of social networks. Sports events, meanwhile, sharpened the bank's youthful image and advertised its modern, westernized outlook. In its carefully constructed corporate space, a multitude of events took place daily, drawing on a repertoire of activities developed with thought and care over the previous ten years. Bank employees had their days scheduled by the corporate clock, and not only during office hours. Corporate orchestration had reached so many areas of their after-work life that most boundaries between the private and the public, the personal and the professional, were erased in this communal space.

THE BANK OF CHINA'S CORPORATE CULTURE in the early 1930s was contained within an ideology of enlightened paternalism. After privatization and the loss of government bank status, the bank's leaders sought to instill a sense of social importance and higher purpose by claiming the bank to be not a profit-oriented enterprise but both a moving force behind the country's economic modernization and a champion of the public good. Its senior executives, combining the roles of modern financiers and old-fashioned gentry statesmen, presided over the creation of a work environment in which time was highly valued and a corporate community disciplined by the mechanical clock. The result was a paternalism that simultaneously stressed the universal applicability of modern professional expertise and the timeless validity of certain Confucian ethical norms.⁴⁷

This enlightened paternalism was not without its contradictions. As the bank presented itself as a modernizing financial institution, it espoused progress and embraced innovation.⁴⁸ As a force for social good, however, the bank also

⁴⁶ Shen Shuyu, "Huhang qiuyi bu zhi guoqu ji qi jinkuang" (Past and present of the team sports department of the Shanghai Branch), *ZS*, no. 17 (September 1, 1933): 386–88; Peiguan, "Huhang tongren gongyu shenghuo xiezhen" (A realistic depiction of after-work life at the Shanghai branch), *ZS*, no. 16 (August 1933): 327–29. Although it is a common practice worldwide these days for business firms to engage their employees in team sports, in Republican China such activities were regarded as quite "modern" and "Western." Western-style sports were practiced mainly in urban areas by members of the middle class, who acquired the skills while attending missionary schools or after joining the YMCA. See Yeh, *Alienated Academy*, 72–74, 101.

⁴⁷ For an illustration, see the account in *ZS*, 1.6 (October 15, 1932): 86–89; also Zhang Gongquan, "Zhongguo yinhang zhi jichu anzai?" 272.

⁴⁸ Leo Lee, "In Search of Modernity: Some Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Chinese History and Literature," in Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman, eds., *Ideas*

conducted its operations in a spirit of Neo-Confucian integrity measured by timeless moral standards. On balance, morality outweighed innovation. What the latest in banking technology could contribute was, in the end, less important than what a group of dedicated moralistic leaders could accomplish. Even as the images of those dashing young soccer-playing employees in the bank's residential compounds boldly confirmed the changing times, the ultimate goal of the bank was an order of things that bespoke permanence and stability, personified by the senior leaders with their paternalistic accomplishments, and after which the average employees were instructed to fashion themselves.

The story of the bank, told didactically to edify its employees, often failed to envelop the daily experience of the work force. So much of the moral authority of the bank was vested in its own icons that most of the employees who actually lived within the corporate realm ultimately felt that their lives lacked significance. Their daily routines instead amounted to a restricted existence of prescribed passivity and limited mobility—a life of tedious boredom, in which they searched in vain for meaning.

Boredom was often right beneath the surface of an employee's dutiful daily routines. From time to time, an employee would come forward to make a complaint. A code clerk who had been working in the telegraph room for over ten years, for example, once wrote to the in-house newsletter to say that he found his work mechanical and his life boring. He saw no prospect either for promotion or transfer, and he felt trapped.⁴⁹ The editor of the newsletter, a member of the general manager's staff, responded with a commentary twice the letter's length. According to the editor, "Our General Manager Zhang has often remarked that it takes talent and gifts, superior intelligence and energy, moral integrity, efforts of self-cultivation, and right opportunities for a man to rise and become a leading banker." Since most individuals were none of the above but just ordinary people, they were better advised to aspire to the ideal of "anonymous hero," that is, to be someone who did his duties and felt content with his lot.⁵⁰ The corporation, the editor went on, was not exactly a family but instead a large machine with many interconnected wheels and gears. It required the effort of all parts of the machine for this powerful instrument to function properly. So the code clerk ought to be utterly content spending his life as "a cog in this complex machine." If he felt bored, he should "nurture his spirit in order to change his attitude and learn to be content with his due."⁵¹

But many bank employees found their assignments narrow, their advance toward promotion slow, and their business contacts restricted to the one office in

across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 109–35.

⁴⁹ Li Jilu, "Wo duiyu tongren de liangju hua" (A few words to my colleagues), *ZS*, 1.5 (September 15, 1932): 82.

⁵⁰ Tension between romantic ideas of individual heroism and contemporary organizational emphasis on the "anonymous hero" as a member of the collectivity was prominent in Republican political culture of this time. See Wen-hsin Yeh, "Dai Li and the Liu Geqing Affair: Heroism in the Chinese Secret Service during the War of Resistance," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 48 (August 1989): 545–62.

⁵¹ Li Jilu, "Wo duiyu tongren," 37–38.

which they worked. Worse yet, because there was a tendency to concentrate decision-making power at the top in order to facilitate vertical supervision, most office workers found themselves assigned very specific chores that were mind-numbingly repetitive. All reports went upward, and little horizontal liaison took place among peers. Many complained loudly in their in-house newsletters that their jobs were dull and dry, that they were subjected to office disciplines that would not even permit them a chance to look out the window.⁵² The management more or less agreed with this assessment by adding “Boredom” to the topics in the official training handbook and treating it as a widespread personnel problem.

Banking, after all, meant glitter and glamour in the minds of petty urbanites. The Bankers’ Association had, by the late 1920s, displaced the old-style money guild as the most powerful leader of Shanghai’s business community. And a bank clerk represented a worthy target of pursuit in the marriage market. Employment with a Western-style bank, in particular, was like being pensioned with a “golden rice bowl”—an object of even greater envy than the “silver rice bowl” held by employees of the Maritime Customs Service and the “iron rice bowl” held by engineers of the Railroad Bureau under the Ministry of Communications. A job with a bank meant security, income, and standing. Very few people seemed about to quit the bank just to escape from boredom.

But boredom did pose a problem, even though the bank leadership had few plans to change working conditions. When boredom set in, it increased considerably the risks of turning a reliable bank employee into a reckless young bachelor who sought diversion in such common urban pleasures as gambling, smoking, drinking, and womanizing. He could also try to play investment banker on his own by making private loans with bank money, speculating in the stock market, devising ingenious methods to bypass the auditors, or cashing money out of falsified accounts.⁵³ In this light, the bank’s strong emphasis on proper before and after work activities such as reading and exercising took on additional meaning: these “beneficial” activities were needed to counter both boredom and the temptations of urban vice.

As a group of forward-looking young men freshly graduated from high schools and colleges, many Bank of China employees were in fact quite willing to schedule their lives around books and sports.⁵⁴ But their feelings of boredom were symptomatic of a deeper malaise about loss of control over their

⁵² Zeng Runshan, “Tantan yinhang shenghuo” (On working for a bank), *ZS*, 1.6 (October 15, 1932): 119; Xiao Fusheng, “Dalian minzhong yule ji wohang tongren shenghuo” (Popular recreation in Dalian and employee life in the bank), *ZS*, no. 15 (July 1, 1933): 302–03; Bao Wenzao, “Wo duiyu zhiwu diaoyi zhi ganxiang ji gongzuo jingguo de xingqu” (My thoughts on job transfer and interest in such work experience), *ZS*, no. 25 (April 1, 1934): 565.

⁵³ For examples, see the report on “Benhang ruhe faxian Shanghai yinhang Chen an de jingguo” (How we exposed the Chen case of the Shanghai Bank), *ZS*, no. 32 (November 1, 1934): 800–02. Also see interview with Li Wenquan, January 12, 1991, Shanghai. Several cases filed with the First Special District Court of the Shanghai Municipality concern white-collar crimes of this nature. See Shanghai Municipal Archives, Min-31-Su-Gong-832, Min-31-Su-Gong-390. While these crimes were apparently rampant in smaller commercial banks, few Bank of China employees were involved in such cases.

⁵⁴ Some proposed that high-ranking managers should lead physical exercise sessions for twenty to thirty minutes every day. Others suggested switching off the electrical power to all dormitory units by 11 p.m. See Lan, “Wo suo xiwang benhang shixian de jijian shi” (What I’d like to see being realized in this bank), *ZS*, no. 22 (January 15, 1934): 474–75.

destiny and about individuals losing relevance in the complex corporate machine.⁵⁵ Reading and exercise brought paltry relief for this malaise. Young clerks wanted honest examinations of their situation and concrete measures for structural change.⁵⁶ The corporate leadership, however, was unresponsive. Corporate rhetoric dwelt instead on how things ought to be, especially on how young employees ought to reform themselves in order to contribute to the rise of the corporation.

Somewhere along the corporate ladder, a rift appeared that separated those at the top of the hierarchy from those at the bottom. Corporate time, as constructed by those at the top, was continuous and suffused with meaning. Time as experienced by those at the bottom was truncated and drained of significance. While the leaders saw themselves as personifying the institution, the rank and file found themselves depersonalized by corporate conditioning. General Manager Zhang's stature grew in tandem with the continuous expansion of the bank. But, within the corporate sphere so comprehensively delineated by the bank, the average employee found his individual space steadily compressed as he became a cog in an ever more complicated machine, imprisoned in an all-encompassing schedule marked off by the ticking of the corporate clock.

In Zhang Gongquan's vision of the bank, the key to its improved efficiency and vigorous growth was the creation of a corporate culture of enlightened paternalism. While the leadership had envisioned an urban corporate garden of perfect contentment, what lurked beneath the surface was a profound sense of boredom. Because ethical and intellectual authority was assumed to parallel corporate hierarchy, the bank's paternalistic order, despite its benevolent intent, was an authoritarian structure in which all forms of power, aided by modern instruments of control, were amassed at the top. There was a growing restlessness that simmered underneath the calm surface-patterns of employee life, even as the leadership worked to attain the stability of a perfect structure. This restlessness strained relationships between leaders and followers, threatening to undermine the claim to higher meaning on which the bank was built.

STARTING IN THE EARLY 1930s, under the leadership of Zhang Gongquan, the Bank of China gradually turned its attention away from the city to address economic problems in the Chinese countryside. The bank was neither the first nor

⁵⁵ One man put it this way: "Individuals have lost control over their destiny. Mind and reasoning have lost their relevance." It was useless trying to find solace in reading and exercises, because "one loses interest in all things. Only numbness is felt. A restlessness grips us all." The problem appeared to be a lack of opportunity to "look beyond the institutional walls" and "think about the meaning of life and universe." Bank life was declared "monotonous and mechanical." See Yimin, "Tichu yige dushu shangde wenti" (To raise a question about reading and learning), *ZS*, no. 32 (November 1, 1934): 774-75.

⁵⁶ In the words of a young cashier, "What youth like ourselves want to see is something potent and forceful: actions that demonstrate, not rhetoric that soothes." His fellow cashiers agreed with him and demanded "truthful descriptions of the problems that exist for us," "concrete proposals for change," and "real improvement in the conditions under which we work." Xu Zongze, "Xiwang geyu you li de dongxi zaocheng hao de huanjing" (Hope for a powerful push in creating a better environment), *ZS*, no. 13 (May 15, 1933): 239.

the only one of Shanghai's major business organizations to do so. This reorientation took place at a time when Shanghai's upper elites, who were well situated in the lower Yangzi region, had grown increasingly concerned with the way the Nationalist government, once regarded as progressive, had been setting its domestic and international agendas. An entire sector of Shanghai's upper-middle-class society—ranging from old-fashioned Neo-Confucian social reformers to new-style educators, publishers, journalists, industrialists, and financiers, some with an American education—turned to China's agrarian problems with a new sense of urgency, devising remedies that sometimes carried a socialist resonance. It was against this backdrop that the leadership of the bank turned to the countryside and embarked on a new course of action—which was taken up enthusiastically by the rank and file, who saw in the road to the countryside a way to liberate themselves from the boredom of their urban work life.

Zhang Gongquan's sense of crisis and critical attitude toward the Nationalist government is apparent in the Bank of China's 1932 annual report to its shareholders. Zhang reviewed the regional wars that had plagued the country the previous year, the unavailing military campaigns against the Communists, the devastating summer floods in the Yangzi Valley, the Manchurian Railway incident in September that cast the shadow of Japanese military occupation on the gates of Beiping, formerly known as the imperial capital Beijing, and the severe economic recession that gripped the country in the fourth quarter of the year. Zhang noted that the proper foundation of a functioning bank was simply "political stability and general economic prosperity." And yet, under the Nationalists, there had not been a single year of peace. Nor had the state made any effort to move the country away from the brink of bankruptcy.⁵⁷

Things only worsened thereafter. Global depression, which began with the crash of the American stock market, reached Shanghai in the early 1930s. Export trade was severely curtailed. With the drop in the price of silkworm cocoons and raw silk, shock waves ran through Shanghai's financial system. In Zhang's next report in April 1933, he declared that 1932 was "a year of unprecedented national calamities."⁵⁸ The rural economy was severely depressed. There was a frantic flight of capital from the countryside into large cities, resulting in an urban cash glut.⁵⁹ The peasants' ability to repay debts on loans diminished sharply during the same period. Many cotton mills, flour mills, and silk factories, meanwhile, faced cutbacks and were about to go out of business. For modern banks, these

⁵⁷ Yao Songling, *Zhang Gongquan xiansheng*, 1: 119. For the full text of this annual report, see *Zhongguo yinhang hangshi ziliao huibian, shangbian, 1912–1949*, 3: 2097–2132.

⁵⁸ Yao Songling, *Zhang Gongquan xiansheng*, 1: 127.

⁵⁹ In 1932, Shanghai bank holdings in silver bullion rose by more than 100 percent and in silver dollars by nearly 40 percent compared with the year before. China was on a silver standard until 1934 and so was initially protected somewhat from the worst effects of the Great Depression. But the United States adopted the silver purchase program in 1933. Thereafter, silver was drained out of China. King, *Concise Economic History of Modern China*, 135–38; Milton Friedman, *Money Mischief: Episodes in Monetary History* (New York, 1992), 157–81. Zhang Gongquan (identified as Chang Kia-ngau in Friedman's text) considered monetary problems, especially inflation in the late 1940s, which wiped out urban middle-class savings, to be at the heart of the Nationalists' collapse. See Chang, *Inflationary Spiral*.

developments were particularly distressing, because they had too much cash and no safe outlets for investment.⁶⁰

The influx of capital into Shanghai had touched off a frenzy of speculation in the high-risk bond market, which fluctuated wildly after the Manchurian Incident of 1931, when huge chunks of income from salt and customs that the government had previously pledged to secure the bonds fell into Japanese hands. There were ominous signs that the Green Gang, Shanghai's largest drug and gambling syndicate, was operating in the bond market.⁶¹ Chaos descended on the bond market in mid-January 1932, when the Ministry of Finance suddenly announced that the government was going to delay as well as reduce its payment on both principal and interest. Bond trading at the Shanghai Security Exchange ground to a halt. Two weeks later, the Japanese launched a military attack on Nationalist army positions in the Chinese sector of the city during what came to be known as the "Shanghai Incident." At that point, the majority of Shanghai banks simply suspended their operations entirely.⁶²

Zhang Gongquan, projecting the image of a statesman-financier, made public speeches to defend his bank's actions as in the best interests of the country and the people.⁶³ He saw the unrelenting crises of the early 1930s as a major threat to the future prospects of the bank, and he felt compelled to embark on a new course of action. Because Shanghai was already overcrowded with competition, Zhang sought new business opportunities by redirecting the bank to China's hinterland. Although the financing of the overseas import-export trade was fully in the hands of Shanghai's foreign banks, large parts of rural China remained untouched by modern banking. In Zhang's eyes, the future of the bank thus lay with the "backward" areas unclaimed by modernity and in regions peripheral to the population centers of coastal China.⁶⁴

With this goal in mind, the Bank of China initiated new lending policies and tried to shift a sizable portion of its direct lending to provincial manufacturers and producers of "national goods." The bank helped with the organization of cooperatives that promoted the distribution of Chinese-manufactured goods. It also extended low-interest loans to handicraft industries. It set up county liaison

⁶⁰ "Gejie duiyu benhang ershiyi niandu baogao zhi pinglun" (Public comments and reactions to the 1932 annual report of the Bank of China: news digest), ZS, no. 13 (May 15, 1933): 265–66.

⁶¹ When the Bank of China announced its decision to cease holding government bonds as bank reserves, it was met by strong protests from an "Association of Bond Holders," which turned out to be a front group organized by Green Gang leaders Du Yuesheng and Zhang Xiaolin. *Zhongguo yinhang Shanghai fenhang shi, 1912–1949*, 67. On the Green Gang, see Frederic E. Wakeman, "Policing Modern Shanghai," *China Quarterly*, 115 (September 1988): 408–40; Brian G. Martin, "The Pact with the Devil: The Relationship between the Green Gang and the Shanghai French Concession Authorities, 1925–1935," in Wakeman and Yeh, *Shanghai Sojourners*, 266–304.

⁶² *Zhongguo yinhang Shanghai fenhang shi, 1912–1949*, 66–67.

⁶³ Wang Shumei, "Jianku zhong delai de shengming" (Survival through hardship and struggle), ZS, no. 12 (April 15, 1933): 216; Zhu Yangchen, "Yige houjin hangyuan de zili yu xiwang" (A junior employee's experience and hope), ZS, no. 12 (April 15, 1933): 220.

⁶⁴ For comments on the place of Shanghai versus smaller provincial towns and cities in the development of business strategies and organizations in Republican China, see Sherman Cochran, "Three Roads into Shanghai's Market: Japanese, Western, and Chinese Companies in the Match Trade, 1895–1937," in Wakeman and Yeh, *Shanghai Sojourners*, 35–75; and also Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890–1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), chap. 1 and *passim*.

offices with storage facilities to which peasants could bring their goods in kind as collateral for loans. Where no collateral was involved, the bank made loans to rural cooperative organizations such as the experimental stations at Dingxian in Hebei and at Zouping in Shandong.⁶⁵ Above all, it began in 1933 to set up offices in large market towns in rural areas, making direct loans of up to 50 yuan (roughly the equivalent of three months' wages for a Shanghai laborer) per peasant household. The size of the loan to individuals was sometimes as small as 1.50 yuan (approximately 50 cents in U.S. dollars at late 1933 exchange rates).⁶⁶ By December 1934, over 19,000 peasant households owed the bank a total of 1,120,000 yuan.⁶⁷

While the bank's leadership turned toward the countryside for pragmatic reasons, bank employees trapped in their urban offices saw this move as a solution to their own malaise.⁶⁸ Young clerks in particular embraced the new rural orientation with enthusiasm and romanticized an image of bank employees working out in the open under village trees instead of on the top floor of a multi-story office building. Modern banking could thereby be brought into the once hard-pressed and exploited villages by the Bank of China with a humane face and benevolent intentions, its touch transforming the poverty-stricken hinterland into patches of rural gardens. The bank itself, meanwhile, would be transformed into a network of rural operations, each staffed by a few young men who would both serve and enlighten the community that revolved around them. Together, the urban-trained professionals and the rural-based villagers would create a new order of things in which the corporate space was completely dissolved into the natural community.

One junior employee, writing in late 1933, imagined himself taking a walk through the southern Jiangsu countryside in two years' time. "One day I took a walk, wasn't mindful of where I was going, and came upon village S. It was a small place teeming with houses and busy with the coming and going of people. The fields were lined with hemp and mulberry trees as far as the eye could see. Roosters crowed and dogs barked. Neighbors came and went as they pleased."⁶⁹ This passage invokes the time-honored Taoist image of a peaceful village of utter self-sufficiency, immortalized in the Chinese literary imagination through the rhymed prose of the Jin poet Tao Yuanming in the fifth-century classic, "Peach

⁶⁵ The Dingxian experiment was conducted by the Yale-educated Christian convert James Yen, a native of northern Sichuan. The Zouping project was the creation of Liang Shuming, a Confucian scholar, classicist, and philosopher. Both aimed to combat rural poverty by mobilizing peasants to help themselves: Yen with the assistance of Western agricultural and medical technology and rural schools, Liang with emphasis on moral cultivation and communal organization. See Charles W. Hayford, *To the People: James Yen and Village China* (New York, 1990); Guy S. Alitto, *The Last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979).

⁶⁶ The exchange rate between the Chinese silver dollar and the U.S. dollar fluctuated considerably between 1929 and 1936, as a result of American government policies on the purchase of silver. See King, *Concise Economic History of Modern China*, 136–37; Friedman, *Money Mischief*, 171–74.

⁶⁷ *Jindai Zhongguo jinrong ye guanli*, 371, 375–78; Yao Songling, *Zhang Gongquan xiansheng*, 123–24, 128–29, 139.

⁶⁸ Chen Bingtie, "Xiwang fenzhi jiguan bianshe guo nei wai" (Hope to see branch offices all over the country and the world), and Cao Zhibai, "Women yao zou shang xinlu qu" (We need to embark on a new path), both in *ZS*, no. 22 (January 15, 1934): 466.

⁶⁹ Ye Boyan, "Xiangcun banshi chu zhi yipie" (A glimpse of a rural bank office), *ZS*, no. 22 (January 15, 1934): 464.

Blossom Spring." The bank clerk continued: "Near the end of the village was its trading sector. There were about a dozen stores in a cluster of simple buildings . . . I walked into this picture of simple needs and contentment, and there, at the very end of it, stood the sign 'Bank of China' in the midst of the countryside's greenery and tranquillity."⁷⁰

In his imagined visit, the author hurried into the bank office to meet the banker, who was an amicable young man in his early thirties with an honest and sincere face, wearing, instead of the urban clerk's Western-style suit, a dark blue cotton gown of the traditional scholarly sort. This man's office had none of the elaborate furnishings of a westernized bank but was nonetheless neat and impeccably clean.⁷¹ He had been working there for only one year. Before his arrival, the village had been an isolated financial backwater where traveling merchants had to haul their cash around and rich landlords hoarded their silver under their floorboards. After the arrival of the Bank of China, however, everything changed for the better. Villagers were able to earn interest on their deposits, to mortgage their grain to the bank at harvest time at a fair interest rate, and then to redeem their grain for sale when prices rose to their advantage. The village was no longer struggling at the margin of subsistence.⁷²

For the two men who worked in the imaginary village bank, life had also improved significantly compared to the boring, grueling routine they had left behind in their Shanghai office. Neither the mechanical nor corporate clock had much relevance any more. The day was measured by the movement of the sun and moon and dictated by the rhythms of farming life. The two bankers spent only half a day each morning in their office. In the afternoon, everyone worked in the fields, making it pointless to keep the office open. At dusk, catching the evening breeze, the bankers often assembled the villagers under their cucumber trellis and chatted with them about modern banking, so that everyone learned to see the differences between rural creditors of the new and old sorts. True to their role as the village's ultimate benefactors, the two bankers taught children in the village school and organized reading classes for the illiterate.⁷³ They had stepped, in other words, into the role of a traditional village schoolmaster in his scholarly gown, a position too often left vacant in Republican years, as members of the educated elite abandoned their tradition-bound home towns for the westernized city. With thousands of these "naturalized" operations dotting the rural landscape, the imagined bank of the future would transform itself into the life-giver of the countryside, winning the love and loyalty of an army of peasant followers happily busying themselves with the everyday bustle of their natal villages.⁷⁴

This romanticized vision of rural banking was, of course, not to become a reality. The Bank of China's new measures in the villages were blocked by endless social unrest. The Nationalist government, in fact, suspected most rural projects of left-wing sympathies and refused to offer cooperation. In March 1935, even as Zhang Gongquan pondered how to win the Nationalist government over to the

⁷⁰ Ye, "Xiangcun banshi chu zhi yipie."

⁷¹ Ye, "Xiangcun banshi chu zhi yipie."

⁷² Ye, "Xiangcun banshi chu zhi yipie," 464-65.

⁷³ Ye, "Xiangcun banshi chu zhi yipie," 465.

⁷⁴ Ye, "Xiangcun banshi chu zhi yipie."

bank's plans for rural reconstruction, the Ministry of Finance struck. Taking advantage of a sharp reduction in the silver supply in China as a result of the American Silver Purchase Act and the subsequent turmoil in the financial market, the government seized majority control of the bank's board of directors and, on March 28, forced Zhang to resign.⁷⁵ Zhang's departure signified the end of the bank's autonomy from the Nationalist authorities. Thereafter, the bank was once again made into a government institution with predominant state control and thrust into the next round of financial crises, concerning the underwriting of government bonds. The rural projects around which Zhang Gongquan had redefined his bank's future mission and the dreams of indigenization that lured his subordinates were thus forcibly put to an end.⁷⁶

BECAUSE OF THE BANK OF CHINA'S LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ORIGIN in a state-sponsored enterprise initiated at the top level of the imperial bureaucracy, it attained its national scope of operation virtually from the moment of its inception.⁷⁷ Much of the growth and transformation that took place in the early 1930s took place along the lines of a much greater density in local presence—in the increase in the total number of local offices and number of employees per

⁷⁵ The Silver Purchase Act was initiated by Congress in response to a message from President Roosevelt on May 22, 1934, and signed into law by him less than a month later, on June 19, 1934. The act "directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver at home and abroad until the market price reached \$1.29+ an ounce, or until the monetary value of the silver stock held by the Treasury reached one-third of the monetary value of the gold stock." China in late 1933 was the only populous country still on a silver standard, and it had accumulated a large stock of the metal as a result of its use as money. The Silver Purchase Act led to a rise in the price of silver, which in turn produced a major deflation and a severely troubled economy in China. China went off the silver standard in November 1935 and embarked on a sweeping currency reform. See Friedman, *Money Mischief*, 163–64, 175. For details on how the Nationalist government seized control of the Bank of China, see Coble, *Shanghai Capitalists*, chaps. 6 and 7, *passim*.

⁷⁶ These discontented petty urbanites (*xiao shimin*) became increasingly politicized from the mid-1930s on, agitating for a return to the countryside and a liberation from the corporate discipline imposed on them with westernized precision by a patriarchal leadership. Shanghai's employers, their position weakened by the severe recession of the mid-1930s as well as by the imminent outbreak of war, were reduced in their capacity to respond. The image of the urban corporate home had already lost its moral persuasiveness. This loss of meaning made the ticking of the mechanical clock all the more oppressive. After the war with Japan broke out in 1937, an increasing number of bank employees left the city for the countryside. Materials held at the Second National Historical Archives in Nanjing and at the Shanghai Municipal Archives show that, once in the rural area, some of these men joined the Communist Party. Many became the cadres who led the peasants back into the city in 1949 to reclaim Shanghai as their own. For a brief explication, see Yung-fa Chen, *Making Revolution: The Communist Movement in Eastern and Central China, 1937–1945* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 27. A fuller treatment of this later development, with documentation, is beyond the scope of this article.

⁷⁷ This is not to be confused with the suggestion that the bank achieved a high degree of national integration in actual operation during the first decades of the twentieth century, when the late imperial Chinese political system was cut asunder by the rise of factional conflicts and regionalism. The bank, nonetheless, was able to attain a considerable degree of coordination among its regional offices in the 1920s, despite communication difficulties and major discrepancies in regional socioeconomic conditions. One major accomplishment of Zhang Gongquan as the general manager of the bank in the late 1920s and early 1930s was in the furthering of internal integration of the bank into a national institution. Zhang did this through the adoption of new communications technology and of standardized banking procedures, in addition to unified personnel practices. See Hong Jiaguan, "Minguo shiqi jinrong jigou zai shehui bianhua zhong de zuoyong" (The role of financial institutions in social change in the Republican era), paper presented at Luce Seminar on Modern Shanghai, University of California, Berkeley, March 6–7, 1992.

office—as opposed to a broader geographical reach into new areas. It also took place along the lines of greater professional specialization and organizational rationalization, although the structure that it started out with, modeled on late imperial Chinese bureaucracy, was not altogether devoid of rational elements even by the pronouncement of Max Weber.⁷⁸ The bank transformed itself, above all, by substituting an ethic of service to the people for one of toiling for the state and created a new corporate culture that emphasized discipline, efficiency, and responsiveness to market signals.

To quicken the pace as well as synchronize these internal moves, the reconfigured Bank of China brought the Western mechanical clock into a bureaucratic hierarchy heavily imbued with the Neo-Confucian ethic of self-cultivation. Here in the city, where the mechanical clock ticked away, the bank delineated a distinct communal space paced to its own corporate time. It synchronized the daily activities of its employees, extending the reach of the corporation into their after-work hours. However, along with the ticking of the corporate clock came the daily performance of the highly specialized routines that the bank's leadership identified with modern efficiency but that were mind-numbingly repetitive. Organizational power and moral authority were concentrated in the hands of the few at the top. The rank and file experienced a restlessness never far beneath the surface even as they grew accustomed to the comforts of an urban life in the garden compounds that paternalistically housed them. When the bank turned its attention to the countryside in the mid-1930s, many of its younger employees took this as an opportunity to escape from the boredom of their urban existence under the watchful eyes of a corporate superior.⁷⁹

When left-wing propagandists began their attack on “Shanghai capitalists” during the war in the 1940s, the bank was assailed as a prime example of “bureaucratic capitalism.”⁸⁰ There were vivid parallels, however, between the bank and the Communist Party, which were traceable to a common source of

⁷⁸ This is not to suggest that Weber had specific comments to make about the organizations of the Bank of China. For Weber's remarks on imperial Chinese bureaucracy, see Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds., 2 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1978), 1: 431, 2: 964–65.

⁷⁹ From the vantage point of the 1990s, there were features in the bank's corporate culture and managerial philosophy that, to observers more than half a century later, readily call to mind the business organizations developed in Japan, Korea, and the predominantly Chinese societies of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. These business organizations have powered the rapid industrialization of the “Pacific Rim” economies of Confucian East Asia in the past four decades. Although considerable differences existed that differentiated Japanese practices from the Korean and the Chinese, and the latter two from each other, East Asian business organizations have often been described as “authoritarian” and “patriarchal.” Much has been written in the United States about the diligence, industriousness, and communal orientation of East Asian employees. A whole subfield has developed around the issue of whether or how Neo-Confucianism contributed to the industrialization of East Asia—and its discussions are often structured around Weber's classic formulation that explained the success of the West (*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*) and the failure of the East (*The Religion of China*). Not much has been written, however, about the business organizations' white-collar employees. The political implications of the rise of this urban middle class in East Asian societies is also a subject that awaits further research. For recent work in this area, see Hamilton, *Business Networks and Economic Development*; Robert H. Silin, *Leadership and Values: The Organization of Large-Scale Taiwanese Enterprises* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Michael Harris Bond, *Beyond the Chinese Face: Insights from Psychology* (Hong Kong, 1991).

⁸⁰ See, for example, Jingji ziliao she (Society of Economic Information), ed., *T. V. Song haomen ziben neimu* (T. V. Soong and bureaucratic capitalism, an inside story) (Hong Kong, 1948), 23–33; Chen

inspiration in Neo-Confucian moral instruction. There was considerable symmetry, for example, between the bank's study sessions and the intrusive ethico-political training of the future People's Republic. To a latter-day observer of socialist China, General Manager Zhang's lectures on proper conduct to his employees readily call to mind the Communist Chief of State Liu Shaoqi's preaching to the nation *How to Be a Good Communist*.⁸¹

The self-contained residential compounds of the bank, as described above, bore striking resemblances to the walled *danwei* of the Communist movement. To the extent that these communities were at the structural core of Shanghai's middle-class existence, *danwei*-style organizations of work and home were clearly well in place in the city even before the coming of the peasant soldiers of the People's Liberation Army. Although urban corporate communities may not have been the immediate—and principal—institutional precursors of the socialist *danwei* in Communist cities, by the time the Communists moved into the city with their system of collective residential and work arrangements, a significant portion of Shanghai's middle-class urbanites had already been socialized by decades of comparable communal experience. For the "salary man" in the middle, therefore, the Communist victory in 1949 was not experienced as a raw confrontation between bourgeois individualism and peasant socialism. Rather, the very corporate capitalism that the Communists proceeded not so much to dismantle as to reconstitute had prepared middle-class urbanites' transition to socialism.

Although the mechanical clock was first put to use by Shanghai's modernizing corporate employers, this did not prevent the new socialist state, when it had taken the city, from appropriating the timepiece for its own purposes. Prior to 1949, Republican Shanghai, under the dominance of a small financial elite, had remained a place of multiple times, willy nilly. By contrast, socialist Shanghai, under one unifying party-state, ran on a standardized national time, with a single chronological zone all the way from the Yangzi River on the Pacific to Xinjiang in Central Asia. Throughout the country, city dwellers arose at the same time, did their exercises simultaneously to the same music, heard the same commands over work unit loudspeakers, lunched half an hour before noon at the commissary

Boda, *Zhongguo sida jiazu* (The four ruling clans of China) (Hong Kong, 1947), 14–21. Chen Boda was the leading propagandist of the Communist Party at this time.

⁸¹ This is not to assert a claim on behalf of corporate Shanghai for the origin of socialist *danwei*. The Bank of China copied its organizational practices from the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, the leading British financial institution in East Asia. Several of the Bank of China's senior leaders, including General Manager Zhang and Chief of Personnel Dai, visited post-World War I Britain, Germany, and Japan to study the managerial practices of institutions that then contained features that may remind a later Western social scientist of the ubiquitous *danwei*. Yet there were certainly elements in the Chinese environment that might have contributed to the rise of the work-unit system. The leaders of the Bank of China did not find it necessary to devise nontraditional rituals and ceremonies to convey their conception of authority. While the training of junior employees appeared to be an enlightened version of the system of apprenticeship practiced in the native banks, the construction of a corporate compound was both an extension of managerial practices under the old system and an adoption of dormitory life on urban college campuses during the Republican period. What the bank constructed in its Western-style compound could be viewed as an upgraded version of everyday provisions for junior employees, accompanied by an importation of college styles and the intellectual emphasis attached to a class of scholar-officials, now fit for what had once been an inferior world of usurers and money-grubbers.

before supplies ran out, awoke from their naps and went back to work when the clock tolled two, and quit for dinner at five whether it was still light or already dark.⁸² In Republican Shanghai, corporate time had introduced economic discipline. After 1949, Communist time imposed social—hence political—discipline in Chinese cities collectively composed of the ubiquitous *danwei*. The work unit, once a spatially discrete entity demarcated by its self-imposed corporate pace, was now a spatially generalized metaphor for a society that ran on time itself. The mechanical clock, once an exotic toy of European origin and then an instrument of Western-style capitalism, was finally transformed into an instrument of mass unity and national might.

⁸² The Shanghai Youth Drama Theatre put on a play on the eve of the June 4th incident at Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989 to depict life in a "Purple Kingdom"—a kingdom so scarlet red in political correctness that it had turned purple—in which its millions of people literally moved in perfect synchronization to the uniform ticking of the same clock. The synchronization, shown on stage, included scenes of actors executing in unison acts such as standing up, sitting down, walking, eating, sleeping, smiling, chanting, brushing teeth, flushing toilets, buttoning shirts, and so forth. Interview with Zhao Nianguo, Shanghai, May 20, 1990.

Featured Reviews

FERGUS MILLAR. *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.–A.D. 337*.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xxix,
587. \$45.00.

When the Pilgrim of Bordeaux visited Jerusalem in A.D. 333, he found only two statues of Hadrian where the Temple of the Jews once stood (*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 591). Not far from those statues, there was also a pierced stone that the Jews came and anointed each year. On that same spot the Jews mourned, rent their garments, and then departed, according to the Pilgrim.

How did the Temple of the Jews come to ruin? How did two statues of a Roman emperor come to replace the Holy of Holies? How did Jerusalem come to be the primary destination of Christian pilgrimage? These are some of the profound political, religious, and cultural transformations that Fergus Millar helps to explain in his extraordinary book.

Millar assembles the evidence for the kinds of political formations and cultures the Romans encountered when they arrived in the Near East. He also examines how Rome advanced into the Near East as a whole and, above all, what political and cultural effects Roman rule had on the peoples and cultures of the region. On the basis of this evidence, Millar argues that, although Roman rule affected the peoples of the Near East quite differently from area to area and over time, the overall effect of Romanization was to create a public culture in the Near East dominated by Greco-Roman civic and cultural models.

At the same time, in certain cases, subcultures of a more hybrid character, mixing together Greek, Roman, and indigenous elements, developed under Roman domination. Such hybrid subcultures can be seen most clearly in Phoenicia, Palmyra, and, most significantly, in the Galilee. The case of the Galilee is particularly important historically, because it was from within the life of the villages of the Galilee, where Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek were spoken, that a new interpretation of Judaism and biblical prophecy had been preached by Jesus of Nazareth in the first century A.D. and the heritage of the Bible was transformed into the classical formulation of rabbinic Judaism over the first three centuries A.D.

If Christianity, rabbinic Judaism, and even Islam evolved either within or in contact with an area of hybrid culture in the Roman Near East, these movements cannot be claimed to be historical phenomena of either the "Occident" or the "Orient." If this indeed is the case, it is not just Western "Orientalists" who are guilty of constructing an "oriental" other out of historical cultures where Jewish, Greek, Roman, and, finally, Arab senses of identity were intertwined.

Millar's synthesis begins with a prologue entitled "In Search of the Orient" in which he sets out the multiple ambiguities of identity that individual items of evidence from the Near East present to the modern scholar. The rest of the book is presented in two large parts, "Empire" and "Communal and Cultural Identities." The results of these two parts are then brought together in an epilogue entitled "East and West," which specifically addresses the question of whether the Roman Near East should be seen as part of the "Orient" or as part of the wider Greco-Roman world. There are also three very valuable Appendixes: "The Inscriptions of the Tetrarchic Land-Surveyors"; "Documents from the Bar Kochba War"; and "Materials for the History of Roman Edessa and Osroene, AD 163–337." Twelve maps of the Roman Near East as a whole and the subregions discussed by Millar are also provided.

In part I, Millar offers a military and geographical survey of the progressive chronological stages by which the Romans came to rule the area of the ancient Near East from Mount Amanus and the foothills of the Taurus Mountains to Egypt, down into Mesopotamia, across the Tigris River, along the steppe for 1,250 kilometers to the port of Aqaba/Eilat, and even into the Hejaz itself. He also considers the question of the kind of political formations that existed in the region before the arrival of the Romans. The story Millar tells of how Rome came to rule the area of the ancient Near East demonstrates above all that Roman expansionism did not cease after the period of the early empire (as is still often main-

tained). Roman rule, which actually began with the arrival of Pompey's forces in the 60s B.C. (and the creation of the consular province of Syria by 58 B.C.), did not stop after Seleucia/Zeugma on the Euphrates became at least the symbolic border between the Roman and Parthian empires in 31 B.C.

Specifically, although the two (Armenia and Mesopotamia) or three provinces formed by Trajan across the Euphrates were immediately given up by Hadrian at his accession in A.D. 117, Roman imperial ambitions did not thereafter come to a halt; during the 160s, under Lucius Verus, the Romans advanced past the confluence of the Euphrates and the Chabur at Circesium, thus regaining the key element in the frontier of Trajan's short-lived province of Mesopotamia.

Neither did imperial expansion stop during the third century. Although the 250s saw the only major Persian invasions into Roman territory west of the Euphrates before the sixth century, the late-third-century phase of Roman imperialism ended with a peace imposed on Persia in A.D. 298/299 that gave the Roman empire its greatest extension ever, up to and even across the Tigris River. There would be no secure Persian occupation of Mesopotamia until Iovian gave up Nisibis in A.D. 363.

Was there a grand strategy behind this expansionism? Rivalry with Parthia and Sassanid Persia has often been suggested as the answer, but, whatever the original impetus, Millar points out that the majority of Roman forces were eventually deployed, not on the frontier with Persia, but along the edge of the steppe, where they confronted the Saraceni, who increasingly were seen as a threat to order.

How did the coming of Rome affect the peoples and cultures of the Near East politically? Here there is no ambiguity. The coming of Rome meant the end of all independent political formations between the Tigris and Aqaba/Eilat and their replacement by Roman provinces governed by appointees of the emperor himself. Within these provinces Roman soldiers were stationed (perhaps 100,000 by the third century A.D.) and carried out their military duties, which increasingly involved policing the frontiers. Roman governors saw to it that taxes were collected, and gave jurisdiction. Access to Roman jurisdiction became a crucial issue in the lives of ordinary people.

Centuries of Roman rule also accelerated the triumph of Greco-Roman urban forms over all other possible rivals. Within these Greco-Roman cities—as they should be called—the Greek language predominated with few exceptions. Indeed, by A.D. 312, there was almost no place west of the Euphrates where texts were being publicly inscribed in any language other than Latin or, more frequently by far, Greek.

The Greek language served to transmit to a region a whole historical culture and mythology foreign to that region. Furthermore, the Greek language, Greek social structures, and Greek frameworks for the construction and worship of deities penetrated to the

most remote of rural contexts. Only in the Jewish areas of Syria Palestina were Hebrew and Aramaic used in epitaphs, on mosaics and building inscriptions (although Greek was also used especially in the lower Galilee). By the early fourth century, participation in the political culture of the Roman Near East only could be expressed in the languages of the conqueror, with few exceptions. Greco-Romanization had overwhelmed virtually all public expressions of political culture.

Were any indigenous cultures of the Near East able to maintain a sense of communal or cultural identity after the coming of Rome, even if they lacked independent political formations? This is the fundamental question that Millar addresses in the second part of his study. His answer takes the form of a map of surface appearances, of communal and cultural identities, as seen by both insiders and outsiders. This map is drawn out region by region in successive chapters: the Tetrapolis and northern Syria; the Phoenician coast and its hinterland; Eastern Syria Phoenice; from Judaea to Syria Palaestina; Arabia; and the Euphrates and Mesopotamia. Within each chapter Millar briefly outlines what we know about the communal and cultural identities of the peoples of these regions before the arrival of the Romans.

I cannot present here a region-by-region summary of Millar's findings about these cultures before their encounter with Rome, as he has mapped those findings out in these learned, densely written and fascinating chapters. (The sections on the cult centers of Hierapolis and Doliche; Emesa and the Sun god Elagabalus; the oasis city of Palmyra; Nabataea with its capital, Petra, the "Rose red city half as old as time"; Dura-Europos, the Roman fortress on the Euphrates; and Edessa, the center of Syriac Christianity are mini-classics of scholarship and deserve their own separate reviews.) What I can say is that the great volume of evidence that Millar cites shows beyond question that no indigenous culture of the ancient Near East was able to resist fully the cultural domination of Greco-Roman models of communal organization and identification over the centuries of Roman rule in the Near East.

Were there no exceptions to this rule? Were there no limits on Greco-Romanization in the Near East? It was, in fact, only the Jews who emerged from the coming of the Romans with some form of their communal identity intact. How could this have happened, especially after the Romans destroyed the Jewish Temple in A.D. 70 and expelled Jews from Jerusalem and its territory after the defeat of the Bar Kochba rebels in A.D. 135?

Millar rightly points out that Jewish identity was a function of the existence of something to which none of the other ethnic groups in the Near East possessed any equivalent: the Bible. For the Jews, the Bible constituted not only a source of theological beliefs and the rules of moral and social conduct but also a national history in their own language. That sense of

national history, although the subject of lively internal dispute, nevertheless supplied a frame of reference within which events of the Roman period—including the destruction of the Temple—could be invested with meanings or conflicting meanings. That frame of reference was also portable; this proved to be vitally important to the survival of Judaism after the destruction of the Temple and the defeat of the Bar Kochba rebels.

Subsequently the sacred text of the Jews would be translated into the language of the conqueror. But, unlike all other cases, in the case of the sacred text of the Jews, what was being expressed, even in the language of the conqueror, was a conception of a single deity that was wholly at variance with the anthropomorphic cults of Greco-Roman paganism. Just as the emperor of the Romans would brook no political rivals in the Near East, so too the god of that sacred text would put up with no religious rivals.

In this one case, then, the Greek medium was not the message. The Romans destroyed the Temple; they could not destroy the message itself. Rather, the message eventually conquered the conquerors, first from the inside, through conversion, and then from the outside, through invasion.

According to al-Tabari (2409), when Umar entered Jerusalem, probably late in A.D. 637, he found the Jewish Temple still buried in the rubbish from the time of the Roman destruction. He was also shown the

Church of the Resurrection by the Patriarch Sophronius, who quoted some lines from the book of Daniel to the Caliph. Neither the Patriarch nor the Caliph needed to be told that the reference was to a Hebrew seer. *Judaea capta ferum victorem cepit.*

This beautifully produced book brings up to date and replaces (in some important ways) two classic synthesizing works of ancient history written by A. H. M. Jones: *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (originally published in 1937 and revised by a team of scholars in 1971), and *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (1940). Millar makes a persuasive case for the transformation of the ancient Near East into the Roman Near East, which was dominated, not by the "Greek City" but by the "Graeco-Roman City." At the same time Millar has presented an equally compelling argument for the creation of a new cultural milieu in that Roman Near East, which was, in certain key areas and at certain times, culturally Greek, Roman, and indigenous all at once. Thus, Millar's book provides above all the essential political, religious, and cultural framework for understanding how the three most enduring religious legacies of the ancient world for the modern world—the three religions of the book—developed in a context that was neither Eastern nor Western.

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PAMELA H. SMITH. *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 308. \$45.00.

An otherwise somber lot, Newton scholars often jest about what happened to Newton's alchemical studies when in 1694 he went from Cambridge to London and became Master of the Mint. Did the soon-to-be ardent prosecutor of coin clippers remain busily and secretly at work in his spare time trying to convert base metals into gold? Imagine what the new Master and long-time alchemist could have done for the national debt had he actually been successful in an art that was in most countries illegal, especially when practiced by small-time transmutors without royal or aristocratic patrons. But such repression would hardly have greeted the great Newton who, had he been willing to emigrate, might have found a bright future at one of the many Habsburg courts where alchemists plied their trade to the considerable interest of their princely patrons. The seventeenth-century scene of alchemists-turned-would-be-capitalists gives a whole new meaning to voodoo economics.

In reading Pamela H. Smith's book, we are asked to enter the world of a different kind of Newton, one without his profound interest and brilliance in mathematics and mechanics, and find instead scientist-

courtiers who labored without the benefit of college fellowships or Mint employment and who hung about the various German courts of the late seventeenth century. Their job was to try to make money for their patrons by turning themselves into impresarios of industry, their credibility at projects reinforced by an imagined alchemical prowess. Reading Smith's account of such lives, her spirited and fascinating history of Continental natural philosophers, alchemists, and projectors such as Daniel Neuberger, Johann Daniel Crafft, and especially the hero of her tale, Johann Joachim Becher, we may safely conclude that, all things considered, being in post-1688, post-absolutist England Newton had it much easier. Functioning as an alchemist without the benefit of a centralizing monarchy might not be as splendid or rewarding, but then the inevitable failures could not get you arrested or sacked.

Part of the problem faced by the German alchemists lay in the very nature of absolutism. About all the Habsburg or German princes knew of cash debits and credits entailed how much they could tax local merchants and peasants and what they could then

lavishly spend on their courts and possessions. Not surprisingly, in an increasingly commercial universe some princes were either chronically poor or just economically incompetent. This setting gave countless opportunities to Becher and his ilk. Inspired by what they had seen of merchants' companies in the Dutch Republic, by the wealth procured from the New World—the bounty to be had from trade in slaves and New World exotica—the Bechers of the courts, among whom Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz is the most famous, became transmutors of princely ambitions into commercial realities. Smith takes us with Becher on his travels from Hanau to Amsterdam, where in 1669 he sought to buy a sugar colony for his prince, what he called his “politicians’ stone [which] would enoble commerce and make it regenerative” (p. 171). But the alchemist-turned-capitalist sought not profit but reputation for himself, luster and honor for his prince. This blending of the modern with the traditional, this seamless knitting of commerce with princely extravagance, alchemy with science, commerce, and industry, stands as the major achievement of Smith’s portrait of intellectual life in late-seventeenth-century Habsburg territories. Her book belongs in a genre of the history of science pioneered by Frances Yates, but here infused with a commercial dimension, one that is generally and sadly missing from the historiography of early modern science. The book is also, for the most part, a very good read, marred only by the occasional excess of detail, a fault to be forgiven in light of the rich archival material that Smith has single-handedly uncovered.

Neither Becher’s science nor his enterprise was intended as anything other than supportive of princely and absolutist political authority. Despite Becher’s dedication to the magical arts with their radical associations, he was an establishment man. Regardless of his international philosophical contacts, which included the Royal Society of London, his form of scientific inquiry seems untouched by the new mechanical philosophies. His interest in machines and mechanical devices, apart from furnaces for alchemy, was fleeting, his magic was deeply traditional and in the service of a traditionalist political structure: “success in alchemical transmutation could be interpreted as confirming princely power” (p. 182). Therein lies the moral to be extracted from the tale that Smith tells so well. The route out of the late medieval, as well as the Counter Reformation, could be circuitous, taking shapes unfamiliar to Western European or English-speaking histories.

But what were the implications of having taken absolutist and alchemical routes for later developments in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Germany, for what became by the 1790s its glaring industrial backwardness? This question Smith carefully avoids. She is a practitioner of the now-fashionable microhistory, in the history of science indebted

to Carlo Ginsburg’s *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980) and to Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer’s *Leviathan and the Air Pump* (1985). The genre has many strengths but its weaknesses are also becoming increasingly evident. The hard questions about why one form of science succeeds while another gradually disappears, and about which kind of science produces successful interventions into the material order, cannot be answered simply by recourse to Foucauldian categories. Smith’s assertion that “by the end of the seventeenth century truth had become univalent, and the previous century appeared filled with folly” (p. 270), confuses description with explanation, substituting Foucauldian language for the Weberian story of disenchantment, but it brings us no closer to understanding early modernity. Imagining that eighteenth-century scientists had “ceased to need artifice when they possessed the rhetoric of a scientific method combining theory and experiment” (p. 271) is not an adequate description of the practices of John Desaguliers, or Jean-Antoine Nollet, or Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis; neither does it come to terms with the profound relationship between the British, French, or Dutch city and town, the reality of urban commercial life, and the spread of applied mechanical knowledge.

The microhistorical narrative as it is currently constituted seems by default to confirm the positivists’ assertion that historicizing science would lead to epistemological relativism, to imagining that the shift from alchemy to mechanics, for example, was a matter of different words being assigned to different things, *tout court*. Indeed, caught in the logic of the positivists, social scientists of science such as Bruno Latour have willingly obliged and offered grand narratives of Western science that string the micronarratives together and seek to confirm the “truth” of the relativist notion that science is merely an arbitrary set of signifiers, chosen out of political or ideological necessity (see his *We Have Never Been Modern* [1993]). Epistemological relativism versus tales of unrelenting progress seem to be the current stakes, and wisely, most historians, like Smith, when faced with the extreme alternatives provided by current theories, prefer to tell their tale, seeking to recapture the historical moment while staying up on the fence about whether the portrait they paint has much to do with industrialization or the relationship between structures of land ownership and taxation and subsequent political developments. But this is a really smart historian with an excellent first book who should be urged to write the next installment, and to grapple with German science as it developed in the subsequent century, in the process taking on the larger questions that make the cultural meanings of Western science endlessly fascinating.

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DAVID BLACKBOURN. *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1994. Pp. xxxiv, 510. \$35.00.

Nineteenth-century Germany and the Virgin Mary seem like an odd pair. But this seeming disjunction is the point of this book's subtitle: David Blackbourn wants to remind us that apparitions of the Virgin did occur in nineteenth-century Germany, or, to put it more generally, that a lively and vigorous popular religion was not just a feature of medieval or early modern Europe. It was also powerfully present in an era of industrialization, of a well-organized state bureaucracy, and of an ever more influential rationalist and materialist view of the world. Taking a theme usually applied to the study of an earlier period and applying it to the modern era also characterizes Blackbourn's approach to the topic. His book is a microstudy in the tradition of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* (1975, 1978), Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980), and Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983), exploring in detail a curious, localized incident, distant from the main channels of historiography, to evoke broader social and cultural contours of the past.

The focus of the book is the train of events begun on the evening of July 3, 1876, when five girls from the Saarland village of Marpingen, out gathering berries in the woods, saw an image of the Virgin Mary. Within a week, tens of thousands of pilgrims were pouring into this backwoods village, to pray and seek miraculous cures by drinking the "sacred water" of the spring where the images had appeared. Blackbourn works backward and forward from the event, first discussing the religious, political, and socioeconomic context of the apparition, and then considering the responses to it from the masses of Catholic pilgrims, the church hierarchy, the state authorities, the different political parties, and educated public opinion. An account of the further history of the Marian cult of Marpingen down through the 1980s closes off the book.

The author convincingly places the apparitions in the context of the growth of Marian devotion in the nineteenth century. It was a trend with strong clerical support and encouragement, from Pius IX through Marpingen's priest, Jacob Neureuter, who had introduced Marian devotions following his appointment to the parish in 1864, and had carefully explained to the schoolchildren the newly enshrined doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The famous apparition of the Virgin at Lourdes in 1858 was well known to the villagers, and descriptions of Virgin's appearance in Marpingen were strikingly similar.

The year 1876 was also the height of the *Kulturkampf*, the bitter struggle between the state and the Catholic church that dominated public life in the first decade of the newly united German empire. Religious

orders had been prohibited, priests arrested, and bishops forced to flee the country. The Catholic laity had rallied behind the church, and Blackbourn offers examples of near-riots in the Saarland caused when the police attempted to arrest priests violating the government's anticlerical legislation. He suggests that a desperate, almost apocalyptic mood had gained a stronghold on Catholics' imaginations.

Somewhat less convincing is the author's effort to connect the apparitions with the economic crisis of the 1870s, particularly with the difficulties of Saar basin coal mining, where many villagers earned their living. Unemployment had risen and wages had declined among the coal miners, but they were far from alone in supporting, endorsing, and promoting the authenticity of the apparitions. All the inhabitants of Marpingen, from the girls' parents to the parish priest and the village notables did, so a direct connection between the troubles of the mining industry and the events is more asserted than proven.

To the state authorities, the visions and the ensuing mass pilgrimages seemed to be another episode in the *Kulturkampf*, the pious masses engaging in semisubversive actions, with a manipulative clerical hierarchy pulling the strings in the background. In line with government policy on other aspects of the church-state struggle, the official response to the apparition was an all-out effort at its suppression. Troops were sent to occupy the village; after their withdrawal gendarmes were dispatched to surround the site of the apparition and turn back pilgrims. (A lively trade soon developed in sacred water and soil smuggled out from under the noses of the police.) The visionary children were snatched from their parents, sent to an orphanage, and interrogated until they confessed that their visions were fraudulent. An elaborate legal investigation was launched, complete with the use of an undercover plainclothes detective fresh from penetrating the socialist labor movement in Berlin, and twenty villagers, including the visionaries' parents, were brought to trial. Authoritarian, clumsily bureaucratic in a faintly ridiculous way, bigoted, hysterically fixated on ostensible dangers from peaceful, if enthusiastically pious common folk, the actions of the authorities seem to confirm every negative cliché about the Prussian state. But Blackbourn points out that the trial turned into a disaster for the authorities, with the defendants acquitted and the government's case exposed as preposterous in the press and in parliamentary debate. Ultimately, he suggests, the Marpingen affair showed that the German empire of 1871 was a *Rechtsstaat*, a state characterized by the rule of law.

In many ways the most interesting part of the book is the author's discussion of the response of the Cath-

olic clergy to the apparitions. Priests' opinions were sharply divided, with some regarding the visions as authentic, becoming enthusiastic supporters of the girls, while others were convinced that the appearances were the work of the devil. Naturalist, materialist or psychological explanations, in a century supposedly devoted to them, found no clerical supporters.

Whether hostile or favorable, the church wanted to place the interpretation of the apparitions under its control, to check popular piety and direct it into more orderly and regulated channels. Far from being the manipulators of the situation, as Prussian officials and educated, liberal public opinion maintained, the clergy were trying to regain control of it, as they had or would later do at Lourdes, Fatima, Knock, and other sites of modern Marian apparitions. Yet the same *Kulturkampf* that led the authorities to misread clerical opinion also prevented the Catholic clergy from taking the situation in hand. Marpingen was part of the Diocese of Trier, but as a result of the struggle between the church and the state, there was no bishop heading the diocese, indeed, no orderly diocesan administration at all, just a troika of underground apostolic administrators appointed by the Vatican but not recognized by the government.

Consequently, there was no clerical hierarchy able to assert its authority over the faithful and the cult of the Virgin of Marpingen simmered along at a low level for decades, even after the end of the *Kulturkampf*, reemerging on a larger scale during the Nazi era—when the authorities once more turned to persecuting the church—and again in the 1950s. Then, the Virgin was enlisted in Marpingen in an anticommunist crusade, as happened throughout the world, but also in a more localized political controversy: the campaign to end French control of the Saarland and reunite it with the Federal Republic of Germany. By the 1970s, the Marian cult in Marpingen had run its course, although, as Blackbourn points out, the 1980s saw similar apparitions in, among other places, Croatia, Kenya, and Chile.

Blackbourn's volume is a very effective reminder of the complex nature of the nineteenth century, something often lost even in historical accounts that self-consciously proclaim their methodological complexity. The nineteenth century was not just the era of materialism and scientific rationalism; it was also the age of the Virgin Mary. Otto von Bismarck's Germany was home not only to authoritarian bureaucrats,

heavy industrialists, and atheistic socialists but also to pious coal miners, Catholic priests who believed in demonic possession, and village girls whose ecstatic visions moved tens of thousands of contemporaries to undertake a journey for their own salvation. The book is also a study of nineteenth-century religion, one that shows the complex interaction of popular and intellectual culture. The Saarland villagers' visions had been shaped by a Catholic clergy determined to reinvent religious practices and beliefs along ultramontane lines, although the exercise of this new religiosity by the laypeople of Marpingen went in directions that their clerical shepherds had not intended.

Indeed, this appreciation of popular religion marks a new direction in the author's own intellectual biography. His influential first book, *Class, Religion and Local Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Center Party in Württemberg before 1914* (1978), was devoted to understanding the Catholic political party, the Center, primarily in terms of rationally perceived economic self-interest, a sort of Catholic politics with the religion left out. This book complements that earlier work, bringing into view the religious background that was a necessary presupposition to the Catholic popular politics Blackbourn has previously studied.

In these respects, Blackbourn has achieved the ambitious goal he has set for himself of writing a *Montaillou* about the modern world. In another way, however, I am less sure about his success. Microstudies of an earlier period of European history can be so illuminating because they discuss topics for which there are few other available sources. This is less the case for the nineteenth century. We do not need to study the apparitions of the Virgin Mary in a Saarland village to know that arbitrary bureaucratic action in Imperial Germany could be checked by the rule of law, or that popular Catholicism was influenced by strong clerical interest in Marian devotion. A wonderful book that ought to be on anyone's modern European history reading list, *Marpingen* is just not the same exploration into the unknown that so many of the works inspiring it were. It hints at, but does not quite fulfill, the promise of the historical microstudy for understanding the modern world.

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DOMINICK LACAPRA. *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 230. \$29.95.

This volume is the fifth collection of critical essays published by Dominick LaCapra in little more than a decade. As in the previous volumes, LaCapra's pre-

ferred format is the extended comparative book review combining close critical readings with sober, and somewhat relentless argumentative engagement.

Persistent concerns (and fears) about the current state of writing and thinking history resurface in familiar formulations: the need to combine careful contextual reconstructions grounded in documentary readings with critical self-reflection based on ethically engaged "dialogic" textual readings; the value of repeated analyses of self-conflicted and self-transcending "great" texts that can be read against the grain of conventional canonizations; the need for vigilant resistance to reductive positions tending toward the binary poles of objectivism and subjectivism; the importance of a constant deconstructive undoing of fixated binary oppositions in the search for more fluid and nuanced constructions of identity and difference; the dangers of pursuing the dialectical closure of full redemptive meaning too intensely, or falling into the despair of nihilistic meaninglessness too easily. There are brief moments when LaCapra falls into an exasperated, lecturing tone, repeating claims about the inability or unwillingness of historians to contextualize their own positions in relation to the past that have lost some of their freshness and become overly formulaic over the years, and at times sympathetic reconstruction of the voice of "the other" seems to be defeated by a desire to deflate the reputations of what he considers to be excessively praised works like Caroline Walker Bynum's *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (1987) or Charles Taylor's *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (1989). But LaCapra also occasionally steps back to reflect on his own judgmental perspectives and theoretical prescriptions, and can even compare his remarks, in Sigmund Freud's famous phrase, to "menus offered to people in time of famine" (p. 202). Overall, this collection seems to me to achieve a level of nuanced and sympathetic criticism that raises it above his previous work and securely establishes his position as the most sensitive, trenchant professional gadfly and historiographical critic of his generation.

The reasons for this achievement are twofold. First, LaCapra has succeeded in organizing his criticism around a specific historiographical issue that has wide-ranging ethical, philosophical, political, and cultural resonance—the historical representation or "historicization" of the Holocaust or the *Shoah*. Moving from the debates of the German *Historikerstreit* to the controversies over the "collaborations" of Martin Heidegger and Paul de Man to the recovery of traumatic memory by victims and witnesses, each of the chapters illuminates another dimension of a historical question that engages, provokes, and challenges the reader in an intensely personal fashion. Second, LaCapra has developed in some detail an interpretive model for his examination of the relationship between the historian and the past that is accessible, flexible, open-ended, and less pervaded by neologisms than the deconstructionist language favored in some of his previous criticism: the Freudian therapeutic model of a "transference" relationship

that sets the dangers of disavowal and acting-out against the goal of self-critical maturity or "working-through."

The conceptual framework of the transference relationship functions as a method for outlining a problem rather than providing an explanation or defining a solution. The affirmation, reinvention, or reworking of the historical investigator's present identity or "subject-position" is inevitably involved in his or her interrogation and reconstruction of the past. Representations of the past are products of engagement with the past and inscribe the processes of this engagement. Although the terminology of transference is psychoanalytic, LaCapra's usage eschews a narrow focus on one-to-one analyst/analyst relations or on the oedipal model of identity formation. At the same time, however, the psychological categories articulate the personally charged nature of historical representation that involves the loss and re-creation of meaning, the collapse and painful reconstruction of identities. What is at stake in criticism of the processes of historical representation is the discovery of viable, consensual norms for the creation of meaningful individual and cultural identities, the ethics of self-fashioning. Representations of the Holocaust exemplify this process in its most intensely charged form, testing the limits of reconstructing a meaningful relation to the past and thus also of reinventing personally satisfying, socially viable, and ethically defensible subject-positions or identities in the present. LaCapra's critical investigations of these processes of representation focus especially on the implications of the processes of disavowal or evasion and projective over-identification, or "acting-out."

Disavowal of historical trauma in the construction of present identities is not confined to revisionists who simply deny the reality or extent of Nazi genocide. LaCapra is much more interested in the subtle and often tortured forms in which the implication of current processes of identity formation in the processes of representation are evaded. The analysis of the various forms of evasive apologetics for the recovery of a viable historical foundation of national identity in the German *Historikerstreit* is more familiar and perhaps less interesting in this regard than LaCapra's risky attempts to conjoin sympathy and critique in sorting out the subtle and painful separation of personal and historiographical relations to the Holocaust in works such as Arno Mayer's *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The "Final Solution" in History* (1988). In this case the legitimate critique of attempts at "sacralization," the mythic transformation of specific events into redemptive memories, is described as moving dangerously close to processes of historical objectification and contextualization that avoid confrontation with the implication of those events in current struggles to attain a more disabused memory and identity.

The most general historiographical forms of dis-

avowal of traumatic memory in LaCapra's analysis take the form of the assimilation of trauma into "normal" relations through contextualization. Both the attempt to explain the Holocaust through reconstruction of a conjuncture of secular historical forces connected to power struggle, administrative control, fear of fragmentation, or subversion, and the insertion (in a process of repetition and displacement) of the Holocaust into sacral or religious patterns of communal formation (purification, sacrifice, scapegoating, and total redemptive identification) are not seen as necessarily tied to disavowal. Both conceptual structures are integral to any attempts to think the Holocaust and reinvent a viable subject-position in its wake and must be judged in terms of the contexts of their construction and use, that is, in terms of whether they encourage or discourage critical engagement and self-reflection.

"Acting-out" is at the opposite pole of disavowal: a complete projective identification with, and obsessive repetition of, the traumatic past as a present reality. Although LaCapra is sympathetic to some of the motivations that may undergird the claim that any meaningful representation of the trauma could be considered a betrayal of the experience and its victims, he also provides some interesting insights into the potential abuses of such acting-out when it is universalized, as in the postmodern "sublime," as the marker of a total collapse into an abyss of meaninglessness, silence, non-identity, the end of history, or the death of God. Legitimate concerns about the ultimate unrepresentability of the trauma here become a way of avoiding specific, historical engagement with particular traumatic events in a struggle to establish the possibilities for reconstructing meaning, communal identity, ethical responsibility, and rational communication. LaCapra seems most trenchant in his critical analysis of the problematic evasive and apologetic uses of the concept of the "sublime" in theorists such as Jean-François Lyotard (who seem blind to the ways in which nihilism was used in self-justifying ways by some of the perpetrators of the Holocaust), or in the ways in which Paul de Man's specific actions were assimilated by his disciples to universal conditions of identity formation in the postmodern era. In the unwillingness of de Man's

disciples to face up to the loss of their mentor and brave the tasks of serious mourning and critical self-reflection, LaCapra notes, de Man's own "textual resistance to remembering, mourning and working through trauma with an open reckoning with specific events" (p. 115) was repeated along the patterns of a "return of the repressed." These issues are obviously very close to LaCapra in both personal and professional/institutional senses and his accounts display signs of a personal "working through," an entanglement in the process he is describing, that is sometimes missing in his more defensive and prescriptive critiques.

In both disavowal and acting-out the transference relation is uncontrolled. The investigator's engagement in his or her material is either denied or so complete that critical self-reflection is impossible. Working-through is the approach whereby recognition of the processes at work in disavowal and acting-out lead to a mature stance of critical responsibility and at least partial mastery. Like Freud, LaCapra does not assert this ideal as historically achievable in any full or complete sense. It is in fact another name for the interminable process of criticism that is continually forced to both recognize the inevitability of evasion and projective over-identification and to continually battle against surrender to them. There is of course a long Western tradition of such criticism of binary subjectivist and objectivist options and of projection or prescription of "third" ways of navigating between the persistently reemerging Scyllas and Charybdises. LaCapra does not self-consciously identify himself with such a tradition, although his view of history as process of displacement and repetition in new contexts might have led him in that direction. At any rate, this is not "just" a "repetition" of neo-Hegelian or Freudian dialectics but a new event in which those former third ways are displaced in complex variations within a new context. It would be too easy to see the "neo" in this book and thus avoid a more reflective engagement with its probing analyses of the relations between historiographical, personal, and cultural identity formation in the aftermath of the historical trauma of the Holocaust.

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JULIA A. CLANCY-SMITH. *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800–1904)*. (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies, number 18.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 370. \$45.00.

Julia A. Clancy-Smith's study depicts a world unfamiliar even to Middle East hands: the North African Islamic societies before the advent of the national state and before the emergence of national and

religious ideologies that demand total commitments from their adherents and espouse total solutions to political and cultural problems. Clancy-Smith reconstructs a world without a single center, and without a

single guiding concept. This was a genuinely pluralistic world full of numerous, autonomous, and competing communities who faced the French conquest, each with its own strategies of resistance or accommodation, depending on the judgment of elites, the pressures of the common people, and the changing social, political, and economic conditions with which they had to cope. It is an admirable achievement for the historian to integrate a wide variety of sources without relying on any single genre of literature or any single archive, to find a narrative form for the story of numerous separate actors, and to tolerate the ambiguities of their behavior with fairness and balanced judgment.

Clancy-Smith displays a sure-footed imaginative grasp of a world that confounds all contemporary expectations. Her account begins with a reconstruction of the ecology of the desert margins of southern Algeria and Tunisia, the intersection of the barren steppes, the seasonal pasturage, oasis agriculture, village settlement, and urban markets. The settlements of the desert margin sheltered migrating peoples, pilgrims and traders, while caravans linked nomads and villagers, oases with each other, east and west, from Morocco to Algeria, Tunisia, Mecca and Medina, and the wider Islamic world, north and south, across the Sahara and the Mediterranean to link up with the European and the international economy.

At Wadi Biskra, where geography channels the trade from Constantine in the north to the desert in the south, we see the confluence of these forces. The oasis produced grain, dates, and textiles; to survive the nomads had to come to trade. The Ottoman regime, the Beys of Constantine, and later the French were the rulers of territorial states based on agricultural centers, trade revenues, and clients among the tribal chieftains and religious leaders of the region. Rival factions, settled and migratory, competed for power, aligning themselves in ever shifting *saffs* or moieties to generate a political balance. Sufi *shaykhs* established Islamic institutions, mosques, schools, and residences (*zawiyas*) for their families and disciples. Although they were local powers with large clienteles, properties of land and water, and riches invested in trade, they served as mediators among the competing factions. The Sufi *shaykhs* offered patronage and protection, resolution of disputes, healing, education, and help in the organization of trade and agriculture in a fragmented society. The common people were actors, too, because, time and again, for better and often for worse, the leaders had to follow their followers into battle with the French. These were the players. The game was networks.

The narrative is held together by the story of the Rahmaniya brotherhood. The network of lodges interacting with local communities enables Clancy-Smith to tell the story of a multicentered society in a coherent way. Clancy-Smith is at her best in describ-

ing Islamic religio-political authority; how charismatic adventurers won popular support; how established Sufi *shaykhs* constructed their *zawiyas* and their brotherhoods.

The Rahmaniya brotherhood was founded by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman on his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca in the 1760s or 1770s. He started a network of *zawiyas* across eastern Algeria, formed partly by the dispatch of disciples with authorizations from the master to create new lodges, and partly by intermarriage or enlistment of local *shaykhs* and holy lineages as affiliates of the order. The lay clientele they found in oases towns and villages and among tribal peoples migrating from the desert to the oases margins.

The coming of the French would give the Rahmaniya their critical place in North African history. In 1844 the French took Biskra. The local response was mixed. Sidi Mustafa ibn 'Azzuz migrated with his disciples to Tunisia to avoid living under infidel rule, but other Rahmaniya leaders joined the resistance led by Bu Ziyān. In her account of the rise and fall of the *mahdi*, the redeemer, Clancy-Smith exposes to us the whole panoply of Algerian religious politics. She describes the state of public opinion showing how rumors of the coming of the messiah, the *mahdi*, had spread through eastern Algeria, and shows how popular opinion saw the revolution of 1848 as an opportunity to throw off the control of a distracted French conqueror. She shows, too, how these rumors were encouraged by Bu Ziyān himself, already the hero of an earlier resistance, who now took on the trappings of the Sufi holy man and saint. Visions and dreams assured his authority among the common people, but the degree of political support depended on his ratification by the chiefs of the religious brotherhoods. In turn, their support depended on their calculation of his prospects for success and the degree of existing public commitment. Many refused to endorse the movement, but at Tulqa the Rahmaniya Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar mobilized his people for the resistance, and from Mustafa ibn 'Azzuz in the Tunisian Jarid came guns and spiritual support. It was not enough. French artillery crushed the rebellion at Za'atsha in 1849 at a price in blood and destruction that left a permanent memory for all sides. The French adapted new tactics for the occupation, using the time honored Ottoman method of controlling trade as a way of bringing nomadic peoples to heel. The Muslim common people carried the heroism of Bu Ziyān into poems and songs, raising him from life to legend, as he had been raised from this world to the next.

Now the Rahmaniya adapted a less confrontational strategy, building up their North African networks using the trade routes, to gather and shelter exiles, mobilize pilgrims, maintain the flow of information, contacts, and coordination among the Rahmaniya *zawiyas*, assert their authority, communicate spiritual support, and above all to run guns and gunpowder

from Europe to the Sahara. The story of the gun trade (pp. 159–63) is one of the most illuminating passages of the book. *Baraka*, spiritual power, and earthly power reinforced each other. A new *jihād* led by the Sharif of Warqala, a charismatic adventurer with the reputation of a *mahdī* and the determination to overthrow French rule, was supplied by Mustafa ibn 'Azzuz, but the local Rahmaniya (and Tijaniya) held back. Without sufficient local support the would-be *mahdī* had to subdue other oases and tribes to gather supplies. The attacks on Muslims, however, dissipated his charismatic reputation. The movement degenerated into banditry and was easily defeated by the French. In 1881 the Rahmaniya of Tulqa yielded to French pressure and began to preach submission.

Thus, we enter a new phase in the Muslim relation to French rule, a period of political accommodation in order to assure cultural survival. Resistance gave way to evasion, retreat from public affairs, and migration out of eastern Algeria. The symbol of the new order is Lalla Zaynab, a women saint who succeeded her father as the *shaykh* of the Rahmaniya Zawaya of al-Hamil. Celibate, ascetic, venerated, she accepted

French political rule for the sake of carrying on the teaching, healing, and religious work of the *zawaya*.

Clancy-Smith shows that the indigenous response to colonialism was neither resistance nor defeatism but rather a nuanced strategy of revolt, bet hedging, risk avoidance, withdrawal from public affairs, emigration (*hijra*) to other Muslim lands, submission, and collaboration. These are not the strategies called for in mid and late-twentieth-century anticolonial struggles; neither are they the strategies preferred by Western intellectuals. But these were the choices that suited the numerous, disparate, peoples of the desert margin. This tolerance for ambiguity assured their survival.

Clancy-Smith's tolerance for ambiguity has given us a model history that moves from the world to the local stage, across the varieties of Islamic belief and organization, encompassing all the concerned parties including the common people and the women saints, making documents, rumors, tales and poetry all the stuff of her learned, complicated, and revealing story.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

STEPHEN D. BENIN. *The Footprints of God: Divine Accommodation in Jewish and Christian Thought*. (SUNY Series in Judaica: Hermeneutics, Mysticism, and Religion.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 327. \$19.95.

One advantage of gods is that they are not obliged to file accountability reports. One perplexity of worshipers is reconciling what they believe their gods to be with what they think their gods have done. Job was not the first and meditators on the Holocaust are unlikely to be the last among Jews and Christians to be preoccupied with interpreting the word of God in order to understand why He kept His covenants by dealing with mortals as He did.

Stephen D. Benin's study charts milestones in these worshipers' ardent, and often anguished, collective venture between the first and the eighteenth centuries. Pre-Christian, Jewish writers framed the basic idea that God condescends, or accommodates His power, to human frailty in order to make Himself and His will accessible to human beings. In their view, Scripture was one result of condescension to the limits of finite, time-bound minds. Benin's first three chapters describe how Christian writers between the second and the sixth centuries reworked these principles.

Through their need to harmonize the Incarnation and God's covenanting with the Jews, early Christian writers, above all those in the intellectual orbits of Alexandria and Antioch, expanded the doctrine of accommodation into a coherent theory of historical progression by recognizable stages. For Greek, Syriac, and Latin Christians, history was cumulative revelation leading toward a great apocalypse.

Chapters 4, 7, and 8 characterize moments in the long history of the doctrine of accommodation in the West. Augustine of Hippo's recasting of the tradition persisted, at least in broad outline, into the twelfth century. Partly through the discovery of Maimonides's writings, scholastic theologians and philosophers further adapted the accommodation theory. Leaders of the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter Reformation, sixteenth and seventeenth-century scientists, and eighteenth-century historians (chiefly

German) continued to exploit this common legacy, although for quite different objectives.

Chapters 5 and 6 are a parenthesis in the discussion of Christian theological literature. Here Benin establishes classic uses of the accommodation principle by Jewish writers in several Midrashic texts (chapter 5). Although they considered some of the same issues reviewed in earlier chapters, they were free of a defining constraint on Christian interpreters: the need, by reason of new covenant and apocalyptic end, to posit any systematic, progressive historical revelation.

The centerpiece of chapter 6 is Benin's account of how a doctrine of progressive revelation did eventually enter the Jewish tradition, most cogently through Maimonides. Maimonides was convinced that, to God's mind, the entire Law was a pedagogic device for perfecting the human race morally and intellectually, and that, according to divine economy, development advanced through natural process and historical stages. Digested into Christian theology, Maimonides's teachings prepared a smooth transition from explanatory strategies in theology to those in modern science and historiography.

Benin's is a work of wide and generous vision and uncommon learning. He has undertaken the history, over eighteen centuries, of a dominant signature in intellectual and spiritual history. He has surveyed writings in numerous languages; to speak of the patristic era only, in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Syriac. Untouched by vindictiveness characteristic of his more strident texts, he has accomplished his task in a spirit of sympathetic discourse with other scholars, both those in earlier centuries and those of his own day.

A certain unevenness in so ambitious an undertaking could hardly be escaped. Abundant as it is, the bibliographical foundation is disparate. Citations of scholarly writings on the church fathers (including Augustine) end in 1983; those to writings on the Reformation end in 1981, consist in part of quotations from intermediate sources, and come entirely from the literature in English. (Benin's judgments occasionally reflect the incompleteness of his bibliography, as, for example, in his comments on scholarly attention to Anselm of Havelberg.) By contrast, the scholarly apparatus in chapters 5 and 6, on Jewish

interpretation, runs to 1989, with citations of numerous works from 1980 on, and includes rich bibliographical notes. Likewise, whereas Benin excludes mysticism specifically from his discussion of Gregory of Nyssa (p. 47) and tacitly from his entire review of Christian theology, he includes a substantial section on Jewish mysticism (pp. 167–76), with helpful bibliographical references.

In a book where so many subtle writers are considered in so brief a space, a topical homogeneity results from chapter to chapter, most telescoped of all in the briefest chapters, with the result that readers will wonder, especially in the later sections, whether this is an account of redundancy or development. Concision may also have prompted a categorical confusion between doctrines of God's condescension, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, doctrines of the church's discretion in juridical matters (for example, allowing domestication of pagan practices) and of the magisterial prudence by which the wise modified or concealed teachings that might mislead the simple.

Benin does not explain his selection of materials. Thus, he portrays accommodation as a doctrine about mediation between human reason and divine revelation, essentially an exercise in rationalization. Replace the stress on reason with one on the will, however, and a different narrative emerges, one that includes, while preserving the theme of accommodation, an Augustine quite different from the one characterized by Benin, William of Ockham instead of Thomas Aquinas, Adam Smith instead of Johann Gottfried Herder.

Yet more deserving of explanation is Benin's switch from theology to science and history during and after the sixteenth century. A more consistent treatment would have stayed with scriptural exegesis, through the "demythologization" of Christianity that began with historical criticism and has continued from the seventeenth century to the present day. Could exegetes use the premise of divine accommodation when Scripture was read as an archaeological assortment of *objets trouvés*, rather than as a coherent, and infallible, rule of life? What career did the accommodation doctrine follow among Jewish theologians after the fourteenth century? Was there any cross-fertilization of Jewish and Christian doctrines after Maimonides?

By pursuing the residual effects of the accommodation doctrines in theories of history from the eighteenth century as he recognizes (p. 199), Benin follows where others have led and limits himself to a few illustrations of what has long been known. Yet by this diversion from his major theme he lays aside—perhaps only temporarily—one key to an original, basic, and largely unexplored subject: the formative power of theology in Western culture (including its Jewish components) since the Reformation. To pursue this subject would entail assessing the aspirations and results, in the hellish dark caverns of recent times, of so many intellectuals who broke themselves on the perennial questions of theodicy: "If there is a

God, why is there evil?" and "If there is no God, how is there good?"

Accommodation is a speculative doctrine for writers who insist that life conform with faith; it belongs to programs of social action. Some attention to the interchanges between art and life would have enhanced the virtues of this study. Benin occasionally includes texts expressing mutual antipathies between Jews and Christians. Perhaps as a challenge to further discussion, he does not stress the parts of accommodation doctrines that set forth for whom, and for what, the mercy of divine condescension was given. But to gauge accurately the formative career of theology as a seeking into historical revelation for rules of life, one will have to confront the social effects of some doctrines about accommodation, in both traditions, that restrict human perfectibility to those who have exclusive access to truth, foment hostility of the chosen against the reprobate, the fallen, and unbelievers, and foretell a savage vindication of the righteous.

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BENJAMIN HARSHAV. *Language in the Time of Revolution*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 234.

Benjamin Harshav, one of the foremost theoreticians of Hebrew and Yiddish literature, has written a very suggestive book on the culture of the modern Jewish revolution. Less a sustained argument than a series of abbreviated, almost aphoristic chapters, this book is really two books in one. The first describes the social and cultural parameters of the modern Jewish revolution, while the second takes up the revival of the Hebrew language.

These two themes are linked together by Harshav's persuasive argument that language is never independent of its social dimension; language is always part of a larger social system (or, to quote Harshav, who in turn borrows from Itamar Even-Zohar, a "polysystem"). Language both creates this polysystem and is created by it. Thus, it is necessary to understand first the Jewish social polysystem of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to understand the renewal of Hebrew as what Harshav calls the "base language" of the new Jewish society in the nascent state of Israel.

In part 1, Harshav casts his net wide and takes up the enormous transformations that occurred in the Jewish world between 1881 and the Holocaust. It was in this period that a variety of social dislocations hurled Jews into the center of Western culture, on the one hand, while creating a Jewish secular culture on the other. Harshav terms the last hundred years a "Jewish century," by which he means that the intellectual and cultural life of the West cannot be adequately described without the contribution of Jews. At

the same time, Jews in Eastern Europe created a new secular culture in Yiddish, Hebrew, and other, non-Jewish languages in an attempt to translate Western culture into a Jewish framework.

Following Jonathan Frankel, Harshav correctly understands the internal Jewish revolution as one that simultaneously included contradictory ideologies (Bundism, Zionism, and Territorialism). All of these movements shared more in common than they were willing to admit and, collectively, gave rise to a Jewish culture that Harshav convincingly compares to modernism. Harshav shows how Jewish modernism was both indebted to and rebelled against its traditionalist roots. This modernist culture died with the Holocaust and the rise of the state of Israel. What has taken its place in Israel and the Western diaspora (especially America) is an Israeli culture, on the one hand, and an assimilated culture, on the other, in which Jewish themes play an increasingly marginal role. In both cases, "Jewish" culture, in both its traditional and modernist forms, has reached a decisive end.

In part 2, Harshav shows how only the development of a total social system in Palestine (schools, labor unions, and agricultural collectives) made the revival of Hebrew possible. Yet the revival of Hebrew was itself a critical factor in creating this social system since the development of a new-old "base" language made it possible to break with the Jewish diaspora and fuse the scattered "tribes" into a new nation.

In this social history of the revival of Hebrew, Harshav demolishes the myth of Eliezer Ben Yehudah, the quixotic fanatic who insisted on speaking Hebrew when no one else did. Languages cannot be created by individuals acting alone, and therefore Ben Yehudah failed to have any real impact, despite his place in the Zionist pantheon. Voluntaristic ideologues, such as the pioneers of the Second Aliya, were crucial to the revival of Hebrew, but, unlike Ben Yehudah, they succeeded only because they were part of a larger social revolution.

As an examination by a literary critic of the way culture is embedded in its larger historical context, Harshav's study is exemplary. Yet, especially in his historical analyses in part 1, Harshav often summarizes material that modern Jewish historians will not find particularly new. The result is a book that alternates between brilliant insights, arresting theoretical formulations, and relatively obvious observations. Harshav also has a tendency toward idiosyncratic spellings of names (for example, Yosef Hayim Brenner, when "Brenner" is the accepted rendering) and capitalizations ("the Traditional Library"). These give the book the occasional feel of an awkward translation. Despite these episodic weaknesses, Harshav has succeeded in describing incisively one of the most astonishing and enduring of all modern cultural and political revolutions.

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STEVEN J. ZIPPERSTEIN. *Elusive Prophet: Ahad Ha'am and the Origin of Zionism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xxv, 386. \$35.00.

Steven J. Zipperstein's book on Ahad Ha'am fills a gap in the scholarship on early Zionism and its most important ideologist. His book is a full-scale biographical and historical assessment, well written, carefully documented, and informed by a detailed and nuanced grasp of Russian-Jewish history; it will be the definitive study for many years to come.

Zipperstein confesses that he once thought of him as a kind of contemporary, moved as he was by Ahad Ha'am's prophetic-like warnings of the moral ambiguity of nationalism, his preoccupation with the quality of modern Hebrew culture, and his rigorously self-critical Zionism. Such views, in the 1970s and 1980s, gave a Jewish pedigree to concerns about Israeli state policies. But in the course of his research, Zipperstein came to view Ahad Ha'am as less immediately relevant and far more embedded in his late-nineteenth-century Russian-Jewish milieu.

Ahad Ha'am was Russian Zionism's chief ideologist prior to Theodor Herzl's assumption of the leadership of Zionism, then Herzl's chief adversary. Zipperstein has aptly named him an elusive prophet, for that describes his Zionist career. Ahad Ha'am detested Herzl's appeals to the physical and material distress of the Jewish masses and opposed his efforts at mass political mobilization and his campaign to make Zionism a political factor in the corridors of European power. Although Ahad Ha'am seemed to aim for a Jewish state, his priority was a "preparation of hearts" and the creation of a modern Hebrew national culture (p. 53). Zipperstein then uncovers the historical sources of these views.

Through the 1890s Ahad Ha'am led Bnei Moshe, an oligarchic secret society whose members aspired to be models of faith and devotion. His style of leadership was secretive, authoritarian, and haphazard. Bnei Moshe sought to infiltrate the Russian Zionist movement and steer it away from colonization work in Palestine to an agenda of Hebraic cultural renewal. Zipperstein links this mode of leadership and these aims to Ahad Ha'am's Hasidic upbringing and training, a rabbinic leadership style whose legitimacy was based on learning, humility, and reluctant engagement, and religious notions of an austere spiritual elite redeeming Israel. He identifies Ahad Ha'am and his circle of Hebraists in Odessa not as the more typical russified Jewish intelligentsia but as Jews from pious backgrounds, lacking a formal European education, and superficially acculturated. The secular Hebraic revival was to them the chief mission of the Jewish state, which was to renew and unify all Jewry before they were swallowed up by assimilation. The national cultural revival was a substitute for the Talmud, for the authority of Jewish law could no longer bind Jewry together. Zipperstein spells out the

traditionalist background of Ahad Ha'am's secular Hebraism, his monolithic view of Jewish culture, his replacement of law with ethics. Although Ahad Ha'am became an icon of Hebraic cultural nationalism, his specific vision was too bound up with his time and place to endure.

Thus, the sources of this secular rabbi's thought are uncovered in both his Hasidic and Jewish Enlightenment milieus. The rest of the book is a detailed examination of Ahad Ha'am's activity and writings: the corpus of his classic Hebrew essays, his political response to the revolution of 1905, the pogroms of 1917–20, his quarrels with other Zionists, and so on. A clear picture emerges of the unity of Ahad Ha'am's life and thought.

It has long been difficult to be precise about Ahad Ha'am's political agenda: some have seen him as concentrating on cultural and spiritual issues, some as the forerunner of a federalist solution to the Jewish-Arab conflict, which had a modest career among Jews in the 1930s. Here, too, Zipperstein is illuminating: Ahad Ha'am assumed that a modern Hebrew culture could only be sustained by a Jewish majority in Zion; his role during negotiations for the Balfour Declaration shows that he was not as preoccupied with Arab rights as is thought, and no less facile than other Zionists in wishing away Arab claims. But what he feared most of all was the Zionist goal of Jewish "normalization." For Ahad Ha'am, national redemption purchased by Jews becoming all they abominated in their persecutors was not worth the price. Here, too, traditions of Rabbinic Judaism prevailed in his thought, the concept of Jews as a people apart, chosen, a "historical aristocracy" (p. 224). The book concludes by restoring Ahad Ha'am, at least in part, to the rank of a prophetic contemporary.

JACQUES KORNBERG
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JACQUES KORNBERG. *Theodor Herzl: From Assimilation to Zionism*. (Jewish Literature and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 240. \$24.95.

Theodor Herzl is one of the great figures in modern Jewish history and also one of the most enigmatic. A completely assimilated, eminently successful journalist with little grounding in traditional Judaism, he became the leader of a movement—Zionism—that rejected assimilation and brought about a rebirth of Jewish identity, and eventually a Jewish state.

Legend has it that it was the Dreyfus Affair that brought about this magical conversion because it showed Herzl that the Jews were not safe even in progressive France and therefore needed their own state as a refuge. This view has been shown in recent years to be more myth than fact. Instead many recent students of Herzl have pointed to the huge impact on the future Zionist leader of events back home in Vienna, where anti-Semitism was much more success-

ful than it ever was in *fin-de-siècle* France. Herzl's Zionist impulse has, furthermore, been traced less to a fear for the safety of Jews than to a wish to solve the "Jewish problem," in which, in Herzl's eyes, "the Jews," because of their perceived moral shortcomings, were the main problem. There is thus a fairly extensive literature that describes Herzl's early assimilationism, discusses his German nationalist enthusiasms as a student, and sees Herzl's eventual Zionism as just the latest in a number of strategies to effect—as a response, even a solution to anti-Semitism—a true emancipation and assimilation of the Jews in their own state and on a par with other states.

This book comes at a time, therefore, when many of the ideas in it are already part of a new consensus, despite Jacques Kornberg's claims to provide a radical reinterpretation of his subject. This thoroughly researched and thoughtful volume nevertheless has great value in grounding this newly emergent consensus with an immense amount of interesting archival material. Kornberg's picture of the pre-Zionist Herzl, as in recent scholarship, is a story of dueling fraternities, of a craving for gentile recognition, a hatred of Jewish peculiarities and money-grubbing, an obsession with honor, and eventually the need for Jews to rescue that honor by a self-assertion of themselves as Jews. This creates an existential Jewish identity that forms the basis for a new Jewish state. Kornberg describes this new consensus—most of which I can only agree with—with cogency and a masterful display of the sources.

If this portrait of Herzl has a fault it is that, in overemphasizing the German nationalist, "muscular" side of Herzl's mind-set, Kornberg shows a certain distance from the Central European milieu in which Herzl grew up. There is, for instance, a key mistranslation. The word "Mensch" is translated as "man," instead of "human being." This might not appear important, but it in effect misses whole layers of meaning in Herzl's thought, especially the liberal, Enlightened, and, indeed, emancipatory (not only assimilatory) aspects.

Although Kornberg does occasionally stress the liberal aspects of Herzl's views, he does not fully see the affinities between Herzl's basically humanist rhetoric and that of the tradition into which he was born, the Central European Jewish ideology of emancipation described so convincingly by David Sorkin in his *The Transformation of German Jewry* (1987). Not only was Herzl a liberal; he was also a Jewish liberal. The stress on moral regeneration, and self-regeneration, is not something that Herzl had to discover for himself, but it was at the heart of the original project of the Jewish Enlightenment, stemming from within the Central European Jewish community.

In this sense Herzl is as much a late product of the German Jewish Enlightenment as he is of German liberalism or nationalism. There is, in other words, another layer to be added to an already very complex personality. That said, Kornberg's portrait of Herzl is

an often fascinating one, built on a foundation for which subsequent scholarship on Herzl should be grateful.

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GERHARD DOHRN-VAN ROSSUM. *Die Geschichte der Stunde: Uhren und moderne Zeitordnung*. Munich: Carl Hanser. 1992. Pp. 415. DM 68.

Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum traces the history of timekeeping from primitive sundial to the day when time based on observed astronomical changes no longer sufficed, when in the 1960s the pulsations of the cesium atom became the standard for measuring time. Dohrn-van Rossum has examined nearly one thousand unpublished documents whose compelling evidence exposes some traditional misconceptions.

Dohrn-van Rossum demonstrates that the Middle Ages inherited from antiquity unequal divisions of time, that is, the length of the hour varied both seasonally and daily. This tradition was taken over by the monasteries, where the actual hour of the day was of little concern and where the seven canonical hours drifted away from temporal hours with both season and region. Telling examples of this shift are the *non*, which drifted from 2:30 p.m. to become the English "noon," and *vespers*, which, scheduled to precede sunset, advanced into the afternoon and so became "an important time for a work break and also the end of the work day before holidays" (p. 37). The author's meticulous research seriously questions and indeed invalidates the interpretations of Max Weber and Lewis Mumford, who based many of their notions of modern industrial society and its patterns of labor and living on the *rule* of the medieval monastery.

Dohrn-van Rossum convincingly suggests that the escapement, the essence of the mechanical clock, which was still unknown to Robert Anglicus in 1271 (p. 89), but which was taken for granted by both Giovanni Dondi and Richard of Wallingford around 1330 for their astronomical clocks, was invented in the intervening decades (p. 55). But not until the end of the sixteenth century was the day divided into twenty-four equal periods of sixty minutes. That fact, however, and the absence of a hand to indicate minutes, did not prevent Mumford and A. C. Crombie from claiming "repeatedly that already around 1345 the division of the hour into 60 minutes and the minute into 60 seconds had become common as an abstract frame for thought and action," a notion also echoed by Daniel Boorstin (pp. 260–61). In fact, to measure absolute periods of time, water clocks (clepsydras) and hourglasses would be used for several centuries to come (p. 37).

A clock tolling twenty-four times a day at Milan in 1336 was a technical sensation; it was also described by a contemporary as "extremely important for all classes" (p. 106). By 1400 the tolling clock, now a symbol of prestige, was almost ubiquitous in Western

Europe. It became, in the words of a fifteenth-century English monk, the instrument "by which the people rule themselves" (p. 216). But Dohrn-van Rossum also demonstrates that unequal hours were used side by side with modern hours and that the mechanical clock shared the shelf with the hourglass.

The final chapters of this book are concerned with such issues as "time worked" and "hourly wage," with "rhythm and intensity of work," and with the development of communication, postal, and transportation systems, all of which demanded greater coordination and more accurate time.

This book is more than its title promises. It is not just a "History of the Hour"; it is also a critical examination of its historiography. Based on the sources, Dohrn-van Rossum's work demonstrates that many earlier conclusions are no longer valid; it stands as testimony to his repeated scorn for interpretations that override the "veto of the sources." This is scholarship at its best.

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HOWARD MARGOLIS. *Paradigms and Barriers: How Habits of Mind Govern Scientific Beliefs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 267.

This book is the second volume in a projected three-volume series. The first volume, *Patterns, Thinking and Cognition* (1987) develops Howard Margolis's theory regarding habits of mind. An excerpt from that work is included as an appendix in the new volume to help readers understand the cognitive underpinnings of Margolis's approach.

The book begins with an introduction to habits of mind. For Margolis, habits are the essential components of paradigms; they are what makes a novel scientific world view incommensurable with what has gone before. The bulk of the book is taken up with detailed analyses of scientific controversies that show these habits in action. The shift from Ptolemy to Copernicus, Margolis's primary example, required abandoning the habit of seeing the universe in terms of a network of spheres. These spheres were not arbitrary theoretical constructs used for heuristic purposes: "For a well-trained Ptolemaic astronomer, there would be nothing artificial or even conjectural about the way the epicycles served as the determinants of the spatial structure of the Ptolemaic universe . . . The distances and sizes of the planets were computed in a way that made no sense unless the epicycles were real, space-filling objects, governing the size of snugly nested spheres that filled the universe" (p. 131). Margolis shows that this comfortable arrangement of nested spheres precluded the acceptance of other, mathematically equivalent, earth-centered systems. Even though Copernicus's system included spheres and epicycles, it represented a radical shift from Ptolemy's. How, then, was Copernicus able to resist the Ptolemaic habit of mind?

According to Margolis, a key element was a map of the world that showed the Americas as a new continent; it encouraged Copernicus to violate "nested-spheres intuitions."

Margolis cites other controversies to support his view of habit: the emergence of probability, the overthrow of phlogiston, and the controversy between Robert Boyle and Thomas Hobbes over the air pump. Margolis uses the Boyle/Hobbes case to attack relativism, specifically Steven Shapin and Simon Shaffer's account (*Leviathan and the Air-Pump* [1985]). They argued that Hobbes really won the debate, whereas Margolis argues that even by the standards of the time it was apparent that Boyle's account was superior. According to Margolis, scientists' habits are built on evidence; social factors play a more peripheral role. Margolis concludes that the winners of scientific controversies prevailed because they did a better job of modeling reality.

Margolis's case studies are interesting, and he appears to have done original research on all of them, although specialists in each controversy will doubtless find points of disagreement. His repeated attacks on relativism and social constructivism should also provoke lively debate, even if these discussions are beginning to transcend old dichotomies such as whether scientific change is more social or cognitive (as in Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* [1993], who reanalyzes the air-pump case).

As any cognitive therapist or grandmother knows, habits of mind have a powerful effect on the way we view the world. Margolis needs to be more precise about how one can identify and study the particular kind of perceptual habits with which he is concerned, or else his habits will become as vague as Thomas Kuhn's paradigms. Margolis's habits appear to correspond to what cognitive scientists call a mental model; there is a growing literature on mental models in scientific thinking, including discussion of when they change in response to evidence and when they resist change (see, for example, my own *Simulating Science* [1992]). Closer attention to the literature on psychology of science would help Margolis refine his provocative idea.

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RUGGIERO ROMANO. *Conjonctures opposées: La "crise" du XVII^e siècle en Europe et en Amérique ibérique*. (Publications du Centre d'Histoire Économique Internationale de l'Université de Genève, number 9.) Geneva: DROZ. 1992. Pp. xii, 239.

Toward the close of this volume, which takes the form of a series of general essays on the much-debated topic of the existence or nonexistence of a seventeenth-century crisis in Europe and Spanish America, Ruggiero Romano expresses the resigned opinion

that his book will provoke criticism from historians differing with his views. But such has been the nature of historiographical discussion revolving around the subject since it first emerged during the 1960s that few contributors to the debate have escaped controversy. On the basis of the extensive literature on the topic published over the past twenty-five years, the author comes down firmly on the side of historians arguing for the existence of a crisis in Europe and the lack of one in the Spanish empire of the New World.

The author sees crisis or non-crisis in the regions discussed as primarily economic in character. Although recognizing differences from one country to another, especially with respect to England and the United Provinces, and even from one region to another within individual states where economic conditions were far from catastrophic, he maintains that, from a broad perspective, Europe experienced relative demographic stagnation, declining agrarian and industrial production, and a significant shift in commercial activity away from the Mediterranean to Northern Europe, circumstances that, taken as a whole, contrasted sharply with economic expansion during the sixteenth century. The discussion of economic factors is lucid and persuasive, although it covers well-traveled ground. Romano has made an interesting contribution to the crisis debate by placing it in a chronological framework extending from 1619–22 to 1740–50. He maintains that the European crisis must be interpreted not as a short-term phenomenon covering a few decades but rather as an economic cycle of extended duration similar to that experienced by fourteenth-century Europe. This thesis adds a useful new dimension to the crisis debate, although it is not always convincing. Even in Spain, which suffered severe economic decline during the century, there were tentative signs, as Pierre Vilar established in his study of Catalonia, of demographic, monetary, and economic recovery by the 1680s.

The discussion of the nonexistence of an economic crisis in Spanish America where, the author argues, conditions improved during the century as a result of several factors, such as demographic stability, increased government expenditures benefiting local economies, and the continued importance of silver mining to colonial economies, is problematic. The author supports the thesis sustained by Herbert S. Klein and John TePaske that the seventeenth century in the Spanish Indies was not the century of depression described by earlier historians, a thesis contested by Henry Kamen and Jonathan Israel in a spirited debate still unresolved. What is missing in this debate and in this volume is an attempt to integrate the discussion of developments in Spanish America with those in Europe, admittedly a difficult enterprise in the best of circumstances.

On balance, this volume will be of interest to historians concerned with the latest interpretations

arising from the crisis debate. Romano has done his part to keep discussion alive.

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GEORGE BRANDON. *Santeria from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 206. \$29.95.

Santeria, as it is known and practiced in urban areas of the United States where there are high concentrations of Cubans and Puerto Ricans, consists of three component religious traditions. One is Spanish folk Catholicism. Another is African traditional religion, mainly Yoruba orisha worship as it developed in its Cuban Lucumi forms. The third is European spiritism, founded in nineteenth-century France by Allan Kardec, and which became fashionable in Puerto Rico. To trace the arrival of Santeria in the United States, George Brandon has written a detailed narrative of its West African origins and its development during several phases of Cuba's colonial and post-independence history, including the island's current socialist period. He completes the account by analyzing Santeria's interaction with Puerto Rican spiritist practices in New York City and by describing its ultimately irreconcilable encounter with the U.S.-bred Orisha-Voodoo movement. Founded by Oba Ofuntola Osejiman Adelabu Adefunmi I in 1959, the movement was politically important for many African Americans, but its ahistorical attempt to purify Santeria of its creole accretions resulted in its isolation and retreat to the Oyotunji Village in South Carolina.

After several years of field work in Africa, Cuba, and New York City, Brandon completed the bulk of his writing while working at the Inner-City Support Systems Project (ICSS) of the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey from 1980 to 1982. The experience at ICSS gave him much evidence of Santeria as a practical source of healing and well-being in people's lives.

Brandon's grasp of the foundations of Atlantic history in general, and of the creole interactions of European and African religion in Cuba's history in particular, enables him to discuss competently the complex systems that over time, and at any particular time, have constituted the phenomenon of Santeria. Much of his discussion is a careful deconstruction of the notion of syncretism. The term, Brandon argues, is analytically inadequate for understanding cultural continuity and change. He demonstrates that syncretism, as a derivation of Western Christianity's ideas of credal purity and religious exclusiveness, is a concept that cannot adequately probe creole processes, such as Santeria, which constantly define and redefine themselves through the encounters of groups and individuals.

"Syncretism" will remain a convenient catchword for anthropologists and historians. But Brandon ar-

gues convincingly that the concept is irrelevant for insiders; for those, for example, who call themselves Catholic but venerate the orisha and who have little difficulty in accommodating religious realities deriving from multiple sources. What are called "syncretisms," Brandon shows, are not bizarre anomalies but rather constituent parts of the processes of domination, resistance, change, youthfulness, and cultural impurity that define New World history.

One of the most valuable aspects of Brandon's book is his discussion of the forms of memory, in which he draws on the studies of Maurice Halbwachs (*The Collective Memory* [1980]) and Phillip Connerton (*How Societies Remember* [1989]). Brandon convinces that, through the mechanisms of personal, cognitive, habit (or bodily incorporation), and social or collective memory, strong links can exist with originating cultures through generations in mixed societies. By casting the discussion in terms of the varieties of memory, he avoids the impasse of earlier twentieth-century debates on African retentions and survivals and enters the more productive framework of discussion outlined by Sidney Mintz and Richard Price in *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (1976).

Brandon's book could profitably be read in conjunction with two other recent books whose themes intersect with his at critical points. Leslie G. Desman-gles's *Faces of the Gods* (1992), a study of Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti, and Antonio Benitez-Rojo's *Repeating Island* (1992), an application of chaos theory to Caribbean history and literature, form with Brandon's book a formidable triple challenge to accepted interpretations of syncretism and creolization.

On his own terms, Brandon more than fulfills his promise to take the reader on the transatlantic journey of the orisha and to explore the complexities of African memory in the diaspora.

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SHU GUANG ZHANG. *Deterrence and Strategic Culture: Chinese-American Confrontations, 1949-1958*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 302. \$37.95.

Shu Guang Zhang examines several conflicts in post-World War II Chinese-American relations to demonstrate that "deterrence as a strategy was a predominant theme in the policy assumptions and objectives of both the PRC [People's Republic of China] and the United States" (p. 1). Zhang offers an unusual interpretation of deterrent strategy, one that assumes that both China and the United States acted as defenders of the status quo. Whereas traditional deterrence strategy portrays situations where there is a clear aggressor challenged by a defender, Zhang argues that both Beijing and Washington saw each other as aggressors attempting to expand influence at the

expense of the other. The author focuses on the Taiwan question, the Korean War, Indochina, and the two Taiwan Strait crises of the Dwight Eisenhower administration. Although numerous studies of these issues exist, Zhang's work is a major contribution to our understanding of the motivation behind American and Chinese policies because he exploits recently available and previously untranslated materials from Chinese archives. His comparative approach leads him to conclude that, in many instances, "each side misjudged the other, both in the short and long term" (p. 2).

Zhang chronicles the development of each dispute, contrasting the deliberations of the Americans and the Chinese and their respective allies. There are no surprises in his analysis of U.S. intentions. Indeed, many of Zhang's conclusions are supported by the secondary works he cites. Yet this study is filled with translations of new sources and groundbreaking information from the Chinese side (and, indirectly, from the Soviets when diplomatic correspondence appears in Chinese archives). Zhang has amassed an impressive list of previously unavailable documents, including Mao Zedong's correspondence with Joseph Stalin, Kim Il-sung, and Ho Chi Minh; Mao's telegrams to Peng Dehuai during the Korean War; selected papers of key Chinese leaders such as Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Chen Yun, and Zhu De; and the memoirs of Shi Zhe, Mao's interpreter in Moscow. It is often from Shi's recollections that Zhang is able to comment on Stalin's, V. M. Molotov's, L. P. Beria's, and Nikita Khrushchev's reactions to Chinese proposals. Zhang also has conducted interviews with several Beijing policy makers of the 1950s and archivists who have access to classified documents. He supplements his analysis with comments from these "off-the-record" interviews.

This study goes well beyond a summary of new information; it analyzes each conflict from the perspective of the two different cultures. Zhang demonstrates that, more often than not, cultural differences led to a misunderstanding of the impact of various initiatives. What one side considered a deterrent strategy, the other considered a provocation. For example, during the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1954–55, Beijing interpreted what Washington considered defensive postures—negotiating a U.S.-Taiwan security treaty and support of regional alliances—as outright aggression, imperialism, and evidence of an attempt to turn Taiwan and other sites into military bases for an invasion of China. In response, the Chinese tried to minimize the risk of war with the United States by employing "controlled belligerence" and began shelling offshore islands. Rather than forcing an American retreat, Beijing's actions further assisted its enemy, the Guomindang, in finalizing a security pact with the United States.

Zhang's work is a significant addition to our understanding of U.S.-China relations not only because of his access to new sources but also because he uses

successfully a cross-cultural approach to the study of international relations. He notes that there are many Chinese collections and documents from the 1950s, such as those dealing with how Beijing managed the end of the Korean War, that are still unavailable. This study demonstrates that it is now possible to begin to analyze the many Cold War conflicts from the points of view of each side. If the "Open Door" policy of the Chinese government continues and more documents become available to scholars, Zhang's study will be part of the beginning of new and exciting research.

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ANCIENT

ROBERT DREWS. *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 252. \$35.00.

The collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean is one of the thorniest issues in ancient history. Hence it is not surprising that Robert Drews's book has already been hotly discussed on that most modern mode of scholarly skirmishing, the Internet. Drews turns to military history for his explanation, in the belief that a synthesis of specialized studies now allows us to understand the historical significance of military innovations (p. 174): it was a radical innovation in warfare that gave "barbarians" a sudden military advantage over the established kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean.

Because the collapse affected a huge array of cultures, the study must confront a staggering range of evidence: primary and secondary, written and archaeological. However scanty the primary evidence may be, secondary works are mountainous. Drews's knowledge and use of the data is truly stunning, ranging from Linear B tablets and sword types to the nature of iron technology and seismic activity, all couched in dozens of ancient and modern languages. One should read the book for its bibliography alone.

Drews provides an excellent survey of the confused events of the catastrophe and an analysis of alternative explanations for its occurrence. Earthquake is dismissed as an underlying cause; a simple theory of migrations has no foundation (Drews offers a useful historiographic discussion of migration theories from the time of Maspero); the "ironworking hypothesis" fails in that it is not linked to military changes; drought may have been a contributing factor but it is too early and limited to be a full explanation; systems collapse does not address physical destruction, the essence of the catastrophe; and a raiders hypothesis is incomplete. These factors are allowed to remain as part of the explanation but with much reduced significance. Even so, Drews treats scholars who hold other views with respect.

Part 3 is the heart of the book, and it is here that Drews elaborates his military thesis. He begins by

presenting the nature of Bronze Age warfare. From the seventeenth century B.C. until the catastrophe, chariots used as mobile firing platforms for archers were the key element of warfare. The role of foot soldiers was largely defensive and ancillary; they were used offensively only in rough terrain where chariots could not operate. (One suspects that particularly heated discussion will ensue on Drews's depreciation of Bronze Age infantry.)

By the late Bronze Age, however, changes in armor and weapons revolutionized military tactics. The round shield, graves corslets, javelins, and the cut-and-thrust sword indicate the importance of hand-to-hand fighting, especially among less complex cultures in the central Mediterranean and Europe where the changes originated. Weapons and tactics were brought east and south by bands hitherto on the fringes of high civilization drawn by prospects of booty and success. Their numbers along with their military skill brought them what they sought. For the eastern kingdoms, the outcome was the catastrophe.

The argument is carefully constructed, solidly grounded in the evidence, and well written. The author's style is always lucid, often vivid, and at times gently humorous, essential features in a work so complex. And in its broad sweep the book persuades. We have long known that barbarians had a hand in the collapse but could find no advantage great enough for them to threaten, even destroy, the wealthy, large, and well-defended kingdoms. Drews has put sword and shield in their hands to give them that advantage, returning to human causation after some decades in which scholarship has sought explanation in impersonal forces. His study will not, in my view, "furnish future scholars with ample opportunity for mirth," as he suspects (p. 102). Some revisions, almost certainly, will result; but Drews's argument will have to be taken seriously. It must be placed alongside the several other factors at work in the late Bronze Age. Debate will continue in an effort to fit each factor, including military revolution, into a full understanding of the catastrophe.

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ALAN WATSON. *International Law in Archaic Rome: War and Religion*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 100. \$25.00.

This exceedingly slim volume offers a recitation of familiar material about the origins of fetials and their functions, and about subsequent changes in Roman foreign policy as a consequence of territorial expansion. To set the stage, Alan Watson tells us that ancient Rome was the most legalistic and imperialistic state in the world and that Romans also considered themselves—and were considered by their contemporaries—as the most religious of peoples. In fact, Roman respect for traditional religious beliefs and

practices was considered the reason for Rome's terrestrial success. Watson previously addressed the paradox of why Roman law was so secular when it was largely the work of Roman priests. Now he tackles other apparent enigmas. Why were Roman fetials, originally created to preserve the peace between Rome and its neighbors, the priests who declared war and made treaties? Why were the procedures used by fetial priests so legalistic? The answer, of course, was that "Romans were so legalistic" that religion, politics, and international relations had a common basis (p. 20). The author's claim that he presents "a strong, new thesis" (p. xi) should be read in light of his admission that "to [his] knowledge" others had not anticipated him (p. 13). Watson's approach will not strike many historians as unique, but his interpretation of the ancient sources will impress most as being naive and his use of legal reasoning to resolve difficulties also will impress many as a questionable replacement for historical analysis. Historians should take particular note of his treatment of the *sponsio/foedus* controversy surrounding the Caudine disaster. Furthermore, he dodges the problem of the reliability of sources for early Roman history by referring to his own earlier work, in which he also dodged the problem.

Watson's most important contribution is his argument that fetials were artificial creations of central Italian, mainly Latin, peoples who were ethnically, linguistically, and religiously similar. In the absence of common political institutions and facing threats from outside, Latins created fetials to curb hostilities among themselves. One looks in vain, however, for a discussion of archaic fetial practices, treaties, and warfare in light of what we know about the *foedus Cassianum*. Nevertheless, we can accept that as ambassadors of peace, fetials employed legalistic language and forms to demand reparations from the guilty party. Without satisfaction, after the proper interval of time, fetials finally called on the gods to judge their claim just. "Due performance of religious ritual was vital for the continuance of Roman success in war" (p. 71). Consequently, Watson claims that if Romans declared war using the proper legalistic and religious form, then the gods were compelled to give a favorable verdict before hostilities began. In other words, wars were just if formalities were observed, and since the Romans eventually waged war against those who did not employ fetials, "only the Romans had the verdict of the gods that their war was just" (p. 30). It was a tremendous psychological advantage for the Romans who knew that their conquest of the known world had divine support. How convenient! But Romans always had a favorable verdict from the gods, even in the earliest period when opponents also employed fetials. In fact, parties to a conflict always appeal to the divine judge to consider their suit just. Success or failure in war would show which side the

gods were on. They were always on the side of the big battalions. Surprised?

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MEDIEVAL

PETER CRAMER. *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–c. 1150*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 20.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 356. \$59.95.

There is a need for a balanced history of the sacrament of baptism in antiquity and the Middle Ages, comparable to Miri Rubin's *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (1991) or Josef Jungmann's *Missarum Sollemnia* (1948). This book by Peter Cramer is not that history. The author describes his task as analyzing "the difficulty of the reasoning mind in its attempts to understand the myth which it inherits from its own past, the myth, that is, of sacrament, of liturgy in general, and of the whole received content of faith" (p. xv). Although it is arranged chronologically, the book is best understood as discursive investigations—almost meditations—on the evolution of how intellectuals understood and eventually misunderstood liturgy. Cramer's approach combines a heavily intellectualized treatment of texts with a frequent use of abstract, exalted, almost incomprehensible language.

In the first three chapters, the author analyzes the views of Hippolytus, Tertullian, Ambrose, and Augustine on their understanding of how the baptismal liturgy expressed the crisis that marked the conversion of an adult. In the last three chapters, Cramer attempts to trace the process whereby liturgy became incomprehensible for contemporaries. When theologians began to interrogate it, it was fundamentally changed.

The model underlying the analysis is one of degeneration from a perfect time, when liturgy was accepted as not requiring explanation, to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when liturgy declined into magic on the one hand and fodder for theological investigation on the other. The author argues that when liturgy needed to be explained, the "myth of sacrament" was no longer operative. But did such a perfect time of liturgy ever exist? Even in late antiquity, the church fathers—the very sources the author uses to make his case—felt the need to explain the liturgy at great length.

One of the book's pervasive themes is liturgy as theater, that is, the dramatic use of material things, such as water and oil, to make contact with spiritual realities. As a way to understand the baptism of an adult in the late Roman empire, that is a defensible view. A dramatic performance implies an audience, however, and the author does not successfully inves-

tigate who constituted that audience or how it changed over time. Cramer is aware that the triumph of the doctrine of original sin and its corollary, the necessity of infant baptism, had profound consequences for the baptismal liturgy, but he underestimates the degree to which those developments undermined the sense of theater. In fifth-century Hippo, Bishop Augustine presided over rituals of Christian initiation—which were much more than baptism—that were public, lengthy, and filled with symbolism. But in a rural church in medieval Europe, the baptism of an infant must have been very different theater with a very different audience, conducted briefly in a foreign language on a child for whom godparents had to act and speak.

The history of baptism in its complicated contexts of liturgy, theology, architecture, and social change remains to be written.

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PETER HAIDU. *The Subject of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 257. \$39.95.

Large and important themes form the skeletal structure of this book. Peter Haidu argues that the comprehension and channeling of warlike violence were the central problematic not only of the *Song of Roland* but also of medieval civilization. For this most famous *chanson* he argues, in fact, a causative role: the means of channeling proposed in the text preceded that actually achieved in the world (the "social co-text," as Haidu would have it). This transformation involves the triumph of the feudal monarchy over *la féodalité* itself; the principle of centralized authority vested in kingship emerges as a principle superior to the decentralized and autonomous power of feudal lords. With something like a monopoly of licit violence secure in its own hands, however, Haidu warns (in troubled glances at the Gulf War and the morass of what used to be Yugoslavia) that the violence of the modern state is even more frightening, not only because of its scale but also because it is so often sly and unacknowledged by its perpetrators.

His close reading of the *Song of Roland* is interesting, informative, and significant, although the richness of analysis can only be suggested here. Roland's death is a tragedy, "a disaster produced by the highest and most admirable development of human faculties and potentials" (p. 34). Yet in a sense both hero and traitor share in tragedy. Both Roland and Ganelon, each representing feudal values, must disappear for the new order to triumph. At its moment of triumph, Haidu sees in the little royalist champion Thierry de Chartres one of the famous new men (those called from the dust, Orderic Vitalis said) who served emergent monarchy; but he also sees exemplars of these new men in the new host Charlemagne calls into

being for the terrible revenge taken in the second half of the poem. Charles's words are for Haidu an act of pure textual "performativity." Some possibility of the great emperor's culpability for the defeat and death of Roland (emphasized by the funerary rituals and lamentations), however, is likewise a crucial issue, emphasized by being elaborately denied in the text time and again. Haidu sees this issue of the failure of security supposedly embodied in good lordship, which in fact appears on the Sarasin side as well, as one of the major themes in the poem, revealing a crisis of belief in an essential tenet of feudalism and ultimately of the state itself.

From the discipline of history we must warmly welcome Haidu's wide reading of historical scholarship and, above all, his interest in linking text and society; we must surely agree that texts are agents of change as much as passive imprints. Yet the historian will be surprised at the repeated assertion that the *Song of Roland* is the first indication of monarchical superiority over autonomous localism. Surely the audience of this *chanson* (or at least the author of this book) could think of the work of Anglo-Saxon kings, of the Normans William I and Henry I, and (if the late portion of the text is truly as late as some scholars suggest) of the Angevin Henry II. The Capetians were hardly the only medieval line of kings, and they must have watched what was happening in the lands of their close rivals in Normandy and across the channel. Once this is considered, the text enters into a fascinating dialogue with sociopolitical change rather than standing as something prior.

The historian may likewise question whether the avenging Christian army that appears in the Baligant episode is as completely nonfeudal as Haidu suggests. After all, the leaders of this host still need the evidence of divine intervention in the trial of Ganelon to bring them over to the new order, which they stoutly resist up to that moment. Is feudalism being "discarded" in this poem, or rather being taught to ride in harness with emergent royalty?

Finally, while repeating with sincerity and much good will his gratitude for an august scholar in literature who crosses the disciplinary line that has been so often closed and fortified in the past, I can only register doubts about the necessity of the dense, elaborate, polysyllabic terminology in which much of the argument is cast, although Haidu assures us the book "does not present its arguments in full-blown technical form" (p. 9). We are told that historians, as writers of only one of the forms of narrative fiction, must study at the table of the modern critic. Yet the essential arguments of this book—of so much interest to us—could in truth be established by a close reading of the text in conjunction with (and with apologies for the offensive term) the sociopolitical context. The elaborate theoretical vocabulary seems applied to the analysis, rather than functioning as the key to the analysis.

Moreover, the elaborate jargon makes reading the

English language seem a task of a different order, with aesthetic joys much reduced. Do we really need words such as "transferred isotopies" and "eventementialities" (p. 11)? Do we want to say that one thing "vehiculates" or "is effectuated by" another (pp. 7, 69)? That Roland performs "auto-semiotization" (p. 35)? That in politics "metonymic causation depends upon a hypotactic mental set" (p. 30)? That the text is a "protopod" (p. 150)?

There is room aplenty and for all in these marvelous texts. Herewith a plea: let us not build walls of turf.

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ROBERT BARTLETT. *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. 432. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$16.95.

Long before 1492, Western Europe was home to a society that was quite accustomed to expansion. As Robert Bartlett asserts, "Europe, the initiator of one of the world's great processes of conquest, colonization, and cultural transformation, was also the product of one" (p. 314). This process carried a hybrid civilization based on Roman, Christian, and Germanic elements beyond the frontiers of the old Carolingian empire. Over the course of four centuries of expansion, from 950 to 1350, Western Europe emerged as a strong and vital region, whose peoples shared common attitudes and similar institutions. Europeans became used to taming wildernesses and confronting and defeating peoples defined as different on religious or linguistic grounds. For the unfolding of this development, Bartlett examines internal colonization, in which lords and peasants cleared forests and drained swamps to implant new villages, and four outward thrusts: the English expansion into Wales and Ireland, the German movement into Eastern Europe, the Spanish reconquest, and the Crusades. In Eastern Europe, Latin Christians expanded at the expense of pagans, and in Iberia and the eastern Mediterranean at the expense of Muslims. Ireland seems at first an anomaly, for its people had been Roman Catholics for centuries. Because the Normans and the English could define the lands and people of Ireland as suitable for conquest, they subjected them to an incursion similar to those of Eastern Europe and southern Iberia.

Bartlett begins by showing how Europe's medieval expansion took place. To aid in understanding, he starts with a chapter on the spread of Latin bishoprics, which he considers a proxy for the spread of the church and therefore a rough approximation of the spread of the common ties of Europe. In 900, Latin bishoprics were confined within what had been Charlemagne's empire, northern Spain, and the British Isles. By 1200, there were 800 bishoprics throughout

Western and Eastern Europe and as far east as the crusader states in the eastern Mediterranean.

The shock troops of expansion were the mounted knights. After cavalry conquered, nobles had castles built to protect their conquests. Then chroniclers, themselves often of noble origin, told the story and exalted the role of the knights. Because of their successes over the period, the knights made themselves into a closed social hierarchy.

Without peasants, of course, no conquest could hold (witness the example of the crusader states). For peasant colonization, the free village was the fundamental cell, acting at first as a means of labor recruitment in a period that, up to the mid-thirteenth century at least, had a surplus of land and a scarcity of workers. In the center of Western Europe, lords recruited workers to fell forests, drain swamps, and make fields. Other lords, on the periphery, assembled settlers for newly conquered lands. In both cases nobles offered municipal freedoms on favorable terms in the implanted settlements, linked closely to their regions of origin.

Throughout the period, expanding Europeans developed a rhetoric of conquest in which they congratulated themselves for taming nature and bringing improvements to backward regions formerly held by peoples they considered as unworthy and alien. Although Bartlett ties racism particularly to the fringes, it flourished throughout medieval Europe. It did not have to be invented when Europeans later encountered Americans and Asians.

Bartlett has produced an important book. The new emphasis on world history requires all historians to adopt a wider chronological and spatial context for their work; medievalists must share that expanded outlook. It is equally important for scholars of later periods to know the medieval background. Both groups will find much of interest in this major work of synthesis, in which Bartlett integrates the primary sources and secondary works of a thirty-one-page bibliography. Inevitably there are drawbacks. The book is not balanced among the four themes he sets out to cover. The British Isles and Eastern Europe receive the most extensive coverage, Iberia less, and the crusader states less still. Much of the material will be quite familiar to medievalists. Nonetheless, Bartlett deserves high praise for his courage in taking on such a major project, and for his success in showing the medieval roots of many aspects of the post-1492 European expansion overseas.

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MICHAEL HARSGOR. *Un très petit nombre: Des oligarchies dans l'histoire de l'Occident*. Paris: Fayard. 1994. Pp. 544. 230 fr.

Thirty years ago, E. P. Thompson vividly announced that class is not a static category but rather a dynamic,

contested set of relationships among shifting categories of people. News crosses the English Channel slowly; continental historians still persist in imagining that they can describe a single class without examining its relationship to enemies and interlocutors. Michael Harsgor has absorbed half the news: although he still supposes he can characterize oligarchs without locating them in relation to plebeians, he offers a broad catalogue of medieval patricians and parvenus as well as a scintillating picture of the maneuvers by which marginal members of European oligarchies called up popular followings and formed pseudo-popular movements—readily abandoned for more helpful allies—to batter their way toward power within the same oligarchies.

Harsgor searches widely over the tenth to fifteenth centuries: the Low Countries, England, the Holy Roman empire, Iberia, and, especially, Italy and France. He finds instance after instance of insurgency from inside, quickly calmed by tastes of power. Yes, instance after instance after instance; the further the book goes, alas, the more it resembles a series of index cards, one per story, sorted loosely by time and place. Harsgor's flattening of so many diverse events and political processes into a single plane locates family rivalries in Milan or Rome uncomfortably adjacent to the barons' revolt that produced Magna Carta. He portrays willy-nilly the populace of all these polities as ever-ready to follow the next patrician demagogue who raised the banner of rebellion; thus, despite the work of Samuel Cohn, the Florentine *Ciompi* revolt of 1378 reduces to the work of an "unleashed crowd" of weavers and others secretly encouraged by Salvestro de Medici, while, despite the work of John Padgett, the rise of the Medici themselves becomes one more story of outsiders using a gullible mass to become insiders.

By the end, the reader pleads for greater sensitivity to such differences as separated the squabbling mercantile elites of the Low Countries from the swaggering swordbearers of the Holy Roman empire, for a more sustained effort to place the changing character of oligarchical struggle in the general history of European states, for some sort of argument, comparison, and explanation concerning the variable degrees and forms of inequality, in addition to the innumerable tales of oligarchical venality and rapacity. Nevertheless, Harsgor tells important stories engagingly. (Speaking of fourteenth-century Florence, he remarks that "Oligarchic factions sometimes resemble porcupines, who suffer from the cold alone but when in company warm each other by mutual quillpricks" [p. 84].) Witty, often mordant, without illusions as to the predation of princes, prelates, or presidents, Harsgor conveys a strong sense of the European ruling classes' instinct for self-preservation, but not much sense of how and why their success in that regard varied so greatly.

CHARLES TILLY
New School for Social Research

ILLUMINATO PERI. *Villani e cavalieri nella Sicilia medievale*. (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna, number 1,040.) Rome: Laterza. 1993. Pp. 195. L. 35,000.

Illuminato Peri is a pioneer in the social and economic history of medieval Sicily, the author of a three-volume study of the interplay between political and social change on the island from the Norman conquest to 1500 and of several shorter studies. The volume under review reprints two of these studies, along with a new short essay on Sicilian knighthood.

Il villanaggio in Sicilia appeared in book form in Palermo in 1965, sold out rapidly, and since then has been much cited but extremely hard to find. The title does not do justice to this study of rural manpower in its many forms: not just recognizable serfs but contract laborers, slaves, and free peasants. Peri looks both at the legal framework laid down by Roger II, Frederick II, and later rulers and at the practical realities that stood at some remove from those ideals.

The Sicilian kings legislated for a population of many religions, and a particularly interesting dimension to Peri's discussion is the description of the erosion of the Muslim, and to some extent the Greek, peasantry with the arrival of immigrant settlers, some of whom came from northern Italy, often endowed with handsome franchises. There is, however, a wider terminological problem that medieval Sicilian and south Italian law books leave open: the term *servus* had several meanings, as in the provision attributed to Roger II that Jews and Muslims who buy and sell Christian *servi* (serfs) will themselves become *servi curie*. This term arguably has a more complex meaning than "royal serfs," as current discussions of the concept of "chamber serfdom" indicate. There were also *servi curie* in Malta, a Sicilian territory not examined by Peri. An interesting point is the emptiness of the capital, Palermo, which resulted in attempts under Frederick II to settle not just Jews and Christians there but also some of those Muslims not sent to exile in Lucera on the mainland.

In looking at the decline of serfdom, Peri notes the prevalence of sharecropping arrangements, for instance at Erice around 1300; interesting here would be comparisons with studies of northern and central Italy, such as Philip Jones's work on the *mezzadria* in Tuscany. Generally, however, Peri does not look beyond Sicily itself; it might have been worth updating this work and looking at recent studies on the decline of serfdom. Yet he does much to open up such little-known sources as the fourteenth-century notarial registers of Palermo.

It is on the basis of the records of the Teutonic Knights that Peri looks at the career of the knight Rinaldo di Giovanni Lombardo of Polizzi, reprinting an article first published in the *Festschrift* for Antonino De Stefano (1956). This is a splendid study of the enrichment of a country gentleman with clerical ambitions at the end of the thirteenth and start of the fourteenth century and it also contains Peri's further

thoughts on the vexed problem of the Lombard immigration into medieval Sicily.

Peri presents a picture of an economy delicately balanced between the strains of underpopulation after wars and population clearances and attempts by the crown and others to stimulate local production in the hope of enhancing their revenues. Although recent work by S. R. Epstein has departed controversially from some of these assumptions, the image still accords with mainstream opinion. Peri elegantly and clearly presents his view with ample reference to the primary sources.

DAVID ABULAFIA
Cambridge University

MICHEL SOT. *Un historien et son Église au X^e siècle: Flodoard de Reims*. Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 832. 260 fr.

Flodoard (893/894–966) served as canon and priest at Reims during a difficult period in the history of both the celebrated archbishopric and the fissiparous Carolingian monarchy. Two rival archbishops, in fact, contested control of the see around 950, at the very time Flodoard was working on his *History of the Church of Reims*. As archivist of the cathedral, Flodoard was well placed to compose its history. He was also an experienced writer. The *Annals* which he began in 920 and continued until his death constitute a major source for the history of tenth-century politics. Flodoard also crafted 19,939 lines of verse on the triumphs of Christ in Palestine, Antioch, and Rome (which he visited) before he turned to the history of his church.

Flodoard's *History of the Church of Reims* has always been highly regarded, even if its author has not. As a confidant of Reims's tenth-century bishops, Flodoard's account of his own times bears the mark of an eyewitness and participant in the events recounted. His account of the earlier period, especially of the ninth century, is no less valuable because of his access to documents issued by Reims's archbishops. His summaries of almost 600 letters written by Hincmar (845–882) and Fulco (883–900) on a wide variety of topics to diverse correspondents are a veritable gold mine, especially since many of the letters have not survived the centuries.

But was Flodoard a historian or merely an annalist and compiler? Michel Sot's surprising answer is that he transcended the genre of the *gesta episcoporum* to create for his contemporaries nothing less than the "memory" of the Church of Reims. Sot traces the historian's inspiration to the liturgy of memorialization ("Do this in memory of me") in which Flodoard daily participated and to the division and lay interference that wracked Reims in his own day. The memory Flodoard created was anchored in the myth of the Church of Reims.

The myth begins in Book I of the *History* with Remigius (ca. 438–ca. 533), the saint-archbishop who baptized Clovis. It culminated with Hincmar, who was

no saint, but who was nevertheless Flodoard's model of an active, independent, Carolingian archbishop. Although not as prominent as Remigius and Hincmar, Reims's other pontiffs (Sonnatus, Rigobertus, Ebbo, Fulco) helped to limn his portrait of the good pastor. Their devoted leadership provided the evidence Flodoard needed to restore the grandeur of the Church of Reims. In the *History's* pages, his contemporaries could learn of the special relationship their city had always enjoyed with Rome. They could read of archbishops who defended the liberty of their church and who made, guided, and supported good kings. The memory Flodoard conjured was decidedly Hincmarian and proto-Gregorian.

Sot proposes a new and convincing understanding of Flodoard. That said, anyone who slogs through this book's more than 800 pages of small type will probably share my suspicion that its essential message could be conveyed adequately in 500 fewer pages. Great gobs from Karl Ferdinand Werner's work are served up regularly to establish overly detailed political context. The extended treatment of the cultural history of Reims is derivative and weak. The prose is wordy and repetitious throughout. Most seriously, forays into tangential issues often blur the book's focus. "Mais revenons à Flodoard" (p. 124): if Michel Sot had better minded his own advice, readers might be less likely to approach his work as a reference volume for everything one might want to know about Flodoard and Reims. They might be more apt to appreciate the fine addition to the history of medieval history-writing buried in its dense pages.

JOHN J. CONTRENI
Purdue University

GERD TELLENBACH. *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*. Translated by TIMOTHY REUTER. (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 403. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Gerd Tellenbach's first important publication, on Roman and Christian ideology in the early medieval liturgy, appeared sixty years ago. The present volume, published in German in 1988, is the summation of a life's work. It exhibits the hallmarks of Tellenbach's vast *oeuvre*: clarity and grace of exposition, judicious assessment of scholarship, avoidance of the doctrinaire, and appreciation for nuance, contingency, and possibility. Timothy Reuter is to be congratulated for his excellent translation. A brief review cannot do justice to this book but can point out some of its major features.

Always Tellenbach invites us to think about the church across Europe as a whole, in the context of the many societies and historical circumstances in which it operated. He continually plays off the ironies implicit in the universalizing faith that Christianity was, and the increasingly universalized institutions

that it produced, in the midst of a world that was incredibly diverse. Sometimes, in other words, vast papal claims were rejected on principle or on the grounds of competing claims. On other occasions, however, cultural differences and geographical distances rendered claims meaningless. Whereas Henry IV and Gregory VII were locked in mortal combat, Norwegian and Polish kings over whom Gregory had no discernible influence politely received Gregory's instructions.

The centerpiece of this book is, naturally enough, the great struggle between the papacy and the German empire in the eleventh century. Tellenbach writes: "The vision Gregory and Humbert had of the right order in the Christian world was magnificent, naive, and unrealistic" (p. 264). Much of the book is devoted to working out how that vision came into being and with what consequences. Tellenbach avoids monocausal explanations, arguing that many spiritual forces contributed to the vortex of activity that we (and he) call the "reform papacy." Monasticism was one, but it must be divided into many subforces, trends, tendencies, and possibilities. German politics mattered deeply, but it also changed with alarming rapidity. Economic problems contributed, as did personalities.

Gregory VII effected a revolution in the name of tradition. That is the great irony of the period and the central problem addressed by Tellenbach. There can be no doubt that much that Gregory did had a precedent, at least implicitly, in the actions and words of his predecessors. But his clarity of vision, his lack of moral doubts, and his comprehensible views gathered possibilities together in ways never dreamed of before. And yet Gregory could compromise in France or England in ways he would not do in Germany. Why? That is the mystery of this most troubling pontificate. It seems that Henry IV brought out both the best and the worst in Gregory, and the reverse seems also to have been true. Issues crystallized in the heat of battle between these two principled, stubborn foes. It is a remarkable story that never grows stale in the retelling.

Tellenbach is especially sensitive to the gaps in the evidence. When were things said, by whom, to whom, in whose hearing, with what impact on what others? Far from bogging his account down in a welter of details, this approach adds human drama to the book and makes it read in places like a detective novel in which Inspector Tellenbach assembles his clues. There are generalizations, judgments, and conclusions in profusion in this book. But they are carefully reached. There is no book with which this one can be compared. It is more comprehensive than any existing study of comparable length and scope and, what is more, other books usually do not offer a few hours in the company of one of this century's greatest medievalists as he talks at length on the subjects that have

engaged his attention and interest for more than six decades.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE
University of Virginia

BENOÎT-MICHEL TOCK. *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XII^e siècle: Le cas d'Arras*. (Textes, Études, Congrès, number 12.) Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, with the cooperation of Fondation Universitaire de Belgique. 1993. Pp. xviii, 309.

Benoît-Michel Tock's study of the twelfth-century chancery of Arras should be placed within the context of the ambitious undertaking by the Center for the Electronic Treatment of Texts (CETEDOC) at the Catholic University of Louvain to create computerized data bases of medieval texts. Two of those projects relate specifically to the history of the medieval provinces of Belgium: the first is a collection of all the narrative texts written before 1100 (it is also available as a five-volume thesaurus of medieval Latin); the second is a data base of about 6,000 diplomatic acts written before 1200. Among the latter are 318 acts of the bishops of Arras (1093–1204), which Tock edited in 1991 and which here furnish the material for an exceptionally close analysis of chancery practices.

Unlike the papal and royal chanceries, which have long attracted scrutiny, episcopal chanceries remain fairly unknown, and Tock surely is correct to stress their growing importance as producers of documents in the twelfth century. Because petitioners increasingly requested the bishop to confirm their private transactions in a chancery document, rather than to seal a document that they furnished, the chancery's representation of those transactions was a matter of some consequence.

To understand the linkage between the creation of documents and their language, Tock follows the production process step by step from the petitioner's initial request for a document, the first draft, and the selection of appropriate formulas and expressions, to the final version, the sealing, and the presentation. That the choice of language—for example, in acts dealing with the restitution of churches and tithes—was calculated to promote the bishop's interests is not surprising, for the bishops of Arras were dedicated Gregorians from the time Urban II created their see in 1092. Tock's conclusion, that episcopal chanceries exploited language to reinforce episcopal authority, could be extended to contemporary royal and princely chanceries, which employed similar devices as tools of state-building.

This detailed case study will be of greatest use to historians who are interested in the production of documents beyond monastic scriptoria. The thirteen microfiches of concordances accompanying the study provide convenient indexes to the subjects treated by a twelfth-century episcopal chancery. Although Tock

is not able to provide a social history of the chancery beyond brief biographies of the eight bishops of twelfth-century Arras, he does reinforce a number of themes explored more broadly in M. T. Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (2d ed., 1993), particularly the importance of the twelfth century as a turning point both in the extension of literacy and in the formation of a literate mentality through the production of practical records.

THEODORE EVERGATES
Western Maryland College

WILLIAM H. TeBRAKE. *A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323–1328*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. x, 170. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$13.95.

William H. TeBrake has written a useful summary, based on published sources and an extensive secondary literature, of a peasant revolution otherwise little known to those who do not read Flemish. The Flemish insurrection was directed against the fiscal exactions and pro-French policies of Count Louis II of Nevers. Although France had been defeated at Courtrai in 1302, the Peace of Athis-sur-Orge, concluded in 1305, provided for a heavy indemnity to be paid by Flanders. This proved almost impossible to collect and remained an issue for the next two decades. Louis of Nevers came to power in 1322 and instituted a pro-French reaction. His attempt to levy the arrears in the French indemnity incited a rebellion led by rural communities allied with urban factions that took over most of Flanders by 1325. The direct intervention of the king of France was required to suppress the revolt, accomplished by the decisive Battle of Cassel in August 1328.

As a peasant movement, the Flemish revolt is unusual in that it was part of a general program of political resistance that included towns, that it was unrelated to disputes over land tenure, and that it antedated the Black Death. TeBrake correctly points out that its significance has been underestimated not only by medieval historians of rural society but also even by English-speaking historians of the Low Countries. He is not quite right in believing that it was unmatched in duration or scope by any rural revolt before 1525.

Despite its subtitle, this volume does not really deal with the motives or conceptual framework for the revolt. Effective as an overview of events, the book is tantalizing rather than satisfying regarding the purpose and justification for resistance to authority. Chapters with the intriguing titles "For a world without corruption" and "For a world without privilege" turn out to be almost exclusively concerned with the course of military campaigns and political machinations. There is a valuable appendix giving the names of identifiable peasant leaders that TeBrake uses to advance his argument that more was at stake

than a spasmodic or furious despair. That the peasants had a coherent program—that they were not (as contemporary chroniclers assumed) a leaderless mob—is not as radical an assertion as TeBrake believes (p. 134). Recent treatments of late-medieval and early modern revolts in diverse parts of Europe not only have revealed the means of peasant resistance but also have reconstructed grievances and demands. In this case the author is content to delineate occurrences with a few editorial interventions to note the seriousness of the rebels' purpose. Aside from such generalities we learn very little about even the distorted image of peasant demands found in contemporary accounts. That the peasants were well organized is shown by the scope and duration of the war. But what the content of the revolt was, whether it went beyond tax resistance to offer other visions of society, is not discussed.

Our knowledge of a crucial medieval revolt is advanced by this book, but the agenda and comparative significance of the Flemish conflict awaits exploration.

PAUL FREEDMAN
Vanderbilt University

JÉRÔME BASCHET. *Les justices de l'au-delà: Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e–XV^e siècle)*. Foreword by JACQUES LE GOFF. (Series 1, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, number 279.) Rome: École Française de Rome; distributed by De Boccard, Paris. 1993. Pp. xiv, 700. 550 fr.

The word "au-delà" is best translated as "beyond," but this lacks the suggestion of space and time that it has in French and in the title of this book, an important new study of judgment in the next world as it was understood and represented during the Middle Ages. Jérôme Baschet has gone beyond all previous accounts of the iconography of hell and the last judgment with this richly documented and penetrating account. What shaped most peoples' vision of the other world were not texts but images. These occur in the diagrammatic divisions of the damned in Romanesque portals at Autun and Conques, the more socially demarcated resurrections carved on Gothic cathedrals at Amiens and Bourges, the codified torments delineated in church wall paintings in Italy, and the more private infernal spaces of illuminated prayerbooks. Baschet takes into account all these varied media in an impressively broad-based analysis of eschatological themes in French and Italian art from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries.

The early chapters of the book provide a full account of the complex theological and doctrinal traditions that lay behind many of these pictorial themes. Baschet makes use of many kinds of texts, early legendary and apocryphal accounts as well as later theological speculation. Like the historian of popular culture A. J. Gourevitch, Baschet also seeks to

incorporate important vernacular and literary traditions of otherworldly visions, such as Guillaume de Deguileville's fourteenth-century poem *Pelerinage de l'ame*. He also refers to problematic visionary accounts of visits to hell, such as that of the illiterate English peasant Thurkhill, who, after a weekend trip to the infernal regions, described the theater of torment in terms of images he would have known from church iconography. In this respect texts do not always come before and influence images; pictures can themselves structure textual accounts.

Rooted in the rich interdisciplinary tradition of medieval studies at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, Baschet, like his distinguished colleagues Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, makes stunning use of anthropological as well as traditional textual sources to understand how these images functioned. I would have welcomed more analysis of the reception of the images by different audience groups, illiterate versus literate for example. But, especially with the Italian material, Baschet has uncovered sources and documents that give us new insights into the fear felt by François Villon's mother when she looked up at the scene of hell painted in her parish church. One certainly cannot argue with the most important thesis developed in the book: that the increasingly detailed visions of judgment and punishment in the other world were shaped by changing penal and legal practices in this one. Baschet presents this development both chronologically and thematically, referring to examples that are well documented and illustrated in his text.

Many French historical publications fail in their shoddy presentation of visual material, but this book is well produced and lavishly illustrated with black-and-white and color plates, these pictorial documents being treated with the same seriousness as texts. It is also refreshing to see Baschet so strongly engaging significant Anglo-American work on the subject, both by historians and art historians, all presented in an excellent bibliography. Although the publication has some of the unwieldy apparatus of a dissertation, such as too many subheadings and appendixes, Baschet has such good control of his material and is so clever in his use of examples that it never becomes boring. It is hard to make hell boring, one might say, but Baschet has done more than present us with the history of the iconography of the other world. He has uncovered a whole new space in the historical imagination, one rich with implications for future historians of medieval art, culture, and society.

MICHAEL CAMILLE
University of Chicago

HERIBERT MÜLLER. *Kreuzzugspläne und Kreuzzugspolitik des Herzogs Philipp des Guten von Burgund*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 51.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 188.

In recent years historians have devoted considerable attention to the crusades of the later Middle Ages. This development may be viewed as part of the broadening interest in the history of the crusades in recent decades, but it seems to relate more particularly to a recognition that the crusades remained a potent force in religious and political terms even beyond the sixteenth century. Heribert Müller makes a contribution to this understanding in his study of the crusade plans and policies of Philip the Good of Burgundy. He argues that the failure of these plans helps us better understand Burgundian politics on the boundaries between medieval and modern.

Given this perspective, it is not surprising that Müller should devote considerable space to the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded by Philip in 1430, presenting a very convincing argument and substantial evidence linking it to the crusade movement. Likewise, he pursues in detail Philip's efforts to join his crusade policies to his efforts to make Burgundy a European power. Philip's participation in imperial politics exemplifies one aspect of this goal, tied as it was to diplomatic efforts to unite resistance to the Turks, especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. His alliance with Portugal, strengthened by his marriage to a Portuguese princess, the sister of Henry the Navigator, involved him directly in efforts to develop an alliance with Christian Ethiopia and to use his considerable naval power against the Turks in the Mediterranean.

There is no question that these initiatives in the aftermath of the Hundred Years' War, if we may indeed speak of an aftermath at this point, were directed to laying a foundation for new relationships with other European powers, including France. The employment of the crusade for this purpose made considerable sense. Although the crusade failed, Philip's policies enjoyed a measure of success. Unfortunately, his son and successor, Charles the Rash, despite a commitment to certain aspects of his father's crusade policy, faced a less happy result. Still, Müller's point is well taken.

JAMES M. POWELL
Syracuse University

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN. *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 388. \$49.95.

This account of Alfonso X, a pivotal if controversial Castilian monarch of the thirteenth century, fills a serious void in the English-language literature on medieval Spain. It also represents a significant updating and expansion of Antonio Ballesteros-Bareta's more narrowly chronological work, *Alfonso X, el Sabio* (1963). In successive chapters, Joseph F. O'Callaghan discusses the institutions of kingship; King Alfonso's concept and practice of government; the church, nobility, and municipalities; religious minorities; the

economy; and the Alfonsine cultural legacy. He then turns to a discussion of the principal political issues of the reign: peninsular relations, the African crusade, the Mudéjar revolt, Alfonso's efforts to succeed the Hohenstaufens as emperor, the aristocratic resistance to his legal reforms and tax policies, and the succession crisis and Moroccan invasion.

O'Callaghan is at his best in the areas of his own expertise, the law and the Cortes. He argues that the *Fuero real* and *Espéculo* were both promulgated at the Cortes of 1254, and that the *Siete Partidas* emerged from a revision of the latter begun between 1256 and 1265, thus rejecting the older theories of Alfonso García Gallo. He also shows how these texts were disseminated, implemented, and intermingled with older *fueros* and customs. Without an abundance of charter evidence, O'Callaghan is compelled to mine these legal texts for information on the operation of government, society, and even the economy. Furthermore, O'Callaghan ably demonstrates how Alfonso transformed the Cortes into a regular instrument of royal government and taxation, so much so that his son and heir, the future Sancho IV, could use it in 1282 to dispossess his ailing father.

Although avowedly not a biography but rather a history of the reign, this study nonetheless succeeds in conveying some sense of Alfonso's human dimension. On the one hand, we have the picture of an activist and ambitious king. Through the influence of Roman and canon law, he attempted a major restructuring of society, exalted the office of king, promoted the corporate idea of the state, sought to improve the lot of his subjects (and even the environment), and dreamed of reconstituting a "Gothic" empire by plotting an invasion of Africa and seeking the imperial title in Italy. On the other hand, there is the king who could flout his own laws against adultery or against the division of the realm, and who, in his later years, beset with cancer and its side effects, became so unstable that his wife had to flee for safety and his heir rose up against him. Although acknowledging that the reign ended badly, O'Callaghan nonetheless paints a sympathetic portrait of Alfonso, defends the logic of his imperial quest, and insists that the king be credited for his organization and resettlement of Andalusia and Murcia. The *Siete Partidas* was the king's greatest achievement, and its influence, O'Callaghan argues, would have spread far beyond the Hispanic world had it been written in Latin rather than the vernacular. Evidence from the *Cantigas de Santa María* is used to chronicle the course of Alfonso's illness, resulting in a sensible and compassionate account of the king's last years and the succession crisis. If the author does not entirely endorse Robert I. Burns's characterization of Alfonso as the true *stupor mundi* (*Emperor of Culture* [1990]), he still argues that the "Learned King" was one of the greatest kings of medieval Spain.

JAMES W. BRODMAN
University of Central Arkansas

MIGUEL ANGEL LADERO QUESADA. *Fiscalidad y poder real en Castilla (1252-1369)*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense. 1993. Pp. 445.

With the quincentenary in 1992 of Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the New World, a bright but often quite harsh literary light has been cast on the first epoch of Spain's national greatness. Seen as a standard bearer of the "evil empire" Europe would establish over much of the planet, Spain has suffered a multiculturalist blackening that seems uncannily similar to the original Black Legend. It is heartening, then, to see the continuance of a moderate historiographical tradition within the Iberian peninsula itself concerning the period just before Spain's transatlantic expansion. A leader in this scholarly movement for the last thirty years has been Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada. In his latest work, Ladero Quesada amply demonstrates his remarkable knowledge of Spanish archival material in producing a thorough assessment of royal taxation and finances in Castile during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Using a wide array of evidence, ranging from contemporary chronicles to various records of the Castilian clergy, nobility, and royal chancery, he reviews the evolution of all classes of royal taxation down to the accession of the Trasmáramas in 1369.

The Castilian monarch, like many of his contemporaries across Europe, had to manipulate all sources of revenue in his lands simply to make personal and governmental ends meet. Over the two centuries of fiscal exploitation this work takes as its focus, the Castilian crown emerges as an experienced player in bending urban and rural economies to its will. In the welter of feudal dues (*martiniega*, *yantar*, *conducho*, *fonsadera*), reconquest exactions (*paria*), coinage fees (*moneda forera*), royal rights (*salina*, *pesquería*), tolls (*almojarifazgo*), and excise taxes (*sisa*) that Ladero Quesada minutely investigates, we can see the faint outlines of an early modern, Spanish economy protected from outside competition by such imposts as the *alcabala* but eventually undermined by the tax exemption of such important groups as the Mesta. Such features of a later Iberian economic landscape had much to do with the centuries of fiscal evolution that immediately preceded them. If Ladero Quesada is to be believed, the engine of such a development was the constant tension between crown and Castilian society over taxation and national spending, which, time and again, surfaced in the Cortes.

The only fault one can find with this work lies, ironically, in its thoroughness. Ladero Quesada shows a remarkable knowledge of the canon of later medieval, Castilian primary evidence as well as broad familiarity with modern Spanish and American scholarship that addresses the same period. Despite its excellent scholarship, this book, like much of modern Castilian historiography, is extremely—sometimes tediously—detailed and seems weighted toward the exposition of *exempla* rather than a full delineation of

the issues that such evidence suggests. A broader perspective on the Castilian economy may have also been afforded the author had he looked to contemporary financial trends in other Iberian realms, most especially the crown of Aragon. Despite such gaps (which very well may be filled with future volumes by this great and productive scholar), I highly recommend this work, as well as its thorough appendixes, which contain a list of and documentation for all royal taxation in Castile between 1250 and 1369. Economic historians and students of medieval and early modern kingship would do well to familiarize themselves with Ladero Quesada's book.

DONALD J. KAGAY
Albany State College

BIRGIT SAWYER and PETER SAWYER. *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800-1500*. (The Nordic Series, number 17.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 265. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$19.95.

Scandinavia appears in European history textbooks as the place from which Vikings originated, as a site of Lutheran power in the Thirty Years' War, and again in the twentieth century as a collection of prototypical welfare states. Very little has been published in English on the periods in between, as the bibliography of this work attests. This much-needed book will go far toward filling at least one of the gaps.

Birgit Sawyer and Peter Sawyer have given us a comprehensive survey of the history of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in the medieval period (with some discussion of Finland and Iceland as well). The book is organized thematically, with the first three chapters on sources, geography and demography, and political history providing the reader with the necessary background for the rest of the work. Events and patterns in the different kingdoms, and in different regions of the same kingdom, are woven together skillfully so that despite its broad coverage the work neither jumps around disconcertingly nor ignores important differences.

With the partial exception of the final chapter on "Uses of the Past," the book does not emphasize the mental world of the Scandinavians. It is stronger on material considerations than on ideological. The chapter on the church speaks more to institutional development than spirituality, for example, with St. Birgitta more important as founder of an order than as a visionary, and the chapter on "Things and Kings" discusses practical political relations much more than theoretical conceptions of the basis of monarchy.

Whereas scholars of Scandinavian history will find this an extremely useful synthesis for teaching and reference, those in other fields will find that it allows them to include Scandinavia in the larger European picture. The method of this book is not explicitly comparative, but the authors nonetheless present a rich fund of material that could be related to devel-

opments elsewhere in Europe. Scandinavia has a great deal to offer scholars of representative institutions, marriage patterns, and Christianization, to name only a few topics, and this book makes it available.

The strength of this book does not lie only in its usefulness as a survey, for this collaborative project reflects the original contributions of two major scholars, as well as their synthesis of the works of others. The account of family and inheritance patterns, for example, is based on the research of Birgit Sawyer on runestones (and to prepare the reader to evaluate this research, the section on runestones in the chapter on sources is much more detailed than the other sections: seven pages as compared to two pages on archaeology). The chapters dealing with social and cultural history—family and inheritance, women, and historiography—are perhaps more interpretive than those dealing with governance (both of church and state) and economy (agrarian and commercial). This reflects not only the different emphases of the two collaborators but also the nature of the material: in the area of social history there is very little previous material to synthesize, and the authors have to make what they can of somewhat exiguous sources. Throughout the book, however, the authors include discussions of historiography and trace the development of conflicting interpretations. Dare we hope that this work will finally lay to rest the theories of early Scandinavian clan-based society and peasant democracy?

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BARBARA HARVEY. *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 291. \$44.00.

More narrowly focused than the title suggests, this is a study of life in the English monastery of Westminster in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The history of Benedictine monasteries has been relatively neglected for the late Middle Ages, a period by which the monks had ceased to provide spiritual leadership. Yet these houses produced large amounts of archival material that Barbara Harvey here exploits for information on such topics as food, sickness and mortality, and the use of servants by the well-to-do. This information is much easier to obtain for Westminster—where the monks lived quite comfortably in the period—than for a secular household.

The monks of late-medieval Westminster, whose church had been a royal mausoleum since the time of Edward the Confessor in the eleventh century and is still one of the most important edifices of greater London, had long since given up the individual poverty and simple diet laid down in Benedict's Rule and revived in the high Middle Ages. Instead they received individual stipends, could live indefinitely in

the infirmary where the rules were more lax (to the point that genuinely sick monks had to petition to get into the infirmary), and found creative ways to side-step Benedict's rules on what could be served in the refectory (for example, roast pork was classified as meat, and thus theoretically forbidden, but pork fritters were not).

Noting that kitchen budgets, long used for information on medieval diet, only listed as expenditures food that was actually bought, Harvey corrects the misperception that the monks' diet was low in foods such as milk and lettuce that were produced at the abbey. A fifteenth-century monk's diet, the records reveal, was much richer in calories than necessary for a modern, sedentary male, and Harvey finds the amount of meat and ale provided each day—a gallon of the latter—especially high. The monks, she speculates, must have been quite obese. But by pointing out that servants and beggars were routinely fed from the monks' leftovers, she explains why more was routinely put on the table than the monks could possibly eat, in order to produce those leftovers.

Harvey's ability to integrate information on the monks' way of life into a broader picture of the economic and social relationships between them and the poorer members of society is one of this book's strengths. Much of the monks' income derived from posthumous bequests that often included the provision that they give freely to all the poor at their gates on certain days, but the monks preferred more focused charity. Especially revealing here is Harvey's discussion of the *corrody*, a pension paid primarily in food and housing to a layman or laywoman. Although scholars have generally seen *corrodies* as forms of charity, support for the old and infirm, her research shows that *corrodies* may actually have interfered with charity by diverting food and money to members of the middle class who either had been pressured by the monks to give up their land for such a pension or else had bought *corrodies* outright as a form of investment. Additionally, she treats the difficult decisions the monks made in trying to feed the poor when they discovered that the abbey had become a magnet for beggars from all over the area, many of them not as "deserving" as the monks would have liked.

This book began as a series of lectures, and Harvey writes half-apologetically that at places her "voice" can still be heard, in spite of the footnotes, extensive primary and secondary bibliographies, and appendixes. In fact this voice makes accessible the monks, gentry, and marginal people of late-medieval England.

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BRUCE M. S. CAMPBELL, *et al.* *A Medieval Capital and Its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c. 1300*. (Historical Geography, number 30.) Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast or the

Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, London. 1993. Pp. iv, 233.

This book considers how food supply shaped medieval London and how the city shaped regional food production, specifically bread, malting, and fodder grains, around 1300. Meticulously focused and methodologically bold, the authors attempt to join technical issues in medieval agrarian productivity to problems of urbanization. The project, a venture of the Centre for Metropolitan History, based at the University of London's Institute of Historical Research and the Department of Economic and Social History at the Queen's University of Belfast, has constructed three regional data bases. The first has culled data on the production, price, and exchange of grains from manorial accounts pertaining to 204 demesnes in the "London region" (the ten home counties); the second data base has compiled the cash values on principal land uses from a total of 1,966 *Inquisitions post mortem*; a third data base has garnered evidence on the marketing practices of 146 London-based cornmongers.

The authors analyze this information together with data collected on the costs of water and land transportation to demonstrate the capacity of medieval London to structure a system of grain production inland and upstream from the city. The authors contend that, despite its influence, medieval London did not yet generate the kind of demand that could structure economic rent. The movements of economic rent, they conclude, owed more to rural than to urban demand.

The authors emphasize questions of demographic scale and agrarian productivity. Although medieval agricultural practices were capable of expansion, and an infrastructure of markets and roads for transferring food from the countryside to the city was in place, agrarian productivity matched the scale of urbanization. Their arguments for the size of the population of London in 1300 bear on recent debates over the population of medieval England and the intensity of population concentration in medieval London at this period. Based on their estimates of regional agrarian productivity, the authors favor a more conservative estimate of sustainable population in medieval England of 3.78 million (p. 44), considerably lower than the estimate of 5 to 6 million frequently cited. Their estimates of regional agrarian productivity also question population estimates for medieval London, which can range as high as 100,000. The authors regard an estimate of about 57,000 inhabitants a better match for regional agrarian productivity.

The study is exemplary for its tight focus and methodological rigor, but its conceptual slippages between food supply and the distribution of food supply limit its relevance to pressing problems in economic history and contemporary economic struggles, that is, who has command over the distribution

of food. To begin to consider this question critically the authors would have to complement their territorial model of a city based on Johann Heinrich Von Thunen's model of "the isolated city" with a notion of networks that are not bound to linear distance. The evidence for networks remains embedded in the study, because the project has no conceptual way to account for the tensions between networks and market territories. Such an analysis could do the work of redefining distribution from simple transport problems to a problem involving purchasing power and exchange. Medieval cities, it could be said, were better at enforcing their food entitlements and better at enforcing the question of who owns the food. The question of food entitlement, a symbolic and material power of which medieval English writers were keenly aware, has become central to reconsideration of famine and food supply in contemporary capitalism. (I have in mind the work of Amartya Sen and his colleagues.)

Medievalists could contribute to the history of food entitlements by conceptualizing them as inherent in the consumption strategies so intriguingly discussed here. Rather than thinking of the market as deficient, or "far short of that state of development in which it was advantageous for producers to sell all their grain and then purchase it according to their needs" (p. 177), perhaps it would be productive to think of the consumption of grain on estates as a material contest over food entitlements. The question would then become how and by whom such food entitlements were renegotiated during the early modern period.

KATHLEEN BIDDICK

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ROBERT C. PALMER. *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-1381: A Transformation of Governance and Law*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 452. \$49.95.

The terrible mortality of the Black Death created a demographic disaster in England that in turn led to a social crisis. Robert C. Palmer begins and ends this substantial book with the thesis that as a result of the Black Death, the upper orders of English society—magnates, clergy, and gentry—drew together and cooperated to produce government measures that coerced the members of the upper and lower orders to fulfill their respective obligations.

The mechanism that made this coercion possible was the king's council, which had evolved from the thirteenth century into a more effective institution. This administrative body, comprised of the chancellor, the treasurer, justices of both benches, and barons of the exchequer, was largely responsible for the legislation that sought to ensure social and political stability and preserve traditional society.

Measures that nobles, gentry, and merchants would not have tolerated before the Black Death came to be

accepted. To stabilize credit operations and retain confidence in contracts, common law justices admitted the use of penal and performance bonds. In the field of debt law, penal bonds compelled the defaulting debtor to repay twice the original debt. In restricted use earlier, these bonds became frequent and even common. With such a high rate of mortality, charters and deeds often came into the wrong hands. Rightful claimants of such charters could now recover the value of the land as well as the land itself. This harsh remedy on detinue of charter appeared only after the Black Death and strengthens the belief that this particular innovation was a deliberate move by the government to force the upper orders to stand by their obligations.

But the major preoccupation of English government after the Black Death was with the lower, not the upper, orders. The government sought to compel them to work effectively and well. A royal proclamation of 1349 invited persons who could not find satisfaction in the common law courts to present their petitions to the chancellor. This led to the creation of the chancellor's court and to his authority to provide new writs for demonstrated deficiencies in the common law. By this path the chancellor addressed the weaknesses in the Statute of Laborers and issued *assumpsit* writs to reinforce the statute. These writs concerned the quality of work done by laborers such as carriers, builders, doctors, shepherds, clothworkers, and other occupations and created the body of regulatory laws designed to force the lower orders to respect their obligations.

Palmer will not accept the often-expressed argument that the regulatory laws created after the Black Death were the logical extension of an existing body of law. He insists that these laws were the calculated response to an unprecedented social crisis. To support his thesis, he presents an impressive bulk of research, to which is appended the analysis of over five hundred cases from the period of his study.

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MODERN EUROPE

R. J. SCHOECK. *Erasmus of Europe: The Making of a Humanist, 1467–1500*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1990. Pp. xviii, 311. \$30.00.

The major tendency of Erasmus scholarship over the last several decades has been to emphasize the fundamentally religious character of his thought, together with its roots in the patristic tradition and its catholicity in a pre-Tridentine sense. Indeed, Sylvana Seidel-Menchi, noting that the historical "self-legitimization" of ecumenical Catholicism has played an important role in recent Erasmus scholarship, suggested that more attention might be paid to how

Erasmus was read by his heterodox admirers (*Erasmus in Italia 1520–1580* [1987], esp. p. 18). There is also a school of thought, of which R. J. Schoeck is a leading spokesperson, that believes the traditional character of Erasmus's thinking, stamped by the religious milieu in which he was reared, has yet to be fully appreciated. Thus, "the thesis of this biography is that Erasmus did not lose his vocation to the priestly life" (pp. 129–30); Erasmus "did not cease to be an Augustinian canon—his spirituality and thought remained profoundly Augustinian" (p. 113); and "one of the themes of this biography is the gradual development of Erasmus' thought and spirituality from tendencies and expressions that we can perceive in his earliest writings" (p. 150). In several places Schoeck seeks to rehabilitate the reputation of the Brethren of the Common Life; their spirituality was not so cramped and anti-intellectual as Erasmus and some modern scholars have made out, and Erasmus himself was more in debt to the broader *Devotio Moderna* (especially *The Imitation of Christ*) than he recognized (pp. 15, 43, 49, appendix B). Each of these points is worth debating, but it must be said that this volume does not bring forward convincing evidence. For example, Schoeck states (p. 108) that Erasmus was "saying mass" as late as 1527, but he offers no documentation of this point (to my knowledge, the only text in which Erasmus speaks explicitly of saying mass himself is a letter of April 22, 1534, to Nicholas Olah). As far as the Brethren and the *Devotio Moderna* are concerned, one cannot make the case merely by citing from Erasmus's works motifs that he would likely have found in his early spiritual reading. An argument of this kind can be made only in the context of the various sources on which an author like Erasmus draws, and Schoeck does not give the reader reasons for thinking that elements of his early training (like the metaphor of spiritual combat) were more important to him than his vehement reaction against the religious squeamishness of the "barbarians" who dogged his early years.

From footnote references to figures such as R. P. Blackmur (one of his professors at Princeton) and Lionel Trilling, and from a swipe at postmodernist criticism (p. 148), one can see that Schoeck identifies with a now almost vanished tradition of literary scholarship, in which critics believed they had something of value to convey and were interesting in part because they did not always confine themselves to matters susceptible of precise documentation. This book may show some of the weakness of this tradition (its vagueness), but it shows also some of its strengths. As Schoeck continues his work on Erasmus, one would like to see more of the analysis of particular texts at which he displays his métier, like one of Erasmus's early letters to Servatius Roger (pp. 63–64).

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MARGARET ASTON. *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion, 1350–1600*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambleton Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 333.

Margaret Aston certainly does not belong to the school of historians that believes the Reformation in England almost did not happen. Aston argues that, as the medieval English church became more doctrinally precise and administratively rigid, and as lay people became more devout, a confrontation was inevitable. In defending the weakened concept of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, the clergy was sorely tempted to label this growing manifestation of lay enthusiasm and independence as heretical. Popular religious enthusiasm frightened the hierarchy because lay zealots frequently organized themselves into what appeared to be sects with their own rules, and because they were frequently on the move, which made them resemble nothing so much as vagrants. Whether in the guise of flagellants or pilgrims, their claim to be doing penance suggested an alternative to the sacramental variety of penance dispensed by the priesthood. Although Aston admits that “a great deal of the piety of the people remained devoutly orthodox” (p. 25), her interests and sympathies clearly lie with the heretical and iconoclastic manifestations of popular religion, especially Lollardy in England.

This book is a collection of ten essays, all but one previously published. The essays examining John Wycliffe, Lollardy, and iconoclasm are highly original and valuable contributions to scholarship, but one is left wondering why a long section on the Northern Renaissance, sixty-four pages in length and originally written for a college textbook, was included. One suspects that the reason was to balance the other pieces, which deal almost entirely with heterodox popular religious expression, with a few superficial remarks about orthodox popular piety and humanist biblical scholarship. Otherwise, there is a tendency for Aston’s Lollard heresiarchs and iconomachs to march inexorably toward the Protestant Reformation.

Perhaps no historian has been more successful than Aston in reconstructing the mental world of Lollardy in late-medieval England. She is prepared to rummage through episcopal and parochial records for every scrap of evidence to reconstruct the life of a Lollard laborer. By contrast, the practitioners of doctrinal orthodoxy remain faceless, except where too often presented in stereotypical fashion: as bishops persecuting heretics, parish priests exploiting the credulity of the simple with jointed and moving images, or rich widows leaving bequests in the form of sacred vessels and vestments.

Her essay “Caim’s Castles” vividly captures the deep anger that Lollard preachers felt against the four orders of friars and their “clamorous begging” (p. 115). Aston, however, has been carried into a swift current by her sources and buffeted about. A more balanced treatment would have reminded readers that the friars played a pioneering role in medieval

religious life by preaching in the vernacular and encouraging lay devotions, but the friars also incurred the animosity of Lollard theologians by competing for the same university teaching posts.

Despite the soundness of her scholarship, Aston’s account of the development of Lollardy and early Protestantism ignores much recent research concerning the difficulties that obstructed and slowed the spread of the popular reformation in England and Wales. Aston sounds Whiggish to those who view the Reformation as a highly complex but interrelated group of movements.

ROGER B. MANNING
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SAUL JARCHO. *Quinine’s Predecessor: Francesco Torti and the Early History of Cinchona*. (The Henry E. Sigerist Series in the History of Medicine.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 354. \$55.00.

Malarial fevers, then as now not limited to tropical zones, were one of the worst scourges of much of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A tree bark found in Peru, variously known as Peruvian or Jesuits’ bark or cinchona, held the promise to be one of the few genuine therapeutic medicines for some fevers at least, and it was quickly carried to Europe, probably by Jesuits in the 1630s. Saul Jarcho’s task is to investigate in detail the variant tales of the bark’s first notice in South America, its transfer to and distribution throughout Europe, and its reception in the medical community culminating in the important publications of the distinguished Modena physician, Francesco Torti (1658–1741).

In spite of what Jarcho believes to be a central role played by the Society of Jesus, the bark dispersed in Europe relatively slowly and incompletely, and encountered resistance nearly as often as ready acceptance. The reasons were several, the principal one probably being a struggle between its use as a specific remedy for a limited number and kind of fevers and claims for its ability to suppress a wide variety of symptoms in other than malarial fevers. Part of the problem here was that the nosology of fevers was complex, far from uniform, and ever-changing. An additional problem was wide variation in the efficacy of a botanical probably obtained from several species, a problem made more difficult by widespread adulteration.

Torti made many original contributions in his classic work *Therapeutice Specialis* (1712). This “liberally educated scholar-physician” worked out a somewhat unusual but rational taxonomy of fevers, which he depicted as leaves on a tree, “a clever and slightly bewildering novelty” (p. 176). His early diagnoses of malarial fevers and, contrary to other eminent opinions, his insistence on the swift use of high dosages of the bark, repeated if necessary, constitute the appropriate basis of Torti’s fame. In addition, he may have used the bark as a prophylactic; later physicians did

but the evidence on him is not conclusive. Compared with his notable contemporary Richard Morton, Torti, concludes Jarcho, comes off very well indeed, even though Morton had clear priority of publication by twenty years.

Jarcho has the instincts of a classicist and the discipline of a lifelong pathologist. The results are both positive and negative, but mainly positive. Jarcho is at his best when minutely examining detailed evidence (mainly in Latin) on precise points; he verges from time to time on antiquarianism (a proclivity he acknowledges several times), and he recites at length his research apparatus and problems. He is aware of the larger historical settings (trade and prices, for example) but as often as not fails to place the bark securely and evidentially in them. One of his fine contributions is his heuristic suggestions for further research, which he scatters, like seed corn, all along his trail. This is not an easy book for the reader looking for a quick introduction to the topic, but it is a masterful and lovingly researched account of the early critical history of one of the first effective specifics; quinine was isolated from the bark in 1820.

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BRIGITTE MAZOHL-WALLNIG. *Österreichischer Verwaltungsstaat und administrative Eliten im Königreich Lombardo-Venetien 1815–1859*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, number 146.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1993. Pp. xviii, 458. DM 88.

In this rather lengthy study of forty-five years of Austrian rule in Lombardy-Venetia, Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig focuses on the administrators rather than the administration. Her methodology transforms an otherwise tedious topic into something genuinely interesting. Mazohl-Wallnig's purpose is not to fill a gap in the literature but to take a different approach to a subject others already have treated in more traditional ways. This work is based on research in eight archives in Italy and Austria as well as an exhaustive survey of published materials.

Mazohl-Wallnig puts a human face on the Habsburg bureaucracy in northern Italy, for the most part omitting discussion of matters of policy. Details on administrative organization and structural changes likewise are kept to the minimum necessary to orient the reader to the subject. The work is arranged by bureaucratic layer, from bottom to top, starting with the several hundred local district commissars and proceeding through delegates and governors before ending with the position of viceroy. Mazohl-Wallnig ranges freely over the period of her study, paying little attention to chronology until discussing the tenure of the highest officials.

Mazohl-Wallnig's material includes biographical

sketches of administrators, summarized in the text to help orient the reader to their individual social backgrounds. For lower-level officials her sources include the frequent reports on the "public spirit" of each district that district commissars were required to file. She uses such evidence to construct a picture of the social function of the bureaucracy. Contrary to Risorgimento legend that depicts the entire Austrian governmental apparatus as foreign, on the district level almost all bureaucrats were local Italians; after 1815, many were holdovers from the Napoleonic Italian administration. The proportion of Italians decreased at each higher layer. Most governors came from the high aristocracy of the Habsburg empire, and none were native to Lombardy-Venetia. Although the administration never attempted to turn the Lombards and Venetians into Austrians, Mazohl-Wallnig finds that at least some of the non-Italian administrators, including a few of the governors, tried to varying degrees to become Italian.

In dealing with the offices of the governors and viceroy, Mazohl-Wallnig discusses the concepts of authority and sovereignty and how the officials of the highest level sought to legitimize both Austrian rule and their own positions. Their efforts received little help from Vienna. Although the Austrians designated Lombardy-Venetia a kingdom in 1815, only one Habsburg emperor (Ferdinand, in 1838) ever came to Milan for a coronation. The viceroy before 1848, Archduke Rainer, played a purely symbolic role, exercising no authority over the governors of Lombardy and Venetia, who administered their territories on direct orders from Vienna.

Field Marshal Count Johann Josef Radetzky, hero of the counterrevolution in northern Italy in 1848–49, served from 1849 to 1857 as civil and military governor, wielding far more independent authority than any other Austrian official assigned to Lombardy-Venetia. On his retirement, the Austrians again separated the military authority from the civil. The latter passed to a new governor-general, the emperor's brother Archduke Ferdinand Max (the future Maximilian of Mexico), whose attempts to exercise genuine power ended in frustration and failure. Consistent with her treatment of other leading figures, Mazohl-Wallnig includes little detail on the policies and official acts of Radetzky and Ferdinand Max. Her study closes with the latter's resignation and Austria's loss of Lombardy in 1859. The work ends rather abruptly, with no comprehensive concluding remarks.

Throughout this lengthy study, Mazohl-Wallnig remains faithful to her impressionistic approach. Eschewing quantitative analysis, she provides few statistics and no statistical tables. Although this difference in methodology sets her work apart from other recent analyses of, for example, the officer corps and the clergy of the Habsburg empire, she makes a solid

contribution to the growing literature on the social history of elites.

LAWRENCE SONDHAUS
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JOHN HATCHER. *The History of the British Coal Industry. Volume 1, Before 1700: Towards the Age of Coal.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 624. \$95.00.

The history of the British coal industry has seen its share of theses and monographs relegated to the slag heaps, but this will not be one of the them. John Hatcher has produced a large work covering a long period of time and based on an immense amount of local archival material. It is also a work that reveals the deft touch of a fine historian and stylist, equally at home calculating prices and costs or narrating the broad scope of his story.

Hatcher's book is the final contribution, albeit the initial volume, to the five-volume *History of the British Coal Industry*. It is fitting that the old National Coal Board's project to commission the writing of the history of the industry should come to an end now. As this review is being written, the only remaining working colliery in northeast England is being shut down and the last pit pony was just recently brought to the surface. Such symbolism lies at the heart of the continuing interest in this subject, although it must be said as well that many myths and symbols that the British coal industry has had to bear in the past have been the constructions of historians, sociologists, journalists, politicians, and other unsavory characters.

Hatcher himself has a formidable symbol to confront in the shape of J. U. Nef's monumental *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* (1932). Nef's argument, that the coal industry was at the heart of an early modern industrial revolution, has found few proponents, but the sheer scope and scale of Nef's work has found even fewer competitors until now. Hatcher's method has been to work out a history of the industry principally from the bottom up, accumulating data from nearly 1,000 different collieries, rather than working from the centralized administrative and judicial records that formed the core of Nef's history. This perspective has produced a much more nuanced view of the early British coal trade, one that possesses far greater insights into the regional and local peculiarities of the trade. Yet it is also framed by a broad alternative interpretation of the rise of the British coal industry.

Hatcher's basic argument is that few supply-side constraints were evident in the early modern coal trade. For the average-sized colliery most physical obstacles to production could be mitigated, if not absolutely solved, by the "pragmatic and workmanlike" (p. 209) ideas of skilled and flexible workers. Capital requirements also were quite small during this era, particularly since much of the initial investment was replaced over the course of several years and thus

was actually a form of running investment that could be financed out of income. An impressive accumulation of evidence of profitability further reveals that there generally was good money to be made in the trade despite contemporary warnings to the contrary. Finally, labor productivity was astonishingly high. As early as the seventeenth century, output per man per year at some collieries had already begun to approach nineteenth-century levels.

Hatcher does not consider it necessary to conjure an industrial revolution into existence to explain the twelve-fold growth in output between 1550 and 1700. His colliery data reveal that the size of the units of production during this era was quite small, few producing more than 5,000 tons of coal a year. Consequently, the growth of British coal production was met not by revolutionary leaps in technological development but by the proliferation of many small-scale units of production akin to other artisanal workshops of the early modern era. As Hatcher notes of coal distribution, whereas each transaction was of a modest size in and of itself, the aggregate of the trade was gargantuan.

Such a perspective fits quite neatly with the arguments presented in some of the previously published volumes of this series. Moreover, this view also closely mirrors the new orthodoxy of the gradual nature of economic development during the Industrial Revolution proper. Although Hatcher's work is an essential and invaluable corrective, the emphasis on the incremental and evolutionary character of industrial development undervalues the indirect importance of the largest firms. In particular, when the focus is shifted to the small, average firm, one risks losing sight of the importance of the largest and most heavily capitalized firms that establish price leadership, set the direction of industrial policy, organize political influence, and steer the course of industrial relations.

Nonetheless, there is little doubt that Hatcher's book will remain the standard work on the subject for some time to come. Moreover, its contribution to early modern economic history generally should be recognized as readily as its contribution to the history of the British coal industry.

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ROBERT BRENNER. *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1650.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 734. \$59.50.

This is a very good book, and a very long book. Its length reflects Robert Brenner's careful reconstitution of the road to revolution and his concern to set that process of radicalization into a narrative structure. It is an account of the English Revolution refracted through the emergence and social development of the privateering, interloping, free-trading,

slave-holding, staple-importing interests of a fragment of London's merchant bourgeoisie.

Brenner dedicates this work to Lawrence Stone, his doctoral supervisor. Stone's influence is evident in Brenner's prosopographical analysis, which uses the shadowy career and ever-present connections of Maurice Thomson to give a personalized point of reference to social developments. Thomson's influence is found in a series of intersecting combinations—non-company merchants, privateering anti-Spanish expeditions, colonial plantations, slave-trading, staple-importing, radical religious and political associations—that give a sense of immanent coherence to the opponents of the pro-Spanish, pro-company, regulated trading, and hierarchical society of orders that was promoted by the proto-absolutist policies of the early Stuarts. The first section of the book thus describes the contradictory tendencies of capitalist development that split London's merchant community.

Brenner's account focuses on the early 1640s, when there was a "discipline in disorder, tumults being ready at command, upon a watch-word given" (p. 370); mastery of this situation enabled the new-merchant citizens of London to dominate the radical movement (as well as the committee on public safety) in its alliance with the parliamentary opposition. The new-merchants' ideological motivation is shown to have been determined by their own history of frustration with the old order. Their experience with the Caroline regime—and their dealings with the king himself—made it clear to them that the existing institutional structures restricted their economic, social, and political freedom. They therefore directed their energies into oppositional activities that merged into a revolutionary channel during the early 1640s.

The second part of the book discusses the contingent connections between the Puritan aristocrats/new-merchants coalition and those plebeian elements that sought to revolutionize the corporate polity of London. This radical alliance was a loose "party" composed of a series of social forces that worked together even though its parts fought more or less continuously among themselves as they pushed England toward regicide in 1649. Brenner carefully reiterates the linkages holding this radical alliance together and this tactic plays no small part in accounting for the book's enormous length. This repetition is the inevitable cost of a prosopographical analysis, yet the constant counterpointing of the connections—and oppositions—that breathed life in these networks does not make for an easy read.

The third section of the book concerns the alliance between the army, the Independent Calvinists led by Hugh Peter, and the new-merchant faction that led to the Commonwealth. Brenner argues that this combination began to congeal from the mid-1640s as key new-merchant leaders established lucrative connections with the warring parliamentary state. The consolidation of the new regime that followed the parlia-

mentary revolution of late 1648 and early 1649 led to the decapitation of Charles Stuart, the marginalization of the political presbyterians, and the destruction of the radical Levellers. Brenner is at pains to make it clear that the new-merchants enhanced the power of an oligarchical parliament in order to deprecate that of both monarchy and democracy.

The group of men who staffed the new regime's administrative and financial organization acted in concert with the New Model Army to plot an innovative commercial and colonial policy that reflected Britannia's rule. The new state formation acted aggressively on the high seas against the Dutch and Spanish while regulating colonial commerce through the Navigation Acts. This narrow range of commercial, social, and political interests was unable to achieve political stability for another generation, but the struggles Brenner documents pointed the way to England's transformation from an offshore island to the metropolitan center of a world economy.

Brenner reveals a kaleidoscope of alliances representing different social interests yet does not, in fact, tell us much about the actors themselves. Even the ever-present Maurice Thomson is something of a stick figure rather than a human being composed of a conscience and non-economic intelligence. It should be noted that Brenner's index does not do justice to Thomson's pervasive role since many references to him and to his networks are omitted. Brenner's revolutionary alliances are described but individual's motivations are read off a boilerplate of networks, linkages, and connections rather than explained in terms of individual motivations. For example, we learn that many of the principal actors were not only Calvinists but also Independents, yet we are never told why this austere creed appealed to any one of them. Was Thomson driven by the same existential doubt that tormented his contemporary Nehemiah Wallington? Did he pursue enterprise for the sake of personal profit or because he was driven by the Weberian need to satisfy his worldly calling? Who, in fact, was Thomson? And, indeed, who were his cronies and comrades-in-arms? The nature of a prosopographical methodology inevitably provokes these questions but the price Brenner pays for his analytical focus is that it does not permit him to answer them.

The social interpretation proposed by Brenner pivots on his distinction between forms of capital and state formation rather than the older vision that postulated a struggle between "feudal" and "capitalist" elements. Brenner embraces a narrative of factional alliances, thereby accommodating his argument with the historiographical advances associated with "revisionism." But, in so doing, he focuses on only one particular aspect of the social struggle against absolutism. Brenner's top-down study of intrigue and factional politics is a social interpretation with many of the contending social forces left out. In seeking a *rapprochement* between social and political interpretations of the English Civil War, this work is

decidedly not an interpretation of state breakdown that is seen in terms of the stresses and fractures induced by social change from the bottom up. This book will be essential reading for specialists not only because of its intriguing arguments but also because Brenner presumes specialized knowledge to follow his arguments along one of the twisting and turning roads to revolution in seventeenth-century England.

DAVID LEVINE

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JEROME FRIEDMAN. *The Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies: Miracles and the Pulp Press during the English Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xv, 304. \$39.95.

Jerome Friedman's examination of more than 325 newsbooks and pamphlets published in England between 1640 and 1660 mines a particularly rich vein that has fascinated and probably distracted virtually all scholars researching the period. This brief era, essentially free of censorship, with increased literacy, lowered printing costs, and a "world turned upside down," saw an avalanche of production from a rapidly growing popular press. This extensively researched and documented work is first and foremost a compendium of the outpouring of that press concerning "ghosts, apparitions, miraculous events, witches and witchcraft, ancient prophecies, popular heroes, master criminals, sects and religious cults, monsters, and peculiar unnatural occurrences" (p. xi). These are simple stories, presented by Friedman in an unapologetically straightforward manner with the aim of examining them not only for their own sake but also for what they might offer by way of elucidating the views of the ordinary English person on the revolution.

The work begins with an excellent overview of censorship and the growth of the popular press in England and proceeds through summary and analysis of hundreds of works grouped topically according to the variety of phenomena described and placed in the context of the times. Friedman's decision to deal with pamphlets individually is a wise one, as the approach makes the works much more easily understood and enjoyed. And so we learn of the prophecies of Mother Shipton and William Lilly, search for the identity of the "Chicken of the Eagle" who would be the eventual ruler and savior of Britain (p. 72), join the inner circles of the Ranters, visit alehouses, and follow the exploits of highwaymen like James Hind and Richard Hannam. Friedman has chosen skillfully, edited wisely, and related the stories with keen wit and occasional ironic humor. "The Battle of the Frogs" was a particularly bizarre set of purported happenings in the city of Fairford that proved (or disproved) God's approval (or disapproval) of Puritanism: "Puritans argued that a mass of marching frogs was proof of God's anger while the Anglicans conceded that there had been large numbers of frogs but were

unwilling to believe that they could march in columns" (p. 251). Friedman allows that this was truly a "croaker conundrum." Fairford's Flies was a similarly "amazing story" (p. 251).

Friedman is at his best when he uses these works to provide a voice for the large proportion of the English people who were not interested in political disputation as such and who saw newsbooks "not as a frolic" (p. 256) but as serious attempts to grapple with the world around them. His arguments are similarly strong when he compares this glimpse of grass-roots interests to the popularity of the *National Enquirer* in our present enlightened age. He is not convincing on his broader thesis that these selections indicate "why the revolution . . . failed" (p. 262).

Friedman's book is a significant work that presents important insights into the society of Interregnum England. It should not be missed by those who seek to understand the period.

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N. A. M. RODGER. *The Insatiable Earl: A Life of John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich, 1718-1792*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1993. Pp. xviii, 425. \$30.00.

John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718-92), is known to every specialist of the American Revolution as the British minister responsible for the war at sea. Yet his enduring fame arises rather from his invention of the humble although versatile sandwich: "Forgotten as a man and remembered as a thing" (p. xiii), N. A. M. Rodger complains as he launches his recovery vehicle. Sandwich's obscurity, however, is only relative. He has had a modern biographer, but the attempt thirty years ago (George Martelli, *Jemmy Twitcher* [1962]) was wholly inadequate. In the 1930s the Navy Record Society published four volumes of his wartime correspondence. His time at the Admiralty has additionally been the subject of several doctoral dissertations. Every scholar of this generation, whether from the political or naval vantage point, has an opinion about him, from Daniel Baugh to David Syrett. There is a 400-item bibliography appended to the text. Yet none, until Rodger, set out to read the estimated 25,000 personal letters Sandwich wrote or received and the extensive published literature to master the subject.

Academic historians, unless they are short of a subject, tend to avoid writing biographies, as the effort rarely advances historiography. Frequently biographies are not the best way to approach the questions a scholar wants answered. This work suffers no such defect. So attuned is Rodger to the academic world, and so abundant is his reading of the secondary literature, that at every possible moment he usefully discusses the historiography. By his own admission only Mary Wickwire's Yale Ph.D. dissertation ("Lord Sandwich and the King's Ships: A Study

of British Naval Administration, 1771–1782,” [1961]) escaped his notice, although he tried to get hold of a copy.

Rodger unmistakably puts his own stamp on the historiography. As one instance of this, at the outset of chapter 15, “The World War 1780–1782,” he understandably protests that most books focus on “fighting in America, and even those which view the world war as a whole, take the American crisis as their point of reference. The effect is to prejudice the central issue of the war, to ignore the most difficult decisions ministers had to take, and to distort the understanding of the rest. Moreover putting America first has the same effect of distorting our understanding of politics within the North Administration . . . This in turn exacerbates a tendency to determinism which marks many studies of the American War” (p. 266). This chapter alone is worth the price of the book.

Everyone agrees that Sandwich, removed from the Admiralty in the political crisis that rapidly developed when news of the battle of Yorktown reached England, left the navy in a flourishing condition by the end of the war, a little late to determine its outcome. Because the next war followed so quickly, this was greatly appreciated by those then at the helm. As a reformer of naval administration, he was serious. Yet his knowledge of the navy, “formidable by the standards of their time . . . was little better than superficial by any absolute measure” (p. 326), even after a decade’s continual exposure. Still, Rodger sees Sandwich as the man “who lost the American War . . . [but] who saved Canada, India and the West Indies” (p. 329). Some of us colonials wish he had been less successful.

In the first third of the book, while illuminating every aspect of Sandwich’s varied life with his own original insights, Rodger borrows extensively from political and diplomatic historians. All the detail merely points to the fact that by 1770, when Sandwich became First Lord of the Admiralty, he was a relatively poor, distinctly randy political lightweight of moderate intelligence. Still, such detail, which the biographical approach allows, clearly enables Rodger to cast his subject from the time he took his Admiralty position in a fuller light.

Yet, despite this advantage, Rodger’s abundant scholarship would have been better employed in writing a history of the war at sea from 1775 to 1783, a topic that now may tempt him. He is convinced, from Sandwich’s evidence, that a great deal more could be written about the American war at sea. He is clearly not satiated by David Syrett’s study (*The Royal Navy in American Waters 1775–1783* [1987]), although he calls it “a fine history” (p. 407), for Syrett focused narrowly on fleet activity in U.S. waters, something of a backwater for British naval activity once France entered the war in 1778. He greatly admires Piers Mackesy’s study, *The War for America, 1775–1783* (1964), which he calls “easily the best” (p. 401).

Published thirty years ago, it is now little read by younger scholars. Perhaps only a British scholar can make a new attempt at a world history of the war (for French scholars are clearly uninterested in the topic) and thus give naval strategy the central place it deserves.

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JOHN LANDERS. *Death and the Metropolis: Studies in the Demographic History of London, 1670–1830*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 20.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 408. \$64.95.

The historical demography of cities poses unusually difficult problems owing to the number of people involved and their tendency to move about. Larger cities make for disproportionately grander problems. To tackle London in the period 1670–1830, as John Landers has done, is bold indeed. Large strides, however, have been taken in recent years toward developing techniques for deriving estimates from incomplete data and toward finding ways to assess the reliability of those estimates. Landers makes extensive use of such methods. In addition, he reports his findings from his study of burial registers for two of the six London Quaker Monthly Meetings, which provide evidence about a manageably sized albeit also possibly atypical subpopulation. The result is a plausible but, as Landers also argues, by no means incontrovertible history of mortality structure and change.

London was a young city because so many youths and young adults migrated to it. For that feature alone it was favored. But London’s very size—its scale, crowding, filth, and streams of migrants—presented unusual disease risks, which were especially intense for infants, young children, and new migrants. Cities did not find ways to redress this urban penalty until much later, but Landers shows that in London life expectancy rose slightly in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, and sharply in the century’s last quarter. In seeking explanations, he concentrates not on the period of improvement but on the city’s demographic regime in earlier decades, a regime he characterizes by its potential for high fertility and mortality alike.

E. A. Wrigley and Roger Schofield introduced the idea of waxing and waning survival prospects in the old regime, and Landers embraces this idea. The fortunes of Londoners, like those of the rural English, deteriorated early in the eighteenth century, which Landers associates chiefly with changing patterns of exposure rather than with diminished resistance to disease. A disproportionately large number of burials in late summer disappeared, giving way to a stronger mortality peak in winter and to a separate peak in November. Finding no evidence of sanitary improvements or of shifts in the cost of food that can be linked persuasively to nutritional disease, Landers

associates these alterations with dramatic changes in the profile of diseases and the virulence of disease organisms, two explanations that cannot themselves be independently tested for plausibility, and with a third factor that can be tested. "The environment of eighteenth-century London deteriorated in such a way as to facilitate the transmission and retention of pathogens among its inhabitants" (p. 353). New housing construction failed to keep pace with the influx of migrants, and people made do by segmenting existing housing. The result was a deterioration in the conditions of life profound enough to foster smallpox, tuberculosis, and typhus, all diseases aided by people living in closer proximity. Landers is at his best and most original in linking the seasonality of death to the disease profile and epidemiologic regime, and in using inferences from that link to assess changes in the quality of the human environment.

The conclusions in this book command attention. But the way in which Landers presents ideas and explains how he has tested them is needlessly obscure.

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ADRIAN DESMOND. *The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine, and Reform in Radical London*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1990. Pp. x, 503. \$34.95.

Adrian Desmond assumes that a "dialectical relationship" exists between scientific ideas and "professional, religious, and class interests" (p. 374). On this basis, he ambitiously reconstructs the intersecting worlds of medicine, anatomy and morphology, and national politics in Great Britain in the 1830s and 1840s. A readable, vigorous, at times contentious book results.

According to Desmond, a group of British anatomists returned from Paris in the 1820s with the ideas of "philosophical anatomy," learned (especially) from Étienne Geoffroy St-Hilaire. Involved were beliefs in a linear progression through the biological kingdom, or an unbroken series "from monad to man" (p. 339); unity of composition, meaning that all animals shared the same fundamental blueprints and organ components; and recapitulation, according to which an embryo summarized other, simpler life forms as it developed. These views also included tendencies toward transformism, or transmutation of species from one to another, and materialism, in which life forms functioned apart from any vital principle or divine spark. Philosophical anatomy gained a following in London among medical general practitioners, Protestant Dissenters, Benthamites, and teachers at institutions such as the new London University and the diverse private academies offering anatomy lessons to medical students. For the followers of Robert Grant and Robert Knox, the lessons of Geoffroy and Jean-Baptiste Lamarck became ele-

ments in a broad assault on "Old Corruption," or all those British institutions that relied on tradition, religious creed, and birth rather than individual merit: among them the Anglican church, the House of Commons, the old universities, and the closed corporations of medical practice.

Predictably, the network of established physicians, clergy, and men of science took fright. Materialism threatened the transcendent foundations of religion and hence of a God-directed society. Transmutationism threatened to explode the distinction between man and the beasts and perhaps the distinctions between social orders as well. The "Godless College in Gower Street," not to speak of the vituperative medical journalism of Thomas Wakley's *Lancet*, menaced the secure control of medical professions by Anglican, Oxbridge gentlemen. William Paley's argument from design—previously a stout bulwark against such horrors—seemed by the 1830s less convincing.

Desmond argues that the establishment's counter to the threat of philosophical anatomy was remarkably successful by the early 1840s. Mediating figures—such as William Benjamin Carpenter and Peter Mark Roget—domesticated some aspects of radical Geofroyism. More important, Richard Owen both attacked particular radical salients and presented a convincing alternative philosophical anatomy. He rebuilt the walls between apes and men, urged that embryos maintained separate archetypal structures, and rehabilitated a creative force (restoring divine spark). Assisted by the literal poverty of his opponents, their looseness with such concepts as "identity" and "analogy," and their perceived threat to the social system, Owen constructed a moderate, basically conservative synthesis for morphology and anatomy. His work was supported by the Civil List during the Peel government of 1841–46, whose moderate Toryism Desmond sees as parallel to Owen's successful appeal.

Desmond's rich study, grounded in a wide variety of printed and manuscript sources, has several particular strengths. The medical world was a vital component of London science and is too frequently ignored. Desmond effectively conveys its complexity. He clearly sorts out intellectual crosscurrents and illustrates some otherwise inexplicable alliances. His discussions of scientists' political machinations, especially those of Owen and William Buckland, are convincing. Although he explicitly shuns the "Darwin industry," he offers interesting discussions of Charles Lyell and Charles Darwin in the 1830s and 1840s, seeing both as trapped by political and social circumstances.

Desmond claims that the conflict between Owen and Grant was about power, not about which view was scientifically correct. Yet Desmond's own sympathies are clear: Grant was a hero, Owen was not. Perhaps his sympathy for radical philosophical anatomy grows naturally out of his attempt to let the scientific demi-monde, the world of Dissenters, poor lecturers,

and socially marginal medical men, be heard. He wants to bring them back into the picture, against the "Darwin scholars studying the Oxbridge sporting gents" (p. 3), and he revels in radical invective.

Yet some questions remain about the breadth of Desmond's radical view. "Radicalism" here seems usually to mean the philosophical radicalism of Bentham and his followers. A subject deserving more discussion is the relation between the radicalism of Grant, Knox, and Wakley, and those popular radicalisms that embodied not only democratic beliefs but traditional social values and rights. Desmond notes that some radical medical opinion (exemplified by Thomas Southwood Smith) believed in the nobility of competition, an idea repugnant to the proverbial poor handloom weaver. The study of anatomy threatened traditional reverence for the deceased, and Knox—a radical champion—was forever tarred by his associations with the Edinburgh murderers William Burke and William Hare, who sold their victims to his anatomy school. Did the radical cause fail in part because of its narrow social base, as well as the impressive resources of patronage lined up against it by an establishment that could compromise just enough to win moderate opinion?

Such questions are only samples of the stimulus that Desmond's rich study affords. Historians of science (certainly the toilers in the luscious Darwin vineyards) will by now be familiar with the book, but it deserves attention from social and political historians as well.

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NORMAN GASH. *Robert Surtees and Early Victorian Society*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, 1993. Pp. 407. \$59.00.

In the introduction to this volume, Norman Gash refers to G. M. Young's classic *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (1936). Gash suggests that the novelist Robert Smith Surtees might serve the same purpose as Young's fictional "boy born in 1810" as a vehicle through whose eyes his age might be illuminated. On the basis of Gash's book, it seems doubtful that Surtees, fascinating though he might be, usefully serves this purpose. Yet it is clear that this book is Gash's own attempt to paint a portrait of early Victorian society, a task that he, as a distinguished historian of the period, is eminently qualified to do. His book is most successful when it is Gash's voice rather than Surtees's that is allowed to dominate.

Surtees (1803–64), the author of seven comic novels of sporting and country life and several collections of stories and literary sketches, was the younger son of a landed family in County Durham who, after being trained as a solicitor and dabbling in sporting journalism, unexpectedly inherited the family estate. Thereafter, he led the life of a country squire and wrote a series of novels that have always attracted a

limited but devoted audience, apparently including Virginia Woolf. At least one of them, *Mr Sponge's Sporting Tour*, has been published in an annotated scholarly edition, a fact that the ironic and unpretentious Surtees would no doubt have found amusing. Gash uses the novels as a window on a number of aspects of early Victorian society, primarily country society, given Surtees's rather limited point of view. He typically employs the novels as afterthoughts, however, mining them for examples of customs or behaviors he has already discussed.

Gash's chapters discuss the relationship of landlords and farmers, the lives of servants, changing fashions in clothing, the marriage market, the anti-corn-law movement, and "Victorian prudery," among other topics. They are clearly personal reflections based on his long engagement with the period. There is no bibliography and a mere handful of footnotes, virtually none referring to the work of other historians. Specialists will find little new material, but even the most experienced Victorian scholar will find a telling anecdote that will make familiar material fresh. For me, the biggest revelations came in a fascinating discussion of the popularity of nude bathing for both sexes throughout the nineteenth century. The nonspecialist reader, probably the target audience for the book, must surely be frustrated by the lack of illustrations, particularly since the text frequently discusses pictures, none of which is reproduced.

A main theme of Gash's book is that Surtees, although perhaps atypical of his society, was probably not alone in his atypicality. "It is easy," Gash tells us in the last sentence of the book, "to mistake the surface of a society for its substance." This is an observation worth repeating.

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A. BOWDOIN VAN RIPER. *Men among the Mammoths: Victorian Science and the Discovery of Human Prehistory*. (Science and Its Conceptual Foundations.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. Pp. xv, 267. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

The published and unpublished debates of nineteenth-century British geologists, paleontologists, and allied investigators have been extensively mined by historians of science over the last two decades. These studies have often been productive, elucidating the general structure of scientific institutions during the period as well as the emergence of particular ideas and interpretations. A. Bowdoin Van Riper thus follows in the distinguished footsteps of such scholars as Martin Rudwick (*The Great Devonian Controversy: The Shaping of Knowledge among Gentlemanly Specialists* [1985]) and James A. Secord (*Controversy in Victorian Geology: The Cambrian-Silurian Dispute* [1986]).

Most geologists of the first half of the nineteenth century were stratigraphers, concerned with establish-

ing the history of the earth by identifying and ordering the layers of which it was composed. In many cases, the identification of strata depended on characteristic assemblages of extinct fossil creatures. The latest stratum that was confidently identified by this means contained the remains of an era known as the post-Pliocene (now called the Pleistocene), a time when mammoths, woolly rhinoceroses, and other vanished animals roamed the plains and woods of northern Europe. Although testimony to the contrary was occasionally published in scientific journals both in Britain and on the Continent, until the middle of the nineteenth century the geological consensus rejected the possibility that human beings had lived among this archaic fauna. Enforcing a strict division between the exotic past and the familiar present (we still use the homey Victorian term "recent" for the epoch that includes our own time) was convenient from several points of view: in the realm of science, it separated the turf of geologists from that of archaeologists; in a wider intellectual sphere, it allowed geologists to pursue their exploration of deep time without much infringing the 6,000-year limit on human history imposed by seventeenth-century theologians and still generally accepted.

Van Riper's absorbing study focuses on the middle decades of the nineteenth century, when this scientific consensus was definitively undermined. New evidence for what was called "the antiquity of man" emerged, of which the contents of Brixham Cave, near Torquay in southwestern England, was the most striking. Its excavation, begun in 1858, yielded incontestably human bones intermingled with those of animals indisputably long extinct in Britain. But Van Riper persuasively shows that the acceptance of this evidence—or of the conclusion that humans had lived among the reindeer, cave bears, and hyenas—depended as much on negotiations among what he identifies as a core set of geologists, whose communications and relationships he follows in minute detail during the critical period, as it did on the physical yield of the excavation. After all, similar if less copious evidence had been previously dismissed by some of the same authorities who were persuaded by Brixham Cave, and even the Brixham evidence was open to alternative interpretations. Thus, Van Riper argues that the new consensus reflected not only the development of scientific information and theory but also the increasing domination of provincial amateurs by the metropolitan elite and the gradual encroachment by the discipline of geology on archaeological turf that had once belonged to antiquarians.

Van Riper's story does not, however, end with the scientific debate. The human antiquity issue aroused much wider concern, especially since the Brixham Cave excavations coincided with the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. One of the most interesting parts of his study is the concluding discussion of nonspecialist opinion. Based on an intensive exploration of periodical liter-

ature, Van Riper's survey not only resituates a complex technical problem in its more general intellectual context but also demonstrates the limitations of scientific authority. Victorian scientific consensus often had surprisingly little weight—surprisingly at least to the experts—outside the tightly structured scientific community. People with different priorities, such as the maintenance of orthodox religious doctrine, felt free to assess the exhumed evidence according to their own lights. In the case of the debate about human antiquity, indeed, the promulgation of scientific dicta, far from silencing divergent lay opinion, seemed only to encourage its profuse and varied expression.

HARRIET RITVO

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A. JAMES HAMMERTON. *Cruelty and Companionship: Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Married Life*. New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. viii, 236. \$49.95.

Unlike those who see the history of modern English marital relations as a movement from patriarchy to companionate marriage (with a Victorian lapse into patriarchy), A. James Hammerton presents a subtle and vastly more suggestive and satisfying analysis in his book.

Hammerton begins his study with working-class marriage, and he finds middle-class reformers' concerns for working-class domestic violence a trigger for more public discussion of appropriate husbandly behavior toward wives. The remainder of this short but densely packed book deals with conflict in middle-class marriage and, finally, with what Hammerton terms the "adaptation of patriarchy" in the late nineteenth century.

In place of the evolution from patriarchy to companionate marriage, Hammerton argues that the nineteenth century saw the increasing "domestication" of husbands. This did not, however, result in greater "marital friendship" (as John Stuart Mill called it). Instead, because of the legal inequalities between husbands and wives, the domesticated husband found, in what was previously his wife's sphere, an even greater opportunity for domination and tyranny. Women fought back, Hammerton argues, and succeeded in changing the terms of the discussion so that, for example, "cruelty" as a basis for divorce no longer meant physical violence alone but also mental and emotional abuse. In the late nineteenth century, Hammerton finds, the most extreme forms of patriarchal domination were being modified by extensive public criticism and by new expectations of improved marital behavior on the part of husbands.

Then, as now, domestic conflict took many forms, from gross physical violence to subtle cruelty and humiliation, and sometimes extraordinary attempts at control. Then, as now, the facts and details of such conflict were most often hidden from public view. As

a consequence, the sources Hammerton must use are, with the exception of court records, unsystematic and fragmentary. In addition to statistics and narratives drawn from divorce and magistrates' court records and newspaper coverage of divorce cases, the author uses diaries, private correspondence, prescriptive literature, and fiction to probe this secret terrain.

The core of his argument rests on divorce cases, and Hammerton makes a strong case, although to my mind not an entirely convincing one, that these publicized marriages-in-conflict, despite their extremity, reveal the true nature of nineteenth-century family relations: that the inequalities of legal status between husband and wife made companionate marriage a cruel fiction for most, perhaps all, women and men. Instead, Victorian marriage was, to a greater or lesser degree, an alliance of unequals where the husband's dominance ranged from the petty to the most extreme, and where the wife's only options were submission or (after 1857) divorce. It is a sad portrait of a century whose vaunted "family values" have been held up for emulation in our own time.

There are points where one might differ with Hammerton's methods and assumptions. Hammerton himself acknowledges the difficulties in drawing conclusions about marriage from those few that failed publicly. But that does not prevent him from drawing conclusions about the masses of Victorian marriages based on the few that ended in legal separation or divorce. His apparent equation of "domestication" and "companionship" may need further examination. And his belief in the centrality of law in the shaping of human conduct is one not all his readers will share. Certainly the law set the outer boundaries of the unequal relations between husbands and wives, but perhaps other sorts of influences had more important impact on marital behavior.

Perhaps we will never know if Victorian husbands were as controlling as the law allowed them to be. Meanwhile, Hammerton has given us a rich resource for thinking about the problems of sexual inequality and domestic violence.

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ELLEN ROSS. *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870–1918*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 308. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

In this meticulously researched book, Ellen Ross provides us with a sensitive portrait of working-class mothers in London between 1870 and 1914. Her careful reconstruction of the daily struggle to provide food for husbands and children, of the tensions and antagonisms as well as the pleasures of marriage, of the dangers of childbirth and the anxieties and frustrations of childrearing, and of the herculean efforts women made to nurse their sick and dying children will stand as a definitive account of the

material conditions under which poor women met their responsibilities and received their rewards as mothers.

Ross begins with the premise that motherhood has a history; that is, that the ways a society or class within that society thinks about what it is that mothers do or should do, and how those individuals called mothers play their roles and carry out the obligations assigned to them, depend on the material and cultural conditions prevalent at a particular time in a particular place. She argues that poor and working-class mothers in late-Victorian and Edwardian London understood their first and foremost responsibility to their children and husbands to be that of providing the material means of survival. Any emotional sustenance or intellectual encouragement would have to come second and was very often a luxury families simply could not afford.

This is not to say that mothers did not love their children, try to further their prospects, or grieve deeply on their deaths. The corollary to frequent deaths among infants and children of the poor and working classes was not, Ross demonstrates, a stoicism bordering on indifference. Explicit outpourings of grief might not be forthcoming, especially in the presence of middle-class reformers or health-care workers, but the constant attention given to sick children, the expenses incurred in the provision of children's funerals, and the physical illnesses and depressions mothers exhibited on the death of their children testify to the intensity of the grief they felt.

This grief was not, as it might be for twentieth-century mothers, accompanied by guilt. Having "done all they could" (p. 192) for their children, given the material constraints on them, working-class and poor mothers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century did not seem to internalize a sense of responsibility for providing for their children what was clearly beyond their resources or control. Ross argues that many of the practices and attitudes we identify with modern Western motherhood began to be imposed on working-class and poor women in the years between 1900 and 1918, as middle-class reformers in the Infant Welfare movement sought to instill in their charges the idea that children's emotional and intellectual nurturance were just as important as their physical survival. These attempts at a "reconfiguration of motherhood" (p. 195) that would produce healthier and more fully developed subjects for the imperial state amounted, in the eyes of the mothers involved, to a redistribution of already limited resources away from the mothers themselves, many of whom starved themselves so that the rest of the family could be fed. And if they failed to deliver healthier sons and daughters, they could be fined, jailed, or deprived of their children. No wonder that these "unpaid nursemaids of the State" (p. 197) may have chosen to limit the number of children they brought into this new world of well-intentioned but coercive welfare initiatives that were at such odds with their

own identities of themselves as jugglers in a high-stakes balancing act of scarce resources and physical needs designed to stave off disaster.

This is an impressive book. One only wishes that Ross had gone beyond her powerful and poignant descriptions of the conditions of working-class motherhood to an analysis of the ideological system of gender that the discourses of motherhood upheld, and thus to a problematizing of the identities of her historical subjects, which she has "taken as givens here" (p. 10). We might better appreciate how "the value of babies" (chap. 7) came to outweigh the other elements that constituted the idea of motherhood by 1918. For it was not simply a matter of increased material well-being or of the enhanced powers of the state that produced our modern conceptions; working-class and poor women themselves played an active role in accepting, resisting, and adapting certain aspects of the discourses that shaped the version of motherhood by which they ultimately came to define themselves.

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JOSE HARRIS. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 283. \$35.00.

In this excellent example of the social historian's craft, Jose Harris reflects on the revolution in historical fashion that has taken place in the last ten years. "Texts, artifacts, and language have replaced institutions, movements, and social forces as the substance of what social history is supposed to be about" (p. vii), she writes of the pretentious postmodernism that reached the Anglo-Saxon world long after it had passed its sell-by date in continental Europe. The truth is that texts, artifacts, and language are not the objects of history but only the means historians use to reconstruct what she unrepentantly calls "the objective reality" of the past (p. 2). Historians who study them for their own sake rather than for what they reveal fall into a category error. It is like substituting the mummy's wrappings for the Pharaoh and concluding that the life-loving Egyptians were solely obsessed by death.

Harris is too wise and well-grounded a historian to fall into this trap. Her book is firmly based in the literature and still more in her astonishingly wide and deep knowledge of the sources. She sees the late Victorian age as John Clapham's "gigantic hinge" (p. 19), when Britain changed from a manufacturing and agricultural economy to the center of a world commercial, financial, and political empire. Mass production, city dwelling, mass democracy, class politics, the demographic transition to low birth and death rates, a paradoxically secular Christianity, crusading feminism, the collectivist state, an enlarged concept of citizenship, and the modern structure of society with

the decline of the landed class and the rise of plutocracy and labor, all stem from that period.

This sounds very much like the old-fashioned "total history" that, in Harris's words, "aspires to track down, explain, and encapsulate the objective, interlocking, patterned reality of the past" (p. vii). Her concession to the new fashion lies in the "riotous pluralism" (p. 2) she finds in the sources: the many distinctions, nuances, and caveats with which she hedges every generalization; the differences within as well as between classes, especially their "serious" and "gay and rowdy portions" (p. 8); the secularization that was due in part to the churches' own concern with secular issues; the respect for property by land reformers and socialists; social protest alongside low crime rates; the fears of racists that non-whites might overtake them; the sure expectation by imperialists that the empire would ultimately decline and fall; and many such shrewd comments and insights.

Harris's favorite metaphor is the "complex tapestry": she sees herself as Penelope, weaving it by day and unpicking it at night (p. 251). More vividly, I was put in mind of Georges Seurat's *La Grande Jatte*, that pointilist masterpiece of her period, in which a myriad points of pure color contrive to form a subtle and majestic portrait of life in 1886. That sort of mastery takes patience, knowledge, and inspiration, and Harris has all three in abundance.

HAROLD PERKIN
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JOHN LOWERSON. *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870–1914*. (International Studies in the History of Sport.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. ix, 310. \$69.95.

John Lowerson provides a comprehensive and revealing examination of the active recreations of the middle ranks in English society during the "great sports craze" of the late-Victorian and Edwardian periods. Focusing on the extent to which sport became an agent and instrument of the middle classes' development and self-definition, and a major means of delineating social barriers and propagating moral values, he pursues five themes: the development of active recreation into a significant criterion of social demarcation; the development of new ideas about such disposable assets as time, space, and income; the emergence of sporting entrepreneurship and commercialism on a large scale; sport's simultaneous encouragement of extensive voluntarism among its participants; and the provision of opportunities and variety in sport for an unprecedented range of ages, capacities, incomes, and genders.

After examining the growth of sport to ever-widening constituencies as an example of the optimism and concern that accompanied social change, Lowerson moves to discussions of particular sports. Included are various forms of hunting and shooting, fishing (the most widely practiced sport), yachting, sailing, row-

ing, mountaineering, fell and rock climbing, ice skating, skiing, tobogganing, cricket, rugby, hockey, lacrosse, athletics, boxing, croquet, lawn tennis, badminton, bowls, archery, cycling, and golf, which enjoyed the greatest boom of any game. Rather than detailed histories, readers are offered cogent analyses of the different sports' popularity, problems, paradoxes, and broader significance within the context of English society.

Among the larger subjects Lowerson explores are the development of codes of conduct, the anguishing and complex ethical debate surrounding amateurism and professionalism, the evolution of sport into big business, and the place in sport of such "lesser breeds" as the working classes and women. The section on women, while regrettably brief, is particularly welcome. Unlike other treatments, it places issues involving women's sport "centrally in the context of a male-dominated agenda of middle-class self-realisation" (p. 204). Lowerson demonstrates that arguments about the abilities and status of women in sport were related closely to male, middle-class perceptions of other dependent groups and their supposedly inferior intelligence.

A brilliant final chapter reveals how sport emerged as a battleground for questions of national identity, patriotic superiority, and perceptions of racial and spiritual decline, thus fueling preparations for war. Lowerson cleverly connects England's poor international sporting performances in the prewar years to such other disasters as Robert F. Scott's Antarctic expedition and the sinking of the Titanic; he attributes all at least partly "to over-optimism, arrogance, and a singular level of amateurishness in which assumptions of national, racial and class superiority were shown to rest on thinly masked incompetence and inefficiency" (p. 261). Sport's glorification of the amateur regardless of results, he argues, was symptomatic of the widespread avoidance of entrepreneurial excellence and risk-taking in favor of indolence, inefficiency, and safety, an attitude that was to have disastrous consequences on the Western Front.

This book is a work of the highest quality. Writing elegantly and with wry humor, and basing his conclusions on extensive and exemplary use of original national and regional sources, Lowerson sets the revolution in sport in its full social, cultural, and historical context and offers compelling new insights into its reality, meaning, and importance. Furthermore, his focus on the middle class fills a notable gap in the growing canon of sport-history material, making it invaluable to anyone interested in the sport, cultural, and social history of nineteenth-century England.

KATHLEEN E. McCRONE
University of Windsor

JO VELLACOTT. *From Liberal to Labour with Women's Suffrage: The Story of Catherine Marshall*. Buffalo, N.Y.:

McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 518. \$55.00.

This is the first of a proposed two-volume biography of Catherine Marshall, the pre-World War I parliamentary secretary of Great Britain's National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). Although now virtually unknown, Marshall may have been the most important NUWSS leader other than Millicent Fawcett until she resigned from the body's executive in 1915 in protest against Fawcett's support for the government's war policy. This produced a permanent rupture between the two women of such magnitude that Fawcett apparently destroyed records of Marshall's contributions to the NUWSS in an attempt to erase all memory of her role. Jo Vellacott's discovery of Marshall's papers has enabled her to reconstruct the life of a woman who should be of interest to political historians as well as to those concerned with the prewar women's movement.

Vellacott's book is a significant contribution to the recent reassessment of the early twentieth-century women's suffrage campaign. She provides further evidence that the contribution of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) to the suffrage campaign has been exaggerated and impressively details the NUWSS's emergence as a far more important pressure group. An important advocate of the NUWSS's electoral alliance with the Labour Party in 1912, Marshall was secretary of the committee that implemented this new policy of seeking the election of pro-women's suffrage Labour candidates even when they were competing against Liberals. NUWSS funds and volunteer workers contributed to the defeat of Liberal candidates in several prewar by-elections. By 1914 Liberal Party leaders recognized that NUWSS intervention in the next general election, due no later than 1915, could result in a Conservative victory, and the Liberals were edging toward endorsing some form of women's suffrage when the war intervened.

The NUWSS's shift in 1912 to an anti-Liberal policy forced Liberal women suffragists to choose between party and gender loyalties. Contrary to Linda Walker's claim that the Women's Liberal Federation campaigned only for Liberal candidates whose views they endorsed, Vellacott reveals that they subordinated women's suffrage to party loyalty during the crucial years from 1910 to 1914. Vellacott provides new evidence on Eleanor Rathbone's efforts to stimulate a rebellion within the NUWSS against the electoral alliance with the Labour Party after the executive had approved it, even though she was a member of the executive. Rather than support pro-women's suffrage Labour candidates against Liberals, Rathbone and three other Liberal women resigned from the NUWSS executive in 1914.

Vellacott's study contributes to several historiographical debates. With respect to the nature of suffragist ideology, she indicates that Marshall used both equal-rights and maternalist arguments and

seemed to see no inconsistency between them. Although she agrees with much of Sandra Holton's thesis (*Feminism and Democracy* [1986]) about the importance of "democratic suffragism," Vellacott rejects Holton's attempt to erode the distinctions between the NUWSS and the WSPU. Finally, whereas some historians have claimed World War I was responsible for women's suffrage, Vellacott makes a strong case that reform had become inevitable by 1914 and that the war's main effect was to delay it until 1918.

Although it does not reflect current preoccupation with theory, this book is traditional scholarship at its best. Based on impressive archival research, it engages the major historiographical debates related to its subject and provides a carefully crafted narrative that I found hard to put down.

HAROLD L. SMITH
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Victoria

KEVIN MORGAN. *Harry Pollitt*. (Lives of the Left.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. viii, 210. \$69.95.

Kevin Morgan tells us that the quasi-religious convictions that Western partisans of the Soviet experience expressed, both before and during World War II, are "almost as remote to us as the Anabaptists or the Southcottians" (p. 162). In the light of recent events, including the formal dissolution of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), such fervor is difficult to grasp. Thus, this book's major strength may be the skillful recovery of the strange mixture of excitement, frustration, sectarian strife, and external domination of the minuscule CPGB from its establishment in 1919 to the aftermath of Nikita Khrushchev's denunciation of Joseph Stalin in 1956. Morgan's vehicle is the political life of Harry Pollitt, the party's general secretary from 1929 to 1956, save for one interlude between 1939 and mid-1941. His "Stalinist" credentials cannot be denied. Throughout this period Pollitt embraced the inevitability of communist world domination while staring in the face of overwhelming domestic reverses; characteristically, he remarked about a disappointing by-election loss in 1949: "'We may have lost St Pancras, but we've won in China'" (p. 161). With his party's energies channeled into parliamentary activities at Stalin's *diktat*, the hopes for the domestic future that had spurred Pollitt's wartime efforts were shattered. Morgan's biography demonstrates anew the age-old conflict of ideological commitment and political pragmatism.

In his early years, Pollitt sought to adapt the British radical tradition, driven in his case by a coruscating hatred of capitalism rooted in his own family's deprivation as well as in the exploitation of the working class. His career initially was within the trade-union movement, although he was self-trained in streetcorner oratory as well. Convinced by the Bolshevik

Revolution that the workers' cause would best be advanced by world revolution, Pollitt joined the nascent British Communist Party and accepted the ideological lead of the Comintern, domestically packaged by his party associate R. Palme Dutt. Their roles—Dutt is a real presence in this book—provide Morgan a path to follow through the tangles of party fortunes in the interwar years, culminating in the great causes, Spain and the Popular Front, that the CPGB addressed with formidable energies.

But Pollitt broke ranks with Dutt, the CPGB leadership, and, most important, with Stalin in contesting the proposition that the events of September 1939 constituted "a second imperialist war"; thus, he was shunted aside as general secretary until the conflict was legitimated as a "People's War" by Adolf Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. This was no doubt an act of personal integrity, but Pollitt refused to undermine party unity and in short order he issued the expected ritual recantation. In 1941, his return to leadership coincided with the zenith of the CPGB: he rode the tides of "anti-fascism . . . pro-Sovietism and . . . radical patriotism" (p. 131), although Morgan argues that the party paid a high price for its mainstream role. By opposing strike action, and in refusing to contest by-elections, the party's best-ever prospect for political breakthrough dissipated. This is true enough, but the political reality was the fact that Stalin's real British partner was Winston Churchill: the CPGB's wartime fate mattered little. And so it was to prove as well in the period of Soviet expansion, when a Labour regime in Britain gave the party little room and no impact.

The author draws extensively on Communist Party sources, noting that his is the first such use by "an outside historian" (p. vi). Although Morgan is consistently sympathetic to "Left" causes, he acknowledges that the revolutionary temper of the CPGB proved antithetical to the British democratic tradition. In biographical terms, he treats Pollitt's "Stalinist" deportment as a further flaw, tempered by Pollitt's own humanitarian qualities and his fabled accessibility. On balance, Morgan's book is a thoroughly researched and provocatively written "warts-and-all" biographical portrait, but those warts were, in the framework of democratic traditions, disfiguring.

JOHN F. NAYLOR
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Buffalo

ROBERT COLE. *A. J. P. Taylor: The Traitor within the Gates*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xi, 285. \$39.95.

It was Herbert Butterfield who suggested that diplomatic history, given its precision and availability of documents, afforded the best training for historians. A. J. P. Taylor, like Butterfield, cut his teeth on diplomatic history, rebelled against existing canons, and achieved notoriety in both scholarly and public

realms. But here the parallels cease. Unlike most of his illustrious contemporaries, Taylor never allowed his views to fit the protocol of the academic establishment.

Whether this trait resulted from perversity or intellectual honesty is an underlying theme of Robert Cole's account, appropriately subtitled "Traitor within the Gates." Taylor's first book, *The Italian Problem in European Diplomacy* (1934), influenced by Viennese historian A. F. Pribrâm, was "'technically old fashioned' . . . and without 'behavioural sauce'" (p. 9). Yet its theme of the European balance of power served as a backdrop for subsequent works concentrating on the German problem. In *The Habsburg Monarchy* (1941) Taylor dealt with the Slavic obstacle to desires for a greater Germany, the resolution of which he witnessed in Adolf Hitler's revisionist policies prior to World War II. The personal convictions galvanized in this study marked Taylor's transition from detached scholar to polemicist. Cole rightly notes that it was "meant to serve a political purpose rather more than a historical one" (p. 41). Taylor's bias was no less evident in his postwar works, where he shows that Germany's development since the Reformation was determined largely by authoritarian tendencies in its individual states. In rejecting the popular Nuremberg thesis of guilt, he perceived Otto von Bismarck, no less than Hitler, as an opportunist. Hence the real source of German wickedness in this century lay in its people. By the mid-1950s Taylor was recognized as a dissenter. He not only questioned scholarly assumptions but also opposed Britain's Suez initiative, joined the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, became a television celebrity, and profiled his heroes in a book called *The Troublemakers* (1957). His most iconoclastic work, however, was *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961), which attracted a storm of criticism, even abuse, for rationalizing Hitler as a traditional statesman who was no more responsible for war than any other European leader. Charlie Chaplin, alleged Taylor, had a better grasp of the great dictator than academics bewitched by the Hossbach memorandum (p. 182).

Rejected for his revisionist views and denied the Regius Professorship at Oxford, Taylor sought consolation in later years in his quite credible *English History, 1914-1945* (1965) and as curator of the Beaverbrook Library in London, where he penned a sympathetic biography of its benefactor. But these endeavors were anti-climactic to his earlier years of rebellion, leading Cole to conclude that despite doubts about his "seriousness of purpose," there is "no substantive reason to doubt" Taylor's sincerity (p. 167).

There are many interesting and valid observations in this "intellectual biography," but its effect is lessened somewhat by occasional typographical errors and such editorial lapses as "Douglas" Cameron Watt, Fort "Sumpter," and Winston Churchill's death in 1968 (he died in 1965). More serious is the author's

decision, after research spanning three decades, to limit his treatment to an exegesis of Taylor's writings. It seems, especially considering recent biographies by William H. McNeill on Arnold J. Toynbee (1989) and David Cannadine on G. M. Trevelyan (1993), that Cole has exercised undue restraint, that subject and reader would be better served by a treatment of the whole man.

JOHN D. FAIR
Auburn University,
Montgomery

ALEX DANCHEV. *Oliver Franks: Founding Father*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 234. \$39.95.

Oliver Franks was a pivotal figure in Allied diplomacy following World War II. He was among the statesmen who reconstructed European postwar economies and established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). As Britain's ambassador to Washington, D.C., from 1948 to 1952, Franks was very close to Dean Acheson, the U.S. secretary of state, with whom he met so frequently that he became the envy of Washington's entire diplomatic corps. Alex Danchev portrays Franks as a "founding father," among "a small group of men, chiefly based in London and Washington, with out-stations in Ottawa, Paris, Brussels, and The Hague, who were the modellers, patterns, and creators of the post-war world" (p. 199). Men such as Franks command the attention of history.

Danchev has written a sensitive and shrewd account of Franks's life, including his origins outside the British establishment, his Congregationalist-Quaker religious orientations, and his years at Oxford as student, don, and principal. During World War II, Franks performed such amazing administrative feats in the Ministry of Supply that he came to the attention of Ernest Bevin, the Labour Party leader who headed the Foreign Office from 1945 to 1951. Bevin assigned Franks to address the most compelling postwar issues Europe had to face: the war's terrible devastation, expediting of U.S. assistance through the Marshall Plan, and the institutionalization of NATO against Moscow. Franks's patient and judicious ways gained increasing respect abroad and at home. Bevin grasped how well Franks got on with the Americans and sent him to Washington. The young ambassador was not omniscient for he failed to suspect that the embassy's Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean, and Kim Philby were spying for the Soviets. Franks then had more important matters on his mind.

Before Franks reached the age of fifty, his public service had earned him a peerage. Officially nonpartisan, Franks was so closely identified with the postwar Labour government that, when the Conservatives took office in 1951, they denied Franks the governorship of the Bank of England and the chancellorship of Oxford University. He made do with chairing

Lloyd's Bank and heading Worcester College. Franks led major public inquiries into the British monetary system, the Official Secrets Act, and Oxford University, insisting that such institutions must be accountable to the public. Franks was most at ease in Oxford, which had honed the ability of the tall, distinguished-looking philosophy don to listen to others, to digest complexities, and to reach consensus.

Before his death in 1992 at the age of eighty-seven, Franks gave Danchev a dozen helpful interviews, which were essential since Franks kept few private papers other than those of his family. Not only has Danchev portrayed the philosopher behind the public servant but he has also fully comprehended the complexities of postwar Allied diplomacy. Danchev carefully researched all the relevant British and U.S. archives in light of recent scholarship. His fine study brilliantly illuminates the postwar world and merits a wide readership.

ROGER ADELSON
Arizona State University

W. H. McDOWELL. *The History of BBC Broadcasting in Scotland, 1923–1983*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1992. Pp. xiv, 357. \$79.00.

Since its inception in the early 1920s, BBC broadcasting in Scotland has confronted problems of self-definition. John Reith, the first director general of the BBC, championed the notion that a public broadcasting service depended on centralized control from London to disseminate elite culture. Despite its long national history, Scotland became part of the BBC's regional scheme in the late 1920s, effectively denying an autonomous voice for distinct areas within Scotland. Even after the major reorganization of broadcasting following World War II, the Scottish Home Service struggled with London for adequate financing and institutional support. Despite such handicaps Scottish programming in the late 1940s improved significantly in content and diversity, even including the transmission of news in Gaelic once a week.

The long-delayed arrival of commercial television and radio in the 1950s and 1960s placed new pressures on the BBC to compete for audiences whose preferences in entertainment diverged markedly from what Reith and his disciples considered valid. Although Scotland contributed more material to the Third Programme than most regions, programs such as *Arts Review*, *Industrial Inquiry*, and *Scotland in Parliament* attracted more praise from intellectuals than listeners among the Scottish public. Independent radio trounced the BBC in the ratings after the loss of monopoly.

As critics pointed out, the BBC's official version of Scottish national identity tended to look backward, not forward, and concentrated on rural rather than urban material. Even during the 1960s, when the policies of Hugh Greene in London successfully

challenged the Reithian orthodoxy, the BBC in Scotland maintained the morals and manners of an earlier period. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, official attitudes changed dramatically. New technologies of dissemination, intensified competition from commercial stations, the erosion of traditional cultural hierarchies among postmodern elites, and a transformed political climate under Thatcherism forced the BBC to devolve more power to its Scottish subsidiaries.

W. H. McDowell's book narrates this story in extensive detail. Based on primary sources culled mainly from the BBC Archives, he presents an institutional history that treats selective aspects of broadcasting with admirable thoroughness. The various attempts to restructure Scottish broadcasting receive exhaustive attention. McDowell also unravels the complexities of BBC financial policy. He correctly assumes that broadcasting policies in London deeply affected the BBC in Scotland, although he devotes perhaps too much time to recapitulating such developments, well covered elsewhere.

An outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation, this book avoids the broader landscapes of recent cultural history. McDowell acknowledges that defining "Scottish" programs remains a problem, but chooses not to pursue this topic or such related issues as the connections between broadcasting and the formation of a national community in Scotland. Still, McDowell has written a solid narrative history of a neglected aspect of British broadcasting.

D. L. LE MAHIEU
Lake Forest College

PHILIP BENEDICT. *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 81, part 5.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1991. Pp. 164. \$22.00.

The number of Huguenots has always been a significant issue. Philip Benedict begins by quoting from the journal of John Locke, who made inquiries about the size and vigor of local Protestant communities as he traveled through southern France in the late 1670s. A few years later, Louis XIV introduced the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes with the claim that the greater and better part of his previously recalcitrant subjects had already converted. Had the king been correct, only the tonic of his order of expulsion could have enabled Protestantism to survive as a collective faith in France.

Benedict's methods, as well as his conclusions, would have pleased Locke more than Louis. He has reconstituted family data from the Protestant church of Alençon and supported this nucleus with information on baptisms, marriages, and deaths from 120 other communities. For more than half of the cases,

Benedict compiled the data himself, in archival work that stretched from Amiens to Montpellier.

Benedict shaves the previous estimate of total Protestant population in the 1660s, on the threshold of persecution, from 856,000 to 797,000. More importantly, he succeeds in gauging the variable resistance to decline from the beginning of the seventeenth century, by region and community size, of a minority that was always under some pressure, although not consistently under siege. He shows that declining numbers were primarily a result of demographic conditions that included patterns of migration, plague, and the lack of dynamism of regions where Protestants were strong. Conversions were frequent largely in special circumstances: in Béarn after its Huguenot prince became Catholic king, and the peasants could choose for themselves; in many parts of the Midi during the 1620s when Protestant strongholds were attacked; and in those northern cities where the Protestants were particularly few and exposed. Overall, decline was more pronounced in western France than in the east, both south and north of the Loire. Benedict brings more precision and finesse to a national study than any previous writer on the Huguenots. This is demography with the thoroughness of the French, although also with a candor that notes, at every step, where the record is weak or insecure.

His statistics also allow him to capture glimpses of actual behavior, as the Protestants survived the change from a thrusting faction that dreamed of evangelizing the kingdom, into a web of families that quietly maintained their traditions. He finds them attentive to pastors and consistories, but not immune from beliefs that had support neither from pastor nor priest, such as the sentiment that the month of May was unlucky for marriages.

By complicating the French map with more regional nuances, Benedict facilitates comparisons with other seventeenth-century populations that were confronted with—or graced by—religious pluralism. He poses trenchant questions about the relations between Catholics and Protestants in an age of official confessional walls, and he refrains from premature answers. An impressive demographic study, this is also a down payment on future important work.

A. N. GALPERN
University of Pittsburgh

W. GREGORY MONAHAN. *Year of Sorrows: The Great Famine of 1709 in Lyon*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 246. \$55.00.

"What follows is as complete a history as can be written of a single subsistence crisis in a defined area" (p. 4), announces W. Gregory Monahan at the opening of his well-constructed monograph. The validity of Monahan's claim is disputable. After all, how can we be certain that the records of other cities during similar crises could not yield more thorough ac-

counts? And it is also a matter of dispute whether his choice of a narrative reconstruction of the year's travails, and the events leading up to them, really suits the subject more than a synchronic treatment on the model of *histoire totale*. Still, if not definitive, Monahan's book certainly provides a valuable and insightful look into the workings of an Old Regime society in a moment of stress.

What that look reveals is a remarkably complex assortment of factors that contributed to the crisis of 1709. It was not simply a subsistence crisis, and its causes were only partially natural. Indeed, this book is as much about Lyon's role as a money market for financiers, chief among them Samuel Bernard, whose massive default in 1709 helped precipitate the "year of sorrows," as it is about the fate of an urban populace in a time of dearth. In addition, Monahan attempts to use the crisis as a prism that, in refracting a local society into its parts and divisions, demonstrates the spectrum of competing forces, personalities, and institutions that emerged as the city did its best to cope with the crisis. His book thus can serve as a case study of the workings of a local urban society.

Monahan divides his study into three parts. The first sets the stage of the crisis, emphasizing both those urban institutions designed to deal with poverty and food shortages and the uneasy relationship between Lyon and the surrounding province of Burgundy, especially when it came to supplying the city with grain. In a crucial chapter, "Time of Troubles," he outlines the functioning of the Lyonnais money market and notes its rising importance as the crown shifted the burden of royal debt from state financiers to great merchant bankers such as Bernard. The book's second part focuses on the causes of the crisis. Bernard's failure in 1709 to satisfy his creditors meant disaster, not only for them and the city's merchants but for the laboring populace as well, as money evaporated and legions of artisans were dismissed. The "Great Winter" of 1709 only compounded the disaster, leading to severe grain shortages, rioting, and a full-scale subsistence crisis. The final section of the book details the crisis itself. In a meticulous chapter, "The Dying Time," Monahan demonstrates the dimensions of the populace's suffering, highlighting the general scope of mortality, which struck rich and poor alike, but noting, somewhat surprisingly, that an increased abandonment of children rather than precipitous levels of mortality—terribly high though they were—distinguished the crisis from the normal run of misery.

Among other things, this study once again proves that subsistence crises were not only or even rarely a result of natural phenomena alone in the Old Regime but also were often induced by the demands of the state on a fragile economy. That in Lyon those demands were financial rather than in terms of foodstuffs highlights the city's special status, but this also calls into question the wider relevance of Monahan's findings. Those findings are very interesting

and important nevertheless, and he has drawn on an impressive array of sources and arguments to marshal them.

ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER
Catholic University of America

NEIL MCWILLIAM. *Dreams of Happiness: Social Art and the French Left, 1830–1850*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 385. \$49.50.

This book is a thoughtful, carefully argued, and painstakingly documented attempt to map French radical thinking on the social role of art during the July Monarchy and the Second Republic. Although this intriguing topic opens up the whole question of the relations between socialism, republicanism, and romanticism, it has been little studied. Excellent work has been done (long ago by Marguerite Thibert, and more recently by Ralph Locke and Philippe Régner) on the aesthetic theories of the Saint-Simonians. But Neil McWilliam is the first to attempt a broadly based study of social art in the 1830s and 1840s, including Fourierists, republicans, Christian socialists, and democratic socialists as well as the Saint-Simonians. One of McWilliam's aims is to revitalize the concept of social art, to restore to it a richness and complexity lost with the triumph of socialist realism in Soviet Russia. Thus, he argues that the authoritarian management of culture and the strict subordination of art to political imperatives that characterized socialist realism represents just "one facet of a theoretical couplet whose more libertarian trajectory embraces such twentieth-century thinkers as Marcuse and Bloch" (p. 345).

In tracing the early history of social art, McWilliam focuses on both its libertarian and authoritarian "trajectories." He begins by noting a fundamental contrast between Henri Saint-Simon's highly instrumental and utilitarian notion of art and the efforts of Saint-Simon's followers to develop philosophies of art sensitive to questions of form. He sees this new Saint-Simonian aesthetic as rooted in an appreciation of the social value of sentiment and in the belief that art can awaken the altruistic impulses on which association must rest. Similarly, in much republican reflection on art he finds an archaism and a didactic moralism that he contrasts with the quest of at least some Fourierists for a redefinition of art compatible with their new image of human nature.

McWilliam's argument is far too complex to summarize here. Suffice it to say that his expositions of a wide variety of aesthetic theories are precise, nuanced, and reliable. He relates aesthetic ideas carefully to their metaphysical underpinnings, and he is attentive to contradiction and ambiguity in the thought of both groups and individuals. Indeed, his concern to grasp nuance and ambiguity is so great that at times he risks losing the reader in a wealth of precisely articulated detail. Still, one emerges from

this book with a sense of the remarkable range of radical reflection on social art.

The value of this work is enhanced by the scope and thoroughness of McWilliam's research in the archival and periodical sources. He brings to life a gallery of forgotten artists and critics such as the Saint-Simonian (then Buchezian) sculptor Théophile Bra and the Fourierist critic Désiré Laverdant. He sheds new light on relations between Pierre Leroux and the republican art critic Théophile Thoré. And, most importantly, he devotes considerable attention to attempts to translate new ideas about social art into practice. But here, he observes, there was a striking discrepancy between theory and practice, between bold theoretical aspiration and modest artistic achievement. Thus, "the *art de l'avenir* so zealously promoted by the Saint-Simonians was apparently still-born" (p. 110), and "Fourier's endlessly garrulous descriptions of the Phalanstère . . . could inspire only Papety's palled reworking of standard-issue Arcadianism" (p. 322).

McWilliam attributes the blandness of social art in practice in part to the inability of radicals to grasp the impact of industrial expansion on social organization; in trying to imagine a world transformed, they fell easily into pastoral and escapist fantasies. But he also sees this blandness in broader terms as exposing the limits of their break with dominant values and modes of representation: "Implicit in the project of *art social* [was] a failure to understand how deeply dominant notions of the aesthetic . . . were implicated in the ideological underpinning of bourgeois society" (p. 332). While this fine book does indeed enrich our understanding of the emergence of social art, it also presents much evidence to support this gloomy conclusion.

JONATHAN BEECHER
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Santa Cruz

ROGER L. WILLIAMS. *Napoleon III and the Stoffel Affair*. Worland, Wyo.: High Plains. 1993. Pp. xv, 219. \$27.50.

This book by Roger L. Williams is a laborious, sometimes tedious examination of a trivial episode in the political trauma that followed the defeat of the Second Empire in the war of 1870–71. Colonel Eugène Stoffel, associate and admirer of the emperor, is best known to military historians as the military attaché in Berlin who, after 1866, sent warning after warning about the strength of the Prussian Army, warnings that, needless to say, were largely disregarded by a feckless French military establishment convinced of its own innate superiority.

But in 1873, when Marshal Achille-François Bazaine, who had surrendered his army at Metz, was on trial for treason, Stoffel found himself accused of withholding—presumably for devious Bonapartist political reasons—a vital message that Bazaine had sent to Marshal Maurice MacMahon. Stoffel's action, it was

alleged, was one of the factors that led MacMahon to plunge on to his doom at Sedan.

The incident at best seems worth an article and not a book. It remains unlikely that MacMahon, whatever his later allegations, would have acted differently if he had received the message. No one would ever suggest that the missing intelligence affected the outcome of the war. The most that the affair demonstrates is that Stoffel was caught in the political fallout of a lost war and the bitter infighting that attended the eventual creation of the Third Republic. Republicans saw in Stoffel's alleged action an opportunity to discredit even further the fallen regime, while supporters of MacMahon saw an opportunity to salvage the tarnished military reputation of the marshal. But the tempest over Stoffel had no effect on the Bazaine trial or on the politics of the MacMahon era, and, while the French war ministry remained convinced that the colonel was guilty, Stoffel was never tried. He was simply permitted to retire with his pension.

The book—despite a superlative research effort, an impressive bibliography, and a solid analysis of Stoffel's post-1866 reports from Berlin—has serious flaws. The title is misleading. Napoleon III is, at most, an incidental figure; indeed, by the time of the Bazaine trial and the Stoffel episode, he had been dead for nearly a year. There is a numbing plethora of material on topics almost completely irrelevant to Stoffel: for example, lengthy biographical data on secondary figures, a tedious discussion of the failure of Napoleon's attempted military reforms, and a confusing analysis of the operational details of the 1870–71 campaign. As for the "affair" itself, Williams provides surprisingly little coherent analysis of his own. Instead, he simply reproduces, with only occasional guidance of his own, page after page of undigested testimony from the transcripts of the Bazaine trial and attendant court documents. The innocence of Stoffel is an act of faith for Williams, but something that, all too frequently, he asserts rather than proves. He is probably right. But the manner of presentation and a pedestrian style does little to make the case.

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER
Princeton University

CHARLES E. FREEDEMAN. *The Triumph of Corporate Capitalism in France, 1867–1914*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 147. \$59.00.

Corporate capitalism is usually associated with the expansion of the American mass market or the German investment bank. Yet when, in 1867, specific government authorization for business incorporation was lifted, the French also rapidly adapted this form of economic organization. Charles E. Freedeman attempts to refute conventional charges that emanated from this era: that small self-financing family business rather than corporations and cartels continued to predominate in late-nineteenth-century France, and especially that corporate banks chan-

neled French investment abroad to the disadvantage of domestic industrialization. Although the corporate legal form was adapted in France to many essentially family businesses (with no shares traded) and mergers were far less common than elsewhere, France led Germany, if not Britain, in the number of joint-stock companies by 1914. Like the Americans, the French participated in long-lasting debates between *laissez-faire* liberals and quasi-populist opponents of corporate growth. Laws requiring a minimum value of shares and other restrictions, for example, were designed to check stock fraud. But no major changes in the law of 1867 were made before World War I.

Perhaps Freedeman's most interesting chapters concern the debate over the role of the largest banks in "starving" French industry of vital capital. He places this question in its historical context and offers some brief but interesting comparisons with a similar American debate about corporate capitalism in the 1880s and 1890s. In a careful and detailed, if brief and somewhat impressionistic, analysis by sector, Freedeman refutes the claim that French business was deprived of capital by foreign bond investment. He concludes that the inflow of foreign income more than balanced the export of capital in the generation leading to World War I. Regional banks played a generally positive role, he argues, in complementing the self-financing proclivities of French enterprise with critical loans. Although French corporate business shared little with the merger mania of the Americans, industrial concentration in France by 1914 was essentially the same as in Germany. And French cartels were more common than often noted. This is a vital revision of long-held orthodoxies about French business.

GARY CROSS
Pennsylvania State University

ARTHUR LAYTON FUNK. *Hidden Ally: The French Resistance, Special Operations, and the Landings in Southern France, 1944*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1992. Pp. xvi, 338. \$49.95.

Arthur Layton Funk has labored productively in the vineyards of Franco-American wartime relations for the past forty years. Historians are indebted to his bibliography of World War II as well as to his study of Charles de Gaulle. His latest book analyzes the relationship between the U.S. Army and those of the *maquis* during the Riviera summer campaign of 1944. In his numerous visits to France, the author has interviewed many members of the Resistance, including its foremost historian, the late Henri Michel, to whom this volume is appropriately dedicated.

Only two months before the landings on the Mediterranean coast of France, the French Resistance had added immeasurably to German difficulties during the Normandy invasion. Funk examines the activities of the various Allied forces involved in the Riviera campaign that began on August 14, 1944, with the

landings in southern France. His examination of the role of the *maquis*, the U.S. Seventh Army, the French First Army, the British Special Operations Executive (SOE), and the U.S. Office of Strategic Services results in "a viable blend that does justice to all the elements" that contributed to the spectacular success of that "second D Day" (p. xiv). Only four weeks after the Riviera landings, General Alexander M. Patch's U.S. Seventh Army linked up with General George Patton's U.S. Third Army 300 miles to the north.

Opinions vary on the nature of the contribution made by the French Resistance to Allied victory during the war: John Keegan dismissed their activities as largely irrelevant and merely those of a "gnat on the hide of the Wehrmacht." Yet Allied Supreme Commander Dwight Eisenhower considered the Resistance worth five divisions during the Normandy landings. Funk offers a balanced view of the *maquis'* role in the Riviera campaign. The *maquis*, he argues, could not have been decisive in the Riviera campaign, not any more than Resistance forces were decisive elsewhere. He concludes that the Resistance brought substantial assistance to the U.S. Army during the Riviera campaign.

To American soldiers who fought in France, French Resistance fighters were simply called the *maquis* (a Corsican term referring to the bush in which outlaws could hide), but the term belies the complex nature of the underground movement. With a deft hand, Funk guides the reader through the labyrinth of heterogeneous groups that comprised the Resistance in southeastern France.

How effective was the collaboration between the *maquis* and the U.S. Seventh Army in southern France? The Americans received virtually no briefing regarding French guerrillas before the landings. With little information about Allied plans (because of the need for secrecy), the *maquis* rendered whatever help they could. The author believes that collaboration between the U.S. Army and its "hidden ally" could have been less helter-skelter, less improvised, and better organized; he recognizes, however, that President Franklin Roosevelt's hostility toward de Gaulle was a major obstacle preventing closer Franco-American military cooperation.

Beyond political difficulties, conventional military thinking served as an obstacle to more effective collaboration between the U.S. Army and the *maquis*. The Americans tended to regard Resistance movements as amateur sideshows; an American general literally threw out of his headquarters two SOE agents, declaring that he was "not the slightest bit interested in private armies" (p. 127).

While noting those many occasions in the Riviera campaign when Americans and *maquisards* fought side by side against the Germans, Funk takes note of the differences that existed between the two Allied forces. If the Americans expected that the Forces françaises de l'Intérieur (FFI) would join them in the march northward, they were mistaken. The Resis-

tance forces were organized according to French departments and considered their main task to be expelling the Germans from their department. Then again, a town of political importance to the French might be militarily unimportant to the Americans. And if regular army officers were not always enthusiastic in dealing with "threadbare un-uniformed *maquisards*," *maquis* enthusiasm for "Yankee tactics was not unanimous," writes Funk (p. 256). The French were accustomed to the quick maneuvers of the guerrilla, a rapid attack with small arms and grenades, and a hasty retreat. American officers, not understanding the capabilities of the guerrillas, sometimes called on the *maquisards* to act as if they were well-trained infantry. Such situations caused unnecessary casualties and occasional hard feelings. As much as the *maquis* admired American firepower, they were sometimes shocked (voicing criticisms that would be heard in the Vietnam War) at the overkill tactics in which shelling might destroy a town in an effort to oust a handful of the enemy.

Having thoroughly researched the archival and printed sources, Funk is particularly effective at blending information obtained from U.S. Army unit histories together with that obtained in interviews with members of the Resistance, British SOE agents, and Americans who fought in the Riviera campaign. Excellent maps, prepared by the author, an appendix listing the make-up of the various Special Operations groups, and a selected bibliography add to the value of this important study of the relationship between the U.S. Army and the French Resistance in the Riviera campaign.

COLIN F. BAXTER

East Tennessee State University

CATHERINE WILKINSON-ZERNER. *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 216; 198 plates. \$50.00.

Unlike other great architects of the Renaissance, Juan de Herrera, royal architect for Philip II, king of Spain and emperor of the Holy Roman empire, has escaped clear definition because it has been so difficult to document his work. This obscurity, Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner shows us in her original and persuasive study, resulted partly from Herrera's position as a member of the royal household, serving a ruler who was a possessed builder and wanted to have a hand in every decision; Herrera was rarely paid specifically for drawings or supervision. It was also due to Herrera's Stoic style, which perfectly matched Philip's asceticism and the architect's conviction that technology, not what the Italians called *disegno*, was the principal foundation of architecture.

Herrera's greatest work was the completion of the Escorial, a combined monastery church, college, and palace. The plan had been worked out before his employment by Juan Bautista de Toledo together with Philip, and there is no record of how much of the

design had been made final. But Wilkinson-Zerner helps us to see the final product as predominantly Herrera's by her skillful definition, through examination of the entire range of his work, of his radically reserved classicism and his exceptionally skilled masonry technique. The amazingly short period of construction was also due to the architect's exceptional organizational skills.

The palaces that Herrera worked on for his patron at Toledo, Granada, and Lisbon had also been partly or largely built by his predecessors, but he succeeded in giving the final structure his—and Philip's—distinctive stamp, which Wilkinson-Zerner aptly calls "aloof authority."

The discussion of Herrera's churches at Valladolid, Salamanca, Lisbon, and numerous other towns raises the issue of the survival of the Gothic style in the Spanish Renaissance. This caused great problems for Italian designers, but it came naturally to Herrera and his contemporaries: they could combine Gothic and *all'antica* features without thinking of them as incompatible. The church style was affected by the increasing cultural self-determinism and anti-Italianism of the period after 1550, which relaxed the rigor of the Italian tradition. Nonetheless, Herrera followed the latest developments in Italy; his major sources there were almost all executed after 1550.

The architect also served Philip by overseeing the execution of a wide variety of public works and public buildings, discussed in a chapter titled "Pragmatic Classicism" and in a final section on urban planning ("Pragmatic Utopianism"). Madrid was virtually recreated after Philip made it his capital, and major squares were carved out in the centers of Valladolid and Toledo. Whereas the preceding chapters focus too much on considerations of style, these sections in particular give Wilkinson-Zerner an opportunity to see Herrera's design in the context of royal public policy and the representational needs of the court.

In Wilkinson-Zerner's study, the power and uniqueness of Herrera's architecture and planning is brought to light through the faint traces that history has preserved. Herrera's extreme reserve and rejection of expressive features and ornament caused earlier generations to dismiss his work as little more than civil engineering. That attitude has been the legacy of modernist criticism; today's critical theory and the reaction against postmodern architecture has paved the way to a different and more penetrating understanding. We can now see Herrera as one of the major designers of modern times.

JAMES S. ACKERMAN
Harvard University

OLE FELDBÆK. *Danmarks økonomisk historie 1500–1840* [Denmark's Economic History, 1500–1840]. Herning, Denmark: Systime. 1993. Pp. 248. 148.00 KR.

Ole Feldbæk's survey of Danish economic history from 1500 to 1840 is the first volume in a series that

will cover this topic to 1990. Feldbæk begins his work in 1500, a date marking the beginning of modern Danish history, and concludes it in 1840 with the death of King Frederik VI, in Danish eyes the end of an era of benevolent absolutism and of the agricultural society that had prevailed until that time.

Feldbæk divides his book into five chronological segments and then treats seven basic topics in each chapter: property structure, land use, production and marketing, market towns, the capital (Copenhagen), the public sector, and the economy and society. Readers will find cogent comments of all topics in the book but some periods and subjects are considered in greater detail than others. The chapter on Denmark's "good time" from 1750 to 1800 encompasses well over one-fourth of the text, and Feldbæk gives the greatest emphasis throughout to issues and developments concerning property structure and the public sector.

Much of Feldbæk's book centers on Danish agriculture, particularly the landholding conditions that developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the monumental process of agricultural reform that occurred during the last decades of the eighteenth century. He discusses these developments from the standpoint of recent historiographical shifts in this field. Contemporary historians contend that peasants and estate owners forged new landholding patterns in the countryside on their own, thus diminishing significantly the role previously ascribed to the crown as the prime mover of these changes.

Feldbæk also discusses the role that government played in society during this period. This role was both significant and sometimes unexpected. For example, the establishment of absolutism in Denmark during the last half of the seventeenth century had an interesting effect on the state's actual control of the countryside and the people. Because the government compensated Danish nobles for their loss of political power by alienating to them large amounts of land, the immediate effect of absolutism was to diminish the government's control and encourage the growth of manorialism within the kingdom. This tendency ceased only with the major land reforms of the following century.

The work is primarily a summary of the extensive research on Danish economic history. It is therefore a useful and concise discussion of the basic features of Danish economic life. Its highly structured format, however, at times impedes the narrative and defies good sense. The chapter on Denmark's "good times" should have been extended to 1807 and the next begun with a discussion of the critical years of crisis that ensued with Denmark-Norway's entry into the Napoleonic wars. This would make more sense than attempting to treat both the last years of Denmark's golden age and the country's darkest moments economically in a single chapter, as Feldbæk chose to do. It is also unfortunate that the book has no English summary, for it contains much information of value

to scholars interested in the field but without reading knowledge of the language. Fortunately, Feldbæk has included an extensive bibliography, including many works in English, that direct the reader to the vast literature that has developed on the topic.

LEE SATHER
Weber State University

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN. *Streiks und Aufstände der Augsburger Weber im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. (Veröffentlichungen der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft, series 1, number 20.) Augsburg: The Society. 1993. Pp. 339.

In this monograph Claus-Peter Clasen focuses narrowly on strikes and uprisings by Augsburg weavers, to whose more general economic and social history at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century he devoted an earlier book, *Die Augsburger Weber: Leistungen und Krisen des Textilgewerbes um 1600* (1981). While working toward a second volume on the city's textile industry, to cover the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Clasen decided that the copious archival materials warranted this separate treatment of the work stoppages and crowd actions that apparently started only after the Thirty Years' War. The result is another long book, with virtually the same strengths and limitations found in his earlier study (see my review in *Histoire sociale* 16 [1983], 205–06).

Clasen maintains a strict division between journeymen and master weavers in this chronicle of the economic problems, grievances, and corporate actions of each group. His largely narrative approach rests on a close reading and detailed presentation of the archival sources, so Clasen's account is a thorough, reliable, concrete discussion of handicraft workers in one of Central Europe's most important textile cities. But the dense text and its overly narrow focus on weavers' protests—without situating them well in terms of either their local institutional setting or comparative economic and social developments—will probably limit Clasen's readers to specialized researchers. Even they will wish, I suspect, for a higher ratio of analysis to narrative, greater highlighting of significant conclusions, and a more exploratory probing of popular action, even while they mine this volume for its rich information on the problems and practices of early modern artisans.

The relatively straightforward story of the master craftsmen concerns their long fight from the 1760s to 1794 against the importation of foreign cottons by Augsburg manufacturers. Clasen records the weavers' struggle to survive as cloth suppliers in what had become the city's most important textile trades, for which their wares were insufficient in quantity and apparently also inferior in quality. As he details the limited aims and usually moderate tactics of master artisans, he also illustrates several familiar themes in German urban politics: the council's attempts to find

compromises among competing interests to reach some accommodation between social stability and economic growth in Augsburg; the appeals for imperial intervention when public order seemed threatened or local negotiations appeared unsuccessful; and the authorities' fear of the French Revolution's influence on artisans. The weavers' riotous behavior in 1794 brought outside intervention and the restoration of earlier council permission for the unlimited import of cottons as long as local supplies were completely absorbed. Puzzlingly, Clasen does not relate these events to the larger constitutional conflict that he merely mentions occurred simultaneously in Augsburg.

A similar interpretive isolation marks Clasen's treatment of journeymen's strikes from 1667 to 1784/86. After presenting some of the most impressive data currently available on journeymen's social situation, particularly their difficulties achieving masterships, he demonstrates their solidarity against outsiders and examines their leadership, but he makes their specific grievances and actions appear petty and incomprehensible. He refuses to engage comparable scholarly research, particularly Andreas Griessinger's *Das symbolische Kapital der Ehre* (1981), and thereby leaves his readers with an informative but frustrating account of social behavior that deserves a more sensitive and penetrating analysis.

GERALD L. SOLIDAY
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REED BROWNING. *The War of the Austrian Succession*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xv, 445. \$45.00.

Reed Browning states that "the conflict [The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748] we are about to trace is neither well understood nor well charted" (p. xii). He has produced a long and very detailed account of this war. His research, although almost completely in secondary works, is sound and appears thorough in all the Western European languages. The bibliography is complete in these same languages. There is a functional index. The maps at the front are useful. I checked fifty-six footnotes scattered throughout the text.

Scholarly narrative military history is something that we see too little of these days. We do see much narrative military history. Occasionally we need a good book on each of the great wars that incorporates sound historical scholarship published since the last good book. Browning's study fills this role. Unless there are important primary sources unearthed, I see no reason for another comparable publication for some time.

Chapters 1 and 2 provide rudimentary background information that should be well known to specialists. Also, chapter 21, titled "The Conclusions," offers little new material, nor should it. Neither the events of the War of the Austrian Succession nor the results

have changed. Browning writes, "The abiding significance of the War of the Austrian Succession is a negative fact: it frustrated France's hope of establishing a hegemony over major portions of non-Bourbon Europe" (p. 369). The result of this chapter is just as standard. Unfortunately, the work ends with what is becoming in military history the typical "tsk-tsking" about casualties. Although the chapter "Calculating the Carnage" is as skillfully drawn as the rest of this good book, Browning here deplores the human cost of the war. It appears that this sort of value judgment now included in many books in military history is necessary, an attempt, I suppose, to humanize war and apologize for the political leaders who start wars. I sometimes wonder what people expect from wars—except carnage.

Between chapter 2 and chapter 21 are eighteen superbly written chapters that offer a detailed narrative of the events of this long European war. The non-European aspects of the conflict appear in their correct contexts as side issues. I recommend these chapters as superb reading in military history.

Browning's volume should be on the library shelves of every college and university offering courses in Western civilization or world history. Every public and private lending library with a large number of military history enthusiasts needs a copy, as do professional military historians.

CLAUDE C. STURGILL
University of Florida

THOMAS STAMM-KUHLMANN. *König in Preussens grosser Zeit: Friedrich Wilhelm III.; Der Melancholiker auf dem Thron*. Berlin: Siedler. 1992. Pp. 779.

Friedrich Wilhelm III of Hohenzollern, king of Prussia from 1797 to 1840, has not figured prominently in recent historical scholarship. As Thomas Stamm-Kuhlmann correctly observes, this monarch forms "a blindspot in the center" (p. 9) of a *Vormärz* historiography that has devoted more time and attention to intellectual controversies, social trends, and economic developments, or to gifted statesmen such as Heinrich Friedrich Karl vom und zum Stein, Karl August von Hardenberg, and Wilhelm von Humboldt than it has to the seeming non-entity in the center. In filling this void, Stamm-Kuhlmann performs a valuable service. This biography is richly illustrated, well written, and solidly researched. The author adds his own careful spadework in the archives of Merseburg and Berlin-Dahlem to that impressive array of older published primary works that is the valuable legacy of the nineteenth-century founders of our discipline.

Friedrich Wilhelm III suffered from melancholia, a mental disorder characterized by gloominess, depression, feelings of inferiority, dejection, and, quite frequently, withdrawal. A lack of evidence restrains Stamm-Kuhlmann from speculating on what childhood and adolescent factors may have caused this condition. On the contrary, he demonstrates that

Friedrich Wilhelm grew up under relatively favorable circumstances. By early manhood as crown prince in the 1790s, however, the signs of melancholia were beginning to appear. The pressures of decision making as king made life a struggle between an inclination to withdraw and a duty-driven need to persevere. The result was a contradictory mix of indifference, indecision, and the desperately stubborn insistence on decisions that results from insecurity.

The author has produced a comprehensive biography, replete with chapters on the monarch's cultural tastes, religious views, family politics, and escapes to relaxation spots that permitted a revitalizing respite for "the melancholy one on the throne." But the fulcrum of the author's analysis—and the main point of his revision—is Friedrich Wilhelm's significant role at three critical junctures in Prussian history: the background to Prussia's collapse in 1806, the "reform era" that followed, and the rightist change of course after 1815.

Stamm-Kuhlmann argues that the gloomy, pessimistic king played an increasingly important part in Prussian diplomacy between 1803 and 1806, steering a neutral course born of indecision and fear of failure. He also cast the die for war when Napoleonic excesses became intolerable and joined the trusted duke of Brunswick at the head of those fateful columns that marched into disaster at Auerstedt. Although the author recognizes Friedrich Wilhelm's newly found ability to control policy, he is not impressed with the quality of decision making. The long, dismal retreat to Memel, however, finds the king formulating pragmatic and far-reaching tactical and organizational changes in his army, reforms that Gerhard von Scharnhorst later helped to shape and implement. The relationship with Stein and Hardenberg was different. Basically a supporter of the aristocracy, we are told, Friedrich Wilhelm withdrew before the stronger advocates of peasant emancipation, economic liberalization, and parliamentarization. Yet, in 1816 and 1817, Prussia's melancholy ruler submitted to the forceful intrigues of the ultra-conservatives.

History, as Peter Geyl observed, is "a debate without end." Thus, it is certain that one review will not even begin to resolve historians' differences over this interesting and significant Prussian king. It would seem, however, that Stamm-Kuhlmann presents us with contradictory images of Friedrich Wilhelm III that cannot be explained, if one reads between the lines, as contradictions in the monarch's personality. Is it possible that the same man who struggled fairly successfully to regain the reigns of power in his own kingdom between 1803 and 1808 would meekly vacillate in the following decade between political factions with such vastly contrasting domestic agendas as those of Hardenberg and Graf von Wittgenstein? The answer is found in the king's relationship with the first estate. Stamm-Kuhlmann writes that Friedrich Wilhelm III was a moderate who possessed "an indiffer-

ence to the faded brilliance of the nobility" (p. 154). In fact it went further than this: he resented the class that he believed had contributed to his kingdom's humiliation in 1806. He also resented the nobility's attempts to regain its long-lost dominance over the crown. A king who had to overcome melancholia to stay in the center could consistently support Hardenberg's socioeconomic reforms (which weakened the nobility) and later reject parliamentary proposals designed to undercut the monarch's power. He did not need Wittgenstein's advice for this latter decision.

Regardless of the conclusion one reaches, there will be agreement that Stamm-Kuhlmann has produced a valuable addition to the literature that should be required reading. One has only to turn to Reinhard Koselleck's masterful, 739-page *Preussen zwischen Reform und Revolution* (1967), with its scant fourteen references to Prussia's king of forty-three years, to appreciate the magnitude of Stamm-Kuhlmann's contribution.

ERIC DORN BROSE
Drexel University

HEINZ GOLLWITZER. *Ein Staatsmann des Vormärz: Karl von Abel 1788–1859; Beamtenaristokratie—monarchisches Prinzip—politischer Katholizismus*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 50.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 690. DM 120.

Heinz Gollwitzer, the Munich historian known especially for his classic study of the German nobility, *Standesherren* (1957), and his more recent biography, *Ludwig I von Bayern: Königtum im Vormärz* (1986), had the misfortune to finish his dissertation on Karl August von Abel in early 1944, in time to have the copies deposited at the Ludwig-Maximilian University destroyed in an air raid. After half a century he returns to the subject with this extensive political biography of Bavaria's leading statesman of the *Vormärz*. Gollwitzer has no illusions about the number of readers his book will find; few associate Abel's name with any specific events except perhaps his principled resignation in 1847 to protest Ludwig I's scandalous affair with Lola Montez. Although Abel led only a middle-sized German state, it was an important state and he left a strong mark on it. Gollwitzer makes the case that Abel was an "exponent of significant situations, movements and institutions, tendencies and doctrines" of conservative political Catholicism (p. 11).

Gollwitzer first surveys the aristocratic world of the civil service into which Abel was born, especially that of south Germany, discussing recent German-language research. A brief chapter on the monarchical principle and one on the subtleties and complexities of political Catholicism are followed by a lengthy treatment of Abel's family background and early life. He chose a career in the interior ministry, rather than in the judiciary, showing political talent at an early

age as censor and investigator of *Burschenschafter*. He skillfully represented his ministry's ambitious legislative program in the diet in 1827 and again in the stormy diet of 1831, but because he did not win Ludwig's approval, he was forced out of the cabinet in 1832. Abel ended up in semi-exile, helping to install the king's son Otto in a new Greek monarchy. In 1837 the king recalled him to head the interior ministry, provisionally at first, then in his own right.

During the next ten years Abel put his mark on almost every aspect of the state: working with parliament, "restoring" the Catholic church to a leading position in society, renewing the episcopacy, developing general administration, promoting state social and economic policy, ensuring public order, overseeing education, and urging an anti-Prussian foreign policy. Each of these, as well as other areas of his administration, are explored in great detail, leaving no doubt about Abel's administrative, political, and intellectual skills. Bavarian Protestants (one-third of the population) became alienated, however, and political discontent with the reassertion of monarchical government eroded Abel's influence. Often acting arbitrarily, Ludwig campaigned, for example, to replace words such as *Staatsminister* (minister of state) with *königliche Minister* (royal minister) and *Staatsbürger* (citizen) with *Untertan* (subject) (p. 194). Abel resigned in February 1847, warning the king of the dangers of his course for the state and monarchy. Ludwig was forced to abdicate in 1848. Dispatched as ambassador to Turin, Abel observed the events of 1848–49 from the sidelines while developing a counterrevolutionary program and serving as secret advisor to Maximilian II.

Abel's contribution to Bavarian politics, Gollwitzer argues, was to derail the Enlightenment and the liberal, bureaucratic reforms under Maximilian Joseph von Montgelas (1759–1838) for the rest of the century. Although he failed to prevent a Protestant-dominated Prussian Germany, he helped perpetuate a strong Bavarian identity. He has nonetheless gone down in history as a clerical reactionary, nearly forgotten after 1870. Only two brief chapters of this book are devoted to Abel's private life.

Gollwitzer's list of primary sources (archival and printed) and secondary literature is deceptively short. Every possible fact, every unanswered question has been traced, even if the search led nowhere, as the many footnotes—over 2,200—make clear. Some historians who read this book will miss, however, sufficient engagement with recent social historiography of the period.

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KENNETH L. CANEVA. *Robert Mayer and the Conservation of Energy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 439. \$49.50.

Kenneth L. Caneva takes as his topic the German physician Robert Mayer's formulation of the doctrine of energy conservation in the 1840s. What, Caneva asks, did Mayer mean, and what did he draw on to construct meaning as his conceptions "crystallized" over time? This is not a new subject. Mayer's role was extensively, occasionally vehemently, debated during the nineteenth century. Although he certainly did calculate the mechanical equivalent of heat, his knowledge and use of the physics of his day seems weak and, on occasion, bizarre, his sources, as Caneva notes, are themselves obscure, and his language is retrospectively hard to understand in a consistent way. Caneva sets out to strengthen the weak by mitigating the bizarre through a careful analysis of the obscure. The result is what many readers will no doubt find to be a decidedly old-fashioned book. It is certainly that. It is also a work of great insight based on extraordinary scholarship.

This is not the place to follow Caneva's minute, careful reconstruction of the intellectual context on which Mayer drew so creatively to be among those who forged a new, and eventually dominant, physical conception, one that evolved over several decades into that of "energy." Physics texts of the day, treatises on physiology and philosophy, and lectures he attended are all thoroughly squeezed for meaning and possible influence. In doing so Caneva nicely destroys nearly everything that anyone before has thought about Mayer's work and where it came from. He shows that Mayer drew on a thoroughly wrong-headed but creative misunderstanding of force as a technical category in analytical mechanics (abetted in so doing by powerful terminological ambiguities in the texts that he studied), as well as on a powerful, religiously grounded antimaterialism to, on the one hand, separate force from matter while, on the other, giving it substance-like attributes. Caneva insists especially on the importance of Mayer's training as a physician and draws a detailed picture of what someone with Mayer's training, background, and interests might have known or made of contemporary issues in physiology. In Caneva's words, his medical background "provided him with a rich context of issues concerning the ontological status of forcelike entities, in particular their possible creation and destruction" (p. 155).

Caneva began his work some time ago by seeking connections between Mayer's thought and F. W. J. von Schelling's *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur* (1797). His book breaks these links altogether, in the process providing an understanding of *Naturphilosophie* as a doctrine (or doctrines) based on issues of duality and polarity rather than on conversions into different forms of an underlying unity. Many undergraduate lectures on nineteenth-century physics will have to be revised as a result. This chapter alone is worth the price of the book for its revision of long-standing views.

Caneva pays little attention to cultural issues, or

indeed even to biographical and psychological details. He certainly has no concern with such things as the evolution of objectivity or with how facts are made (to mention just two among many preoccupations of latter-day historians of science). He concentrates entirely on texts, ones that Mayer read and ones that he wrote. Academic fashion has for some time now dictated that the (usually italicized) text cannot sustain Caneva's kind of reading because there is no fixed meaning to be found. There are only hidden fluxes of social interests and cultural agendas. Caneva must accordingly have manufactured meaning by creative and necessarily idiosyncratic reading. If so, then he must surely be considered an inspired novelist. I for one have little doubt that Caneva has succeeded nicely in retrieving the original meanings (and fruitful ambiguities) of a very large number of complicated texts as they were understood and felt in the 1830s and 1840s. One can ask whether Mayer is worth the effort, given his minimal contemporary influence, and indeed it does on occasion become rather tiresome following Caneva so minutely through so many arcana. (He does, however, provide cogent summaries of his arguments at the end of each chapter.) Nevertheless, Caneva's book stands as an exemplary reconstruction of complex meanings produced by the assiduous, comparative study of texts.

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ALAN J. ROCKE. *The Quiet Revolution: Hermann Kolbe and the Science of Organic Chemistry*. (California Studies in the History of Science.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 501. \$50.00.

Hermann Kolbe (1818–84), the central figure of Alan J. Rocke's important study, was among the most significant and most controversial German scientists of the mid-nineteenth century. His career spanned a period of momentous change, from which the German empire emerged as a great power and a leading industrial and scientific nation. Rocke has characterized the mid-century changes in Kolbe's discipline as "the quiet revolution" that produced the powerful combination of ideas and methods known as structural organic chemistry. The new framework facilitated a dramatic and almost unprecedented expansion of scientific knowledge, fostered above all by the establishment in Germany of a new generation of much larger academic and industrial laboratories designed to train and employ hundreds of specialized researchers. The result was a characteristically modern pattern: the systematic integration of science and technology on a grand scale.

Kolbe is, however, a paradoxical and difficult figure to judge. As a sophisticated theorist, master experimenter, and outstanding teacher, he directly contributed to many of these revolutionary changes; these changes, in turn, shaped his career and his scientific

outlook, bringing him to a professorship at Leipzig, the largest German university, where in 1865 he designed the largest chemical institute in the world at the time. He invented and became wealthy from a commercial process for producing salicylic acid.

A conservative by temperament, he unfortunately dissipated much of his energy and tarnished his reputation in the last two decades of his life by vainly thundering his opposition to the revolution and to the scientists who carried it forward. As editor of the *Journal für praktische Chemie*, he indulged himself in sarcastic, chauvinistic, and vituperative commentaries on the nations (chiefly France), ideas, individuals, and institutions that offended him. In his private correspondence, he stooped below even this, to anti-Semitic slurs that were hardly common among the generally tolerant scientists of his day, when several of the most distinguished German chemists were Jews or of Jewish origin. In the process he alienated most of his colleagues and made himself unsuitable for the typical nineteenth-century hagiographic "life-and-letters" biography.

Yet his personality, no less than his role in the "quiet revolution," makes Kolbe all the more suitable for the exemplary critical analysis Rocke has now given us in the first full-length biography to appear in any language. Aided by a voluminous correspondence and documents laboriously tracked down and meticulously researched in two dozen different holdings in four countries (omitting only the Saxon State Archive in Dresden), Rocke presents a detailed and comprehensive study of Kolbe's life and scientific work within a broad, carefully nuanced account of the context of mid-century European chemistry and German culture. Rocke resists, however, the temptation to speculate on the deeper psychological roots of Kolbe's increasingly self-destructive behavior.

Rocke's central concern in this book is the "quiet revolution," and rightly so, for it raises interesting historiographical issues that challenge a currently fashionable trend in historical sociology of science. David Bloor, Bruno Latour, and other "social constructivists" have argued that the making of scientific knowledge is, as Rocke puts it, "fully independent of empirical investigation" (p. 376). Kolbe's refusal after the 1860s to accept the ideas of structural chemists, despite the wealth of substantiating empirical evidence they amassed and his repeated failure to find experimental confirmation for his own idiosyncratic ideas, might seem to provide evidence for the constructivist approach; was Kolbe's thinking not after all "independent of empirical investigation"? Yet Rocke sees him rather as the exception that proves the rule in science. Kolbe's isolated resistance was swept aside by the flood of younger contemporaries, including his own students and closest associates, who joined the "quiet revolution," driven by the "force of evidence . . . often in the face of social and career interests" (p. 377). This had even been true of Kolbe before he hardened his views around 1860. Moreover, Rocke

argues persuasively that even Kolbe's later differences with the structuralists were more rhetorical than real and that he followed the theoretical mainstream in spite of himself. Rocke admits difficulties with his argument in regard to France, where for reasons not yet fully understood opposition to the revolution was far stronger; the social constructivists may still find plenty of room to maneuver.

In his descriptions, Rocke has sought and usually found a level that would be comprehensible to non-specialists (who will benefit from his glossaries of German as well as chemical terms) without boring specialist readers. The narrative occasionally suffers from loose editing and unnecessary repetition, but this detracts little from an otherwise excellent book.

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JOACHIM REMAK. *A Very Civil War: The Swiss Sonderbund War of 1847*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xvi, 221. \$24.95.

Thinking about Switzerland brings to mind banks, watches, chocolate, cheese, and yodeling, images of stability, prosperity, and provincial self-satisfaction. Mass meetings, radicalism, and heated political conflict spilling over into armed incursions, revolution, and civil war do not fit this picture, but they were typical of conditions in Switzerland during the first half of the nineteenth century. Joachim Remak's book is the first English-language account of the Swiss civil war of 1847, both the climax of a turbulent era of Swiss history and the beginning of the European-wide wave of mid-nineteenth-century revolutions.

After a few words on the Swiss Confederation formed at the Congress of Vienna (1815), Remak discusses the religious controversies of the 1840s that culminated in the admission of the Jesuits to the Catholic canton of Lucerne; the subsequent attempts by radicals in Lucerne, with the support of other Swiss radicals and liberals, to overthrow the cantonal government; and the decision of seven conservative Catholic cantons to form a secessionist confederation, the *Sonderbund*. The other cantons responded by armed mobilization, and the heart of the book is the detailed coverage of the ensuing civil war. The secessionist forces were quickly and decisively defeated with little bloodshed, a turn of events Remak attributes to the strategic genius and political moderation of the commanding general of the confederate forces, the Napoleonic veteran Guillaume-Henri Dufour.

Largely based on secondary materials, with some use of published primary sources and a handful of unpublished documents, the book is nicely written and profusely and attractively illustrated. It rarely rises, however, above the level of picaresque narrative. The turbulent mass politics preceding—as far back as 1830—and accompanying the war receive only occasional mention. The controversies leading

up to the war are discussed briefly, and Remak simply sneers at the idea that the conflict might have had any social or economic causes. Although Remak notes contemporary perceptions of the civil war as the first in the chain of falling dominoes that brought down Metternich's system in the spring of 1848, he never wonders why, in these mid-nineteenth-century revolutions, the forces of change were victorious in Switzerland but ultimately defeated everywhere else in Europe.

Remak's detailed coverage of the campaigns of the war and his praise for Dufour's tactical brilliance go along with his unwillingness to discuss the overwhelming numerical and material superiority of the confederate over the secessionist armies. The latter's only real hope for success was the possibility of outside intervention, about which Remak—oddly for a distinguished diplomatic historian—has almost nothing to say. Indeed, the only real context he provides for his narrative is to compare the Swiss and American civil wars, noting that the former was short and bloodless and the latter was long and bloody. In sum, this is a very superficial book about a potentially very interesting topic.

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HANNU SALMI. *"Die Herrlichkeit des deutschen Namens . . .": Die schriftstellerische und politische Tätigkeit Richard Wagners als Gestalter nationaler Identität während der staatlichen Vereinigung Deutschlands.* (Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, Series B, number 196.) Turku, Finland: Turun Yliopisto. 1993. Pp. 320.

"Another Wagner biography, why?" Hannu Salmi quotes Julius Kapp, who thus began his biography of Richard Wagner in 1913. After 10,000 publications had appeared on the controversial artist-author-activist in Richard Wagner's lifetime, and thousands more since then, now, another work—a German translation of a dissertation in Finnish—on a topic that appears to be familiar not just to the specialist: Wagner's nationalism. The book is worthwhile. If it does not quite fill an alleged "major gap" in our understanding of Wagner's ideology and politics, it does document a "consistent," albeit nonsystematic thinker, his artistic and ideological contributions to national identity, as well as his political activism as advisor and agitator in the period preceding German unification.

An introductory biographical sketch is followed by an informed assessment of the state of Wagner research, especially relative to the nationalism expressed in his essays, letters, diaries, and autobiography of the period from 1864 to 1871, not an easy task in view of the numerous revisions the private papers were subjected to by Wagner and his second wife Cosima, who kept working on his public image as an apolitical, creative genius dedicated to a new national art that, in his mind, reflected and reinforced na-

tional identity and promoted unification. The bulk of the book is a lucid exposition of his cultural and political ideas and the role he played to realize them. After political unification was achieved in 1871, Wagner's "German music drama" was to serve as national ritual, the heart and inspiration of a new German society. Salmi is familiar with the many manuscripts (well documented in the notes and in a comprehensive list of Wagner's prose works in an appendix), which he evaluates in addition to the published texts. He demonstrates thorough familiarity with archival records as well as historiography, the broader historical context, and sophisticated methods of analyzing Wagner's utopian vision and his use of history as myth for contemporary national identification (leaning on Claude Lévi-Strauss, J. C. Davis, and A. J. Greimas).

Revisiting Wagner's ideas in their nineteenth-century meaning and context, Salmi leaves aside the later Wagner-Nazi connection or what that has meant to 1960s critics. These pages reveal a self-conscious artist and nationalist who had become known for his bold theory about the "fusion of the arts" (an inherited romantic ideal) and coupled this "*Gesamtkunstwerk*" with his ideal nation. What distinguished this supreme "dilettante" (Friedrich Nietzsche, Thomas Mann, Theodor Adorno) from others is the fact that he realized the dream and offered the "national music drama" to his people as a reflection and promotion of true German identity. Identifying with the people and nation, Wagner abandoned earlier democratic ideals, turned monarchist, and looked for a patron, whom he found in Ludwig II of Bavaria in 1864. When he realized that Otto von Bismarck, not Ludwig, would unify Germany under Prussian leadership, he revised his negative opinion of Prussia. For a while—Salmi claims provocatively—Bismarck secretly enlisted Wagner's help in an effort to secure Bavarian neutrality and support in international relations during the unification wars. Wagner's request for an official subsidy after unification (it was rumored that he sought an official position in Berlin as "state composer"), however, was rebuffed. His popularity and recognition as the representative "German" composer was assured, nonetheless, after the triumph of the *Meistersinger* in 1868. (Salmi thus refutes the notion of the "official" Wagner alleged by his contemporary critics and by Mann, which has been repeated ever since.) Wagner finally realized that his German music drama, offered at the Bayreuth festival for the first time in 1876, "was not of this world" and served as a ritualized vision of a better Germany than that created by Bismarck.

Notwithstanding technical shortcomings of the book—the embarrassing number of spelling and grammatical errors, the overuse of favorite words (for example, "*konstatieren*"), and repetitiveness of information, conclusions, and statements regarding the author's intention, in part the result of poor translation and certainly of the lack of editing—Salmi makes an important contribution to our understanding of

one of the most fascinating artistic figures in German politics and culture, particularly his political role. Specialists will be interested in Salmi's challenge of inherited stereotypes and return to the sources, an ever-intriguing enterprise. Students of German and European culture and ideology would benefit from a cleaned-up edited and translated version of this exciting study.

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STANLEY PIERSON. *Marxist Intellectuals and the Working-Class Mentality in Germany, 1887-1912*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 332. \$39.95.

Stanley Pierson, whose published work has hitherto focused on British socialism, turned to the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) because the plethora of materials available offered an opportunity to study in depth the role played by socialist intellectuals. In this book Pierson ranges over most of the internal debates that dominated the life of the SPD during the prewar era, focusing his attention primarily on those whom he defines as intellectuals and the attitudes of the rank and file toward them. Most of those he counts as intellectuals were university-trained party members. This approach necessarily excludes most female Social Democrats as well as most of those with a genuinely working-class background. It also leaves him with a group that by the turn of the century was heavily weighted toward revisionism, thus raising the question of whether the reference in his title to "Marxist" intellectuals may be somewhat misleading.

As he traces the changing attitudes of individuals such as Max Schippel, Conrad Schmidt, and Paul Kampffmeyer, as well as more well-known figures such as Eduard Bernstein, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Kautsky, Pierson pays particular attention to their views on the questions of how, in what ways, and even whether the mentality of the proletariat might be transformed in preparation for the coming of socialism. He perceives these questions to be central to party leaders' efforts to cope with the SPD's rapid expansion after Otto von Bismarck's antisocialist legislation lapsed in 1890, bringing masses of politically untutored workers into its ranks. He also discusses at some length the critical response of many Social Democrats to the often patronizing efforts of intellectuals to educate their proletarian comrades.

As Pierson points out, intellectuals within the party did not uniformly or consistently look down their noses at the workers. Indeed, some of them developed an almost mystical belief in the ability of proletarians to achieve a deeper understanding of socialism as a result of their direct experiences of class struggle and exploitation. Others ultimately went to the other extreme, concluding either that most of the workers would never develop the desired socialist mentality or that the SPD should become a broad

people's party that would no longer require such a transformation of the proletariat for its success.

Pierson has read widely and makes extensive use of correspondence, party-conference protocols, and the periodical press. His approach is essentially that of an intellectual historian, however. He does not undertake the difficult task of analyzing directly the mentality of the German workers. Pierson relies essentially on what the intellectuals themselves say or the comments of party-conference delegates to ascertain what the rank and file were thinking at any particular time.

In spite of his obvious interest in the many revisionist intellectuals clustered around the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Pierson also devotes a great deal of attention to Kautsky, the most prominent Social-Democratic theoretician of the prewar era and the most influential interpreter of orthodox Marxism. It is hardly surprising that he joins the chorus of critics who have castigated Kautsky's efforts to maintain the purity of the received canon against the many challenges launched from both Left and Right. He concludes that Kautsky implicitly admitted the failure of his life's work at least as early as 1911, when he began to modify his views to bring them into agreement with the party's leadership, thereby, according to Pierson, capitulating to the revisionists.

In the course of his examination of this much-studied era in the history of German Social Democracy, it is perhaps inevitable that Pierson surveys much that has been analyzed more thoroughly elsewhere. Nevertheless, his emphasis on the centrality of the educational issue to socialist theoreticians opens up some unusual perspectives on familiar subjects. It also leads him to provide a considerable amount of information about interesting second-rank figures who have received relatively little attention in previous works.

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GEORGE STEINMETZ. *Regulating the Social: The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 375. \$45.00.

This book's analytic survey of social policy in Germany between the early nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries is both challenging and rewarding. Many historians may find, however, that much of what George Steinmetz has written requires somewhat closer scrutiny than they are accustomed to giving to what they read. As a sociologist, Steinmetz draws extensively on theoretical models derived from a range of intellectual traditions. He also makes considerable use of statistical arguments based on regression and logarithmic coefficients that pertain to a wide range of variables in the histories of ninety-four municipalities. Following these arguments closely will prove difficult for the numerically uninitiated. But fortunately neither the theories nor the

statistics prevent an attentive reader from grasping the essence of what Steinmetz has to say. Written in clear and straightforward prose, his study blends conceptual sophistication and empirical specificity in a manner that moves back and forth quite successfully across the disciplinary lines that too often demarcate history from sociology.

Steinmetz's main objective is explanatory. He seeks to make intelligible the growth of regulation by political authorities of the realm between the state itself and the economic spheres inhabited by individuals, a process that was much more far-reaching in Germany during this period than anywhere else. Steinmetz is avowedly pluralist in his use of theories that pertain to social policy. He argues that differing strategies of interpretation must be employed, depending on the period, the level of governmental activity under consideration, and the "discursive formations [that] were elaborated by middle-class writers and political actors" (p. 46). His account relies heavily on a combination of Marxist attention to pressures generated by social classes (the capitalists in the view of Marx and Engels, the organized workers according to social democrats) and neo-Marxist and non-Marxist emphasis on the "semiautonomous" state. But he is also sensitive to considerations of gender and race and to Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault's emphases on the "gentle violence" that may be exercised by professional experts over those they are ostensibly trying to help.

Steinmetz finds that classic Marxism and social-democratic theory work best at the level of the city, or "the local state." The element of "direct bourgeois control" was most evident at the local level, where, up to about 1890, middle-class interests and fears of pathological disorder gave rise to systems of poor relief through which the recipients of aid were clearly subjected to middle-class domination. Later, a "discourse of social revolution"—in combination with the Social Democrats' ability to inhibit working-class violence—encouraged "proto-corporatist" systems of unemployment insurance in which municipal authorities worked closely with labor unions.

In his discussion of developments at the national level, Steinmetz heavily emphasizes the role of the state, regardless of period and the nature of elite fears of social danger. But his analysis of state policy in the areas of poor relief, social insurance, and protection against risks in the workplace eschews both Hegelian notions of social neutrality and more recent emphases on the power of premodern elites. Drawing on the work of theorists Nicos Poulantzas and Perry Anderson and historians Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn, Steinmetz forcefully argues that the social as well as the economic policies of the *Kaiserreich*, albeit illiberal, were fundamentally conducive to industrial capitalism.

In Steinmetz's efforts to demonstrate the limitations of the benefits conferred on workers by the systems of sickness, accident, and old-age insurance,

he pays too little heed to the growth of these systems between the 1880s and 1914. Neither is the argument that bureaucrats who were not themselves members of a capitalist class objectively advanced capitalist interests even when they were opposed by capitalist representatives entirely clear and convincing. It would, however, be a mistake to conclude on a critical note. Steinmetz's effort to combine history with theories and his general refusal to characterize social policy in the empire as either entirely backward or entirely progressive bespeak a commendable ability to make sense of complexity without oversimplifying it. In particular, although he does point occasionally to ways in which the perspectives of social workers anticipated National Socialism, his book marks an important step away from the increasingly contested view of German history as a *Sonderweg* toward the Third Reich.

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THOMAS HAUSMANNINGER. *Kritik der medienethischen Vernunft: Die ethische Diskussion über den Film in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink. 1993. Pp. xv, 647. DM 98.

This book expands on Thomas Hausmanninger's dissertation, accepted in 1991 by the Catholic Theological faculty of the University of Munich. His concern is to analyze "four epochal types" (p. 3) in the discussion of film ethics in Germany and then to outline his own ethical standpoint.

The first of these types, the *Kinoreformbewegung*, promoted censorship from early in the century through the 1920s; the second is National Socialism; the third is the advocacy of film education by reformers associated with Martin Keilhacker and his wife Margarete Keilhacker in the 1950s and 1960s; and the fourth, disrupting the chronology, is critical theory, particularly the ongoing relevance of Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947).

Space does not permit a rehearsal of Hausmanninger's interpretations of the many texts that he presents in relation to this subject. In general, he is careful and shrewd. His method is mainly to work in an older vein of the history of ideas: taking a row of texts, treating them one by one, and noting lines of continuity. In a passage that I found quite effective, Hausmanninger argues that a 1911 book favoring censorship anticipated later totalitarianism precisely at the point where the censor was to pass from banning films to having a hand in their production: the "implications" included "an extreme thickening of the connection between film production and state influence" (pp. 173–74). Hausmanninger also notes that the "Keilhacker school" ignored the Nazis' views of film, but cited the earlier reformers "for the support of their own position" (p. 310) and thus disregarded the common bonds of all three stand-

points (for example, concerning the audience's passivity). Neither does Hausmanninger permit Left and Right to divide one set of participants in the ethical discussion from another: Horkheimer and Adorno are likened to the "conservative" Keilhacker because, in their critique of the "culture industry's" manipulations, they approach the latter's sense of a public prone to wayward influences (p. 422).

At 635 pages of text, it must be said, this book is too long. The lack of editing may be its greatest single flaw. Repetitions are the main trouble. Moreover, Hausmanninger could have enlarged the context within which he presents his documents. That context, derived from Jürgen Habermas, is the "project of modernity": democracy and a society of individuals enjoying "autonomy." For Hausmanninger, "film [is] conceived as a medium of social communication . . . , closely joined in its social meaning with [the] process of a . . . democratic public sphere" (p. 77). The problem is that, except for a few broad sketches of social change, he conveys little sense that the "public sphere" is different today than it was in 1900. It seems that throughout this century the same "project of modernity" has called on film to foster the same kind of autonomous development of basically the same kind of audience. Missing is a closer characterization of the changing communicative structures and habits of social groups, taking into account the family, education, the workplace, social class, churches, politics, and so on. This is asking a great deal, but nothing less would clarify what the "project of modernity" was in relation to a given text. One result would be to diminish Hausmanninger's notion that all the participants were involved in a single, unalterable debate.

Hausmanninger tends to reduce modernity to the autonomy of subjects. One simplification leads to the next: "antimodernism." The early reformers, the Nazis, and then the Keilhacker movement are repeatedly labeled *kontramodern* because they opposed individual independence. The Nazis, for example, are explained in terms of the overworked dichotomy of antimodern aims and modern technology. Recently, several historians have lodged the Third Reich—its aims and means—in a broader understanding of modern society; antimodernism may appear as a very modern pose.

Hausmanninger himself defends the fifth side of this debate in a long final chapter. One of his premises is that "in a certain sense . . . the concept of the subject in modernity is a result of the Christian concept of the person" (p. 501). His basic position is that film should be an aid in the development of autonomous modern subjects. He favors some censorship of "ethically illegitimate content," for example, of films "calling for a violation of the [democratic] constitution . . . [or] propagating national socialism and its doctrine of race" (p. 539). Youth should be shielded from films that represent "a serious and blatant danger" to their autonomous moral growth

(p. 634). Otherwise, the proposed ethic of film production would entail a multiplicity of standpoints, "a differentiated support of social discourse" (p. 545). There would seem to be little to enforce this ethic, but in general Hausmanninger praises the Federal Republic—its constitution, various laws and several public agencies—as a framework within which the correct ethical principles could serve generally as a basis for positive action. At least, nothing would hinder it. Next to this ethic of film production is an ethic of social participation governing the subjects; if they withdraw they must "be able to give good reasons and account for their decisions" (p. 547), to whom is not clear. At a point like this I wonder if Hausmanninger may be too complacent in claiming "autonomy" as the essence of his system.

Hausmanninger is to be credited for the scope and originality of his topic, the breadth and sensitivity of his reading, the clarity of his prose, and particularly his moral engagement. In my reading, however, the limits of his conception impinge on the work.

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RICHARD BESSEL. *Germany after the First World War*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 325. \$39.95.

This book provides a richly detailed account of a crucial period in twentieth-century German history, the economic demobilization following World War I. In the process, Richard Bessel confirms and elaborates many commonly held assumptions about the impact of the war on German society and shows that others are false or in need of revision.

World War I caused profound dislocations in German society. As more and more men were sucked into the maelstrom of the war, a gendered society was created, consisting of a male fighting front and an increasingly female home front. The home front's voracious demand for labor pulled more and more women and youth into the war economy, further disrupting traditional social relationships. The romantic, idealistic prewar notions of war and sacrifice soon evaporated in the crucible of trench warfare; meanwhile, on the home front, hunger, inflation, corruption, and fears about the "wild youth" and "loose women" created by the war undermined morale. By 1918 combatants on both fronts felt betrayed by the state, and the empire's moral authority had collapsed.

Wartime planning for postwar demobilization was fitful and predicated on the false assumptions of German victory and a well-ordered, gradual transition to peace. Central to the thought of German officials concerned with demobilization was the need to reintegrate returning soldiers into the economy. If this could be accomplished, it was believed, then the prewar social order would restore itself and the social

chaos produced by the war would disappear. As Bessel demonstrates, however, although the former task was largely achieved, the latter expectations remained a chimera.

That the returning soldiers were for the most part quickly reintegrated into the postwar economy is one of the author's more interesting findings. Yet the price of successful military and economic demobilization was high. It was achieved by inflationary policies that provided immediate solutions while masking and exacerbating the consequences of a lost world war. Germany's economic demobilization, Bessel argues, prefigured a central dilemma of the Weimar Republic: necessary long-term economic measures were repeatedly postponed because they were politically impossible in the short term.

The expectation that the restoration of a "normal," prewar economy was possible and would bring with it a "normal," prewar society was illusory. The imagined prewar society was largely a myth, and the changes wrought by the war were irreversible. Threatened elites whose authority had been eroded became obsessed with the need to restore "morality," a code word for the re-creation of a sociopolitical order in which previously marginalized groups (workers, women, and youth) emancipated by war and revolution would be returned to positions of dependence and subordination. The concern about alleged immorality, Bessel contends, shaped a damaging political agenda, based on the belief that a return to "normal," prewar conditions would reverse the alleged moral decline. This "moral" agenda, based on illusion, confronted the new political order with a set of demands that it could never hope to meet.

Weimar democracy was burdened not only with the memory of a mythic prewar golden age but with a mythic reconstruction of the war that placed equally unrealistic demands on the republic. The war experience of German soldiers was not uniform, and the front generation was far from united about the meaning of the war. Yet during the 1920s powerful myths about the war, Germany's defeat, and the mission of the front generation were fashioned by a minority on the Right. These myths had their politically most damaging effects on the large war-youth generation, those who had experienced the war but were too young to have fought in it. The widespread acceptance of the rightist mythic version of the war worked to fix the political agenda to favor the Right and promoted political irresponsibility.

Ultimately, Bessel concludes, the war's main legacy was the refusal by Germans to acknowledge the reality of its consequences. Instead, they retreated into a world of myths and illusions that was adroitly manipulated by the National Socialists to come to power and to plunge the nation into an even more destructive war.

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THEO BALDERSTON. *The Origins and Course of the German Economic Crisis: November 1923 to May 1932*. (Schriften der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, number 2: Beiträge zu Inflation und Wiederaufbau in Deutschland und Europa 1914–1924.) Berlin: Haude und Spener. 1993. Pp. xxi, 505. DM 168.

Weimar Germany is one of the few crossroads where political, diplomatic, and economic historians continue to meet. Understanding the legacy of the postwar inflation and the severity of the post-1929 slump—explaining why, for example, the rate of unemployment among the nonfarm labor force in Germany peaked in 1932–33 at higher levels than in any other industrial country—remains a central task for economic historians. Why other countries were so slow to rethink their role in the German crisis continues to occupy diplomatic specialists. Nothing less than the relationship of these events to Adolf Hitler's rise to power is ultimately at stake.

Theo Balderston has been firmly planted at these crossroads for more than fifteen years. In this book he provides an interpretation of the course of the German economy from the end of the hyperinflation to Hitler's accession to power. His thesis is convincingly argued and generously documented with economic statistics. An important contribution is to assemble in one place quantitative information on the German economy of a comprehensiveness unmatched by any previous book in either German or English. Balderston's volume is sure to become an important reference for all economic historians of twentieth-century Germany.

Like most of the literature on Weimar economic history appearing over the last fifteen years, the book is organized around two debates instigated by the German economic historian Knut Borchardt. One of Borchardt's theses was that the German economy in the 1920s was suffering from excessive labor costs. As early as 1925, hourly and weekly earnings surpassed 1913 levels. Employer contributions for social programs increased labor costs still further. Germany then experienced a wage explosion that eroded its international competitiveness and increased its dependence on capital imports. In the summer of 1928, in response to mounting labor costs, those capital inflows dried up. A serious problem of competitive imbalance was revealed, plunging Germany into depression even before economic activity began to decline in other countries.

Balderston takes issue with this view. Providing a range of alternative estimates of unit labor costs, he argues that the increase in real wages in the second half of the 1920s was fully justified by rising productivity. Wage increases after 1924 were not symptoms of excessive trade-union power and an arbitration system out of control but an understandable reaction to the exceptional reduction in the purchasing power of earnings and the slump in productivity spawned by the hyperinflation. The post-1924 surge in exports

was another sign that the German economy hardly suffered from inadequate competitiveness in the second half of the 1920s.

If not excessive wage demands, what then was responsible for Germany's precocious downturn? Balderston's culprit is the post-1927 decline in investment. The investment slump is not necessarily incompatible with Borchardt's thesis: investment could have been depressed by a profit squeeze resulting from rising wages. Balderston, however, finds little support for this interpretation. He emphasizes instead the collapse of the market for German bonds and equities. The capital market had been put on edge by the government's failure to provide significant compensation to investors whose savings had been destroyed in the hyperinflation and by signs of fiscal profligacy that threatened to reignite inflation. With the suspension in December 1926 of the exemption of bonds floated abroad from the German capital-yield tax, the demoralizing impact on potential foreign investors of the continued priority attached to reparations claims, and the Wall Street boom, German interest rates were pushed up, discouraging both fixed and inventory investment. The downturn in economic activity followed.

Borchardt's second thesis is that German policy makers had few options for countering the slump once it was on them. Cost reductions might have helped, but in a period when Germany's export markets were imploding, additional measures to sustain domestic demand were required. Unfortunately, any of the conceivable policy initiatives—raising public spending, cutting taxes, reducing interest rates, initiating expansionary open-market operations—would have endangered the gold parity of the mark. And depreciating the currency would have undermined confidence, since the gold standard was seen as the only reliable bulwark against inflation. Depreciation, moreover, would have violated provisions of the Dawes and Young plans, antagonizing the Allies with whom Germany was still seeking to negotiate a reparations settlement. There was little, from this perspective, that Chancellor Heinrich Brüning could do in 1931.

Balderston argues in favor of this thesis, again invoking evidence from the capital market. German investors, he shows, grew even more skittish following the onset of the slump. The limited room for maneuver afforded the Reichsbank and the government condemned Germany to an extended financial crisis. The standard response, an injection of credit from the lender of last resort, would have only reinforced fears of financial irresponsibility. Although Brüning's government did more than stand idle, its options were severely constrained by the enduring damage to confidence wreaked by the hyperinflation.

Balderston documents this argument with a wealth of evidence. To guide the reader through the thicket of economic statistics, Balderston employs an eclectic Keynesian framework. This is more than the simple

Keynesian model that most economists now reject: both the focus on monetary variables insisted on by monetarists and the role for expectations emphasized by proponents of the new classical macroeconomics are incorporated. In addition, Balderston makes systematic use of comparisons between the German and British economies. The onset of the Depression bore striking similarities in the two countries, while their subsequent recoveries diverged sharply. Comparisons thus shed light on the factors that sustained the German slump. Finally, and perhaps least satisfactorily, the text is organized not chronologically but around the components of aggregate demand. Successive chapters on exports, government spending, and fixed investment thus force the reader to retrace the same chronological ground.

Balderston's book is certain to be widely cited by specialists for both its statistics and its argument. Whether it will attract a wider audience is another matter. The author concentrates on economic issues without much reference to the political and social developments that lend them their immediacy. Thus, the very first paragraph of chapter 1 plunges into a description of unemployment rates, interest rates, wages, and prices. Readers who bring to the book a knowledge of German politics and diplomacy will find important new evidence and much to provoke further thought. But generalists seeking an introduction to the connections between the economics of post-inflation Germany and Weimar's political and diplomatic fate may prefer to start elsewhere.

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ELIZABETH HARVEY. *Youth and the Welfare State in Weimar Germany*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 352. \$62.00.

The policy makers who formulated the social programs of the Weimar Republic fretted over the often desperate plight of young workers, evidenced by high rates of unemployment, deficient labor skills, and poor health. Participation by young male workers in the revolutionary upheavals of 1918–19 and such activities as delinquency, vagabondage, and membership in youth gangs lent credence to their fears of rebellion. The alienation of young workers from the republic, moreover, facilitated the Nazi seizure of power. Not surprisingly, therefore, scholars have repeatedly scrutinized the relation of young laborers to the Weimar welfare state. In the last decade alone major works by Peter Dudek, Detlev Peukert, and Peter Stachura have explored aspects of state policies toward this group. The impetus behind social policies has been sharply debated: Peukert contended that welfare professionals sought to impose social discipline and middle-class values through youth welfare, whereas Stachura argued that these measures were

largely inspired by liberal-humanitarian concern to enhance the well-being of young workers. There have been further debates about the degree of continuity in youth policies both between the Wilhelmine empire and the Weimar Republic and between the Weimar era and the Nazi regime. Elizabeth Harvey's monograph attempts to clarify and resolve some of these issues.

As she concedes at the outset, her study is far from comprehensive. She deliberately omits the host of government-supported recreational activities for "normal" young workers (*Jugendpflege*) and excludes moral-policing legislation to regulate access to "trashy" literature and films. Instead, Harvey concentrates on two areas of Weimar social policy toward young workers: labor-market policies and policies directed toward endangered and delinquent youth.

After surveying these two policy areas during the time of the empire, Harvey turns to public policies toward apprentices and young workers in the Weimar Republic, focusing on occupational guidance and vocational education. Harvey concludes that young workers derived few benefits from public-employment policies that strove to rationalize the labor market, since these policies not only encountered employer opposition but also rested on assumptions of a smoothly functioning economy that were falsified by the Great Depression. Similar failures characterized projects for unemployed youth. Unemployment coverage for the young was whittled away during the Depression, replaced by mandatory or voluntary labor-service schemes. These schemes often became charged battlegrounds between the Left and Right, but at most they encompassed only a small fraction of unemployed youth.

The strongest sections of the book treat reforms in the systems of youth welfare and criminal justice that dealt with problem adolescents and delinquents. Harvey tackles these reforms both at the national level, where the National Youth Welfare Law and Juvenile Court Law embodied the liberal principle of "education instead of punishment," and the local level, at which legal changes had to be implemented. Again, however, Harvey presents a series of promising liberal initiatives, such as reform schools that deemphasized punishment and stressed reintegration into society, that were undermined by sharp budgetary cutbacks and right-wing backlash during the Depression. Although Harvey judiciously splits the difference between Peukert and Stachura on the issue of social control versus humanitarian impulses, most of this story is depressingly familiar from their research. She ends by briefly examining juvenile justice and youth labor-market policies in the Third Reich.

Harvey's work can claim to advance beyond that of Peukert and Stachura in three respects. First, she includes young working women. Because they were largely marginalized by public policy, however, this inclusion comes to little. Second, she rightly recognizes the central importance of municipalities in the

Weimar welfare system and hence investigates local policy implementation. Her choice of Hamburg has some drawbacks, however, since this strongly Social Democratic and overwhelmingly Protestant commercial city-state, with its model youth programs, was anomalous. Third, she is painstakingly careful in disentangling lines of continuity and rupture between the Weimar Republic and the Nazi regime. Although she notes continuities, Harvey emphasizes breaks from the welfare and pedagogical model espoused by the Social Democratic Party and liberals. Harvey's monograph is certainly thorough and based on considerable archival research, but one misses the engagement that distinguishes Stachura's and Peukert's studies. Ultimately the book does not fundamentally alter recent interpretations of the limitations of the Weimar social state or its relation to young workers.

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DONNA HARSCH. *German Social Democracy and the Rise of Nazism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. x, 398. \$45.00.

Donna Harsch brings a fresh perspective to a familiar topic in this study of the failings of German Social Democracy during the final years of the Weimar Republic. She focuses on the immediate contexts of politics during the period 1928–33, when the Social Democratic Party (SPD), its trade union allies, and affiliated organizations vainly tried to prop up the sinking parliamentary regime and wall off the advance of Adolf Hitler's National Socialists. Harsch has searched the archives extensively. Her unpublished sources—party directives and reports, administrative papers, and police documents—provide the highlights in a richly woven tapestry of political conflict. Better than any previous analysis, her book captures the rhythm of events as Social Democrats experienced them.

From the arid prelude of the SPD-led Great Coalition (July 1928–March 1930) Harsch carries the story through Social Democracy's enervatingly long "toleration" of the chancellorship of Heinrich Brüning (March 1930–May 1932) as the "lesser evil" to a Nazi alternative. Here Harsch reiterates recent scholarship regarding the importance of the rare initiatives that energized the party and unions: the flowering of the Iron Front in early 1932 and, concurrently, the promotion of the WTB Plan for reemployment. Her attention to the younger militants whom she calls neorevisionists—foremost Carlo Mierendorff and Kurt Schumacher—is also welcome. The book closes with the final months of floundering and self-deception, before and after the Nazis achieved power in January 1933.

Harsch aligns her approach with "the tradition of historical scholarship that has focused on characteristics of the Social Democratic movement rather than on external obstacles that hobbled the SPD in its

struggle against Nazism" (p. 4). Along with the familiar stumbling blocks of organizational multiplicity and ideological division, she includes among the party's problems the inhibiting density of the movement's associationist culture. Internal complexity resulted in a splintering of effort, and the book's thick detail on activity in both party and union ranks demonstrates that no unequivocal guidance emerged from below. What unity the SPD managed to display was tactical and defensive; Harsch portrays the party as reactive, its decisions forced by events. In her view these weaknesses do not nullify responsibility: "it is hard to accept Weimar Social Democracy as a mere victim of circumstance" (p. 239). The logic of her argument instead emphasizes absence of leadership and direction in the party.

Harsch's orientation toward the SPD's immediate situation influences her explanation of why the party responded so ineffectually to the crisis. Although she mentions the effects of attitudes and practices rooted in the past, they tend to be obscured or overwhelmed by the abundance of close-at-hand considerations with which the party and its allies contended. At question here are gradations of tone and the relative weight given to different causes. Harsch always acknowledges the relevant precedents. Nevertheless, her interpretation overly lightens the hold that tradition and, even more deeply, ideology exercised on the SPD. On policy toward unemployment, for example, she writes: "The SPD's worldview was bound up with Marxist economics" (p. 209). Such terminology conveys too mild a sense of the Marxist orthodoxy that defined the outlooks of the party and union experts Rudolf Hilferding and Fritz Naphtali.

The less SPD leaders are seen as chained to the past, the more open their possibilities for action appear in 1930–33. Yet those who view such opportunities more pessimistically than Harsch can share her regret at the outcome. However one assesses her particular balancing of causes, she has succeeded in showing both how difficult was the SPD's task and how sad—even without foreknowledge of the horrifying ultimate consequences—its inability to rise to it.

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IRMGARD WEYRATHER. *Muttertag und Mutterkreuz: Der Kult um die "deutsche Mutter" im Nationalsozialismus*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1993. Pp. 224. DM 18.90.

Irmgard Weyrather's book describes an intriguing aspect of Nazi pronatalist policy and contributes to an ongoing debate among historians about the role of women in the National Socialist regime. About the status of Jewish, Gypsy, and handicapped women as victims of the regime there can be no doubt. Some historical accounts also identify racially elite "Aryan" women as victims who faced exclusion from political

power and limitations on work opportunities and reproductive self-determination. Some recent works, however, have emphasized the privileged position conferred on "Aryan" women through propaganda and policies rewarding mothers of large families and glorifying motherhood.

Weyrather describes two such policies: governmental sponsorship of annual Mother's Day festivals and the distribution of Mother's Crosses. Mother's Day was marked by elaborate celebrations of motherhood as a means to the creation of a purified "Aryan race." The Mother's Crosses were first awarded in 1938 to mothers of four or more children who were judged "racially" and morally eligible. Weyrather shows how such awards served the ends both of propaganda and of control. Candidates were subject to thorough investigation; a negative finding could place the individual or family under suspicion of hereditary taint or of political unreliability. Weyrather concludes her book with an imaginative analysis of the macabre Mother's Day rituals of wartime, which pictured the death of sons in battle as the highest fulfillment of patriotic motherhood.

Weyrather, using archival records, shows that the Mother's Cross policy was quite popular. Nazi glorification of motherhood did, indeed, cement the loyalty of some women to the regime. Moreover, the refusal of the Cross to those who engaged in unfeminine forms of behavior such as smoking or poor housekeeping shows the relationship between gender and "race" in Nazi ideology and practice.

Within the context of other Nazi policies regarding reproduction and the family (of which the book gives only the most sketchy account), however, Weyrather's claim that a "mother cult" gave "Aryan" women a central place in the Nazi state is difficult to defend. National Socialist reproductive policies in fact gave the greatest advantage to fathers, to whom material forms of support such as marriage loans and family allowances were paid (in England, by contrast, family allowances were paid to mothers). Mother's Day observances and Mother's Cross awards conferred chiefly empty praise and few material advantages.

Weyrather's constantly repeated assertion of the importance of a Nazi "cult of the German mother" seems at times to be called into question by her own evidence. She herself states that the awards to selected mothers did not in any way express respect for motherhood in itself. Indeed, even within the privileged group of "German" mothers, the National Socialists placed as much emphasis on preventing motherhood among the "unfit" as on promoting it among the "fit" (pp. 14–15). The author cites psychoanalytic data on Hitler's strong attachment to his own mother but admits that such data cannot explain the policies of the regime (p. 214).

Finally, Weyrather's support of Claudia Koonz's thesis (*Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* [1987]) that the Nazi regime supported an ideal of the family as "a sure refuge from the

hardship and terror of public life" (p. 219) seems unconvincing. On the contrary, policies such as the patriotic Mother's Day ceremonies and the Mother's Cross awards were designed to break down traditional public/private barriers, to subject the most private aspects of behavior to public scrutiny, and to make of the family an instrument of the state.

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HANS SLUGA. *Heidegger's Crisis: Philosophy and Politics in Nazi Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 285. \$29.95.

The primary strengths of this book are clear. Hans Sluga presents a thorough, detailed, and informative account of the political orientations of the German philosophical guild in the years leading up to Adolf Hitler's seizure of power in 1933. In so proceeding, he dispels the myth that, prior to the early 1930s, German philosophy professors were somehow apolitical. "Crisis, nation, leadership, and order" are the leitmotifs that Sluga invokes to try to make sense of the philosophers' political jockeying in the pre-Hitler years. Conspicuous by its omission is the concept of "race," the key to Nazi ideology, but employed sparingly and in the non-biological sense by the German philosophical elite (that is, as equivalent to the "nation").

After an introductory chapter that provides some useful background, there is a chapter on Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Friedrich Nietzsche as the principal philosophical precursors of German philosophical nationalism. Although it is lucidly presented, this discussion will be of less interest to scholars already familiar with this far from obscure chapter of German intellectual history. Moreover, the case of Nietzsche of course poses special problems. Although he was lionized by the National Socialist state (in 1934, Hitler made a famous pilgrimage to the Nietzsche archives in Weimar), he is not mentioned once in *Mein Kampf*. It is safe to say that (the campaign of his sister notwithstanding) his influence on Nazi ideology, certainly in its formative stages in the 1920s, was negligible. Instead, Nietzsche's aristocratic radicalism was truly important for the "conservative revolutionaries," figures such as Ernst Jünger, Oswald Spengler, Carl Schmitt, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, and so forth.

The high point of the book is its middle chapters, which characterize the various stripes of German philosophical nationalism: the philosophical radicals such as Alfred Baeumler (Berlin), Ernst Krieck (Frankfurt), and, finally, Martin Heidegger, who, on different intellectual grounds, cast their lot wholly with the Nazis. They were united in their conviction that the university should play a key political role in the National Socialist state. For a short time they were allied, but soon became rivals for what they delusively thought would be the philosophical leadership of the

Nazi movement. (Heidegger was edged out early on.) This discussion is followed by a treatment of the philosophical conservatives allied with the *Deutsche Philosophische Gesellschaft*. Among their number were Nicolai Hartmann, Bruno Bauch, and Hans Heyse. Whereas they, too, strove desperately to reconcile their more mainstream philosophical positions with the political realities of the new regime, unlike the radicals, they argued for a more traditional ideal of university autonomy.

Yet one comes away from reading this book with the feeling that the title is a misnomer. It is in the first instance a book about the politics of the German philosophers' guild. Only secondarily is it a book about Heidegger and his "crisis." With the exception of a discussion of Heidegger's rectoral address in 1933, there are very few close readings of Heidegger's philosophical or political texts. Heidegger, moreover, as Sluga admits, prided himself on being an outsider among academic philosophers. He never joined their organizations. What is not quite clear, then, is how the other instances of politicized philosophy actually relate to Heidegger's example. There are, to be sure, certain commonalities and elective affinities between the various philosophers Sluga discusses (radicals, conservatives, and so on) and Heidegger. But these suggestive comparisons stop short of telling us what is of significant interest about Heidegger's case. For as Sluga acknowledges, Heidegger went to great lengths to justify his Nazi partisanship via explicit and repeated references to his own philosophical doctrines. In lieu of a more detailed discussion of this relation, the intellectual complexities of Heidegger's "decision" for Hitler in 1933 and its contorted aftermath (both philosophical and personal) are left out of this account.

Despite their rabid nationalism (World War I was an obvious turning point), German philosophers, while far from apolitical, were for the most part out of step with the racially oriented core concepts of National Socialist ideology. Like other intellectuals and political figures, many tried somewhat fitfully to reconcile their convictions after the fact with the tenets of Nazi rule. When all is said and done, however, one cannot help but judge their theoretical acrobatics and accommodations as a sorry intellectual side show to the real political story that was played out in Hitler's chancellory, *Gleichschaltung* legislation, and the infamous mass rallies and concentration camps. In essence, many of the individuals who figure prominently in Sluga's narrative have been forgotten or neglected today insofar as their pedantic, internecine squabbles pale in comparison to the vast political transformations occurring outside the lecture halls and seminar rooms. Their intellectual posturing served as a type of window dressing to a regime that was wholly unconcerned with the life of the mind. As Hannah Arendt observed in *Origins of Totalitarianism* (in remarks that may have been written with the case of her former mentor and paramour foremost in

mind [1951]): "the consistent persecution of every higher form of intellectual activity by the new mass leaders springs from more than their natural resentment against everything they cannot understand. Total domination does not allow for free initiative in any field of life, for any activity that is not entirely predictable. Totalitarianism in power invariably replaces all first-rate talents, regardless of their sympathies, with those crackpots and fools whose lack of intelligence and creativity is still the best guarantee of their loyalty."

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GÖTZ ALY and SUSANNE HEIM. *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Rev. ed. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1993. Pp. 539. DM 19.90.

This is an extremely important book, a pathbreaking study whose value lies more with the significance of the new issues and fresh questions it raises than with the originality and plausibility of the theses and conclusions that Götz Aly and Susanne Heim advance and reach. Like many major pioneering works, it contains notable flaws, weaknesses evident in any work by those with the courage to reexamine a major phenomenon with the objective of challenging or overturning the massive weight of established and conventional historical wisdom. Above all, the appearance of this book is a welcome matter of timing. In the evolving and expanding scholarship devoted to the Holocaust, this study could not have appeared at a more propitious juncture.

For nearly a decade, historians of the era of Adolf Hitler and the Holocaust on both sides of the Atlantic have been preoccupied, distracted—and mired—in an exchange of argumentative counter punching on the general issues of premeditation and responsibility for the extermination of the European Jews.

On the highest plane, this has unfolded in the debate between the intentionalist and functionalist schools of interpretation: was the mass slaughter of the Jews advanced in vision, centrally planned, top-down directed, and policy oriented; or was the genocide an uncoordinated phenomenon of expedience undertaken in response to the exigencies of war and conquest? On a related and lower level, a different version of the exchanges raged among senior German scholars until recently in the so-called *Historikerstreit*.

Aly and Heim have by-passed this quagmire brilliantly by turning to the sources with a breadth and depth of investigative energy and insight both rare and refreshing. Their exhaustive consultation of the traditional mass of documentary evidence is complemented by meticulous detective work in the related and lower strata of Nazi records regarding anti-Jewish policy and activity, which survive in the official and unofficial records at the ministerial, state, regional,

city, and even community levels. In addition, the authors have achieved in research what no previous scholars have even attempted: the exploration and integration of the vast body of academic, technical, and specialized monographs written by the young technocrats who were to be the future bureaucratic elite of the Nazi New Order in Europe. These were the university-educated young men who became the hard-working economic engineers, demographic planners, and racial theorists and agricultural experts in the middle and lower levels of the government ministries in Berlin, and—according to the authors—the most influential figures in the administrative agencies that ran the Nazi-occupied General Government of Poland, and that controlled the conquered territories elsewhere throughout Eastern Europe.

These tireless and resourceful younger members of Hitler's "expertocracy," the authors argue, exercised a fundamental and decisive influence on their superiors, and through them, the bureaucratic rationalization of destructive anti-Jewish policies from the immediate aftermath of the *Reichskristallnacht* in November 1938 to the refinements in assembly line killing and the exploitation of slave labor in the camps in the occupied east in 1943 and 1944. Auschwitz, therefore, was only the largest and most efficient facility through which the Nazi expertocracy sought to achieve the economic rationalization and modernization of the new Germanic empire by decimating or eliminating whole ethnic and population groups throughout Eastern Europe. Thus, for Aly and Heim, the experts and planners operated in and advocated a culture of destruction earlier, more forcefully, and wider even than the extermination of the European Jews. They shaped the pace and scope of the policy of annihilation and the machinery of destruction through organizational energy, intellectual ability, and managerial ingenuity.

Notwithstanding the obvious and numerous questions raised by the interpretations in this study, the authors have created through years of meticulous labor a major work no general student or interested specialist can afford to ignore or overlook. Even if the approach and arguments in this book should become substantially amended or refuted by subsequent works in coming years, the scholarship required to do so will necessarily move our knowledge of the anti-Jewish policies of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust forward considerably. That, in the end, may become Aly and Heim's most enduring contribution.

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JEFFREY M. DIEFENDORF. *In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 403. \$49.95.

In this scholarly study addressed to students of history, architecture, city planning, and development,

Jeffrey M. Diefendorf makes two broad and interrelated contributions. He delineates the activities, ideas, and institutional processes that accompanied the rebuilding of many of West Germany's ruined cities after World War II; and he shows that the country's urban reconstruction between 1945 and 1955–60, when viewed structurally, was influenced by manifest material exigencies as well as notable prior urban planning and design traditions.

In Diefendorf's structuralist perspective, the postwar reconstruction of West Germany's battered cities marked neither a radical break with the past nor a completely new beginning. He emphasizes that "significant continuities linked the periods before and after 1945" (p. xvi). The emphasis on continuities does not, however, keep him from sketching the signal discontinuity created by the wartime "war against the cities." The war had been awesome and awful: 45 percent of the housing stock had been destroyed or damaged. Urban Germans needed to clear mountains of rubble, to procure scarce materials and labor for reconstruction, to rebuild both legally and illegally in order to survive.

Diefendorf's accent, however, is on the "face of reconstruction": on such issues as architectural styles and historic preservation and such problems as old and new housing, town planning, and building laws. These topics take up most of the book, and he derives credible conclusions in each case. Throughout, he shows the importance of the long-term historical context.

In architecture, he suggests that a broadly conceived "modernist" style, although struggling with traditionalism and bowing to expediency, survived into the postwar period, becoming dominant in the late 1950s. As to historic preservation, German cities chose separate paths after settling on whether, how, "and under what conditions to rebuild the damaged shell" (p. 69). Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfurt, Hannover, and Stuttgart generally favored modernization; Münster, Freiburg, and Nuremberg emphasized their historic character; Lübeck, Cologne, and Munich took a middle path. The chapter contains excellent photographs, and Diefendorf observes that planners tended to prefer modernization whereas citizens' groups called for preservation.

Notably, German housing shortages dated back to the turn of the century. Far from abating during the Weimar Republic, they were further complicated and compounded during the Nazi regime. A housing crisis developed particularly during World War II, persisting into the postwar period partly because extensive new construction did not begin until the currency reform of 1948. Thereafter, modest residential housing units in both suburbs and inner cities began to appear across the Federal Republic. This outcome was aided by a broad consensus on housing construction, the passage of a federal housing law in 1950, as well as private and public funding (with small Marshall Plan funds acting as a "lubricant").

Predictably, the enduring housing problems had kept the planners busy during peace and war. Diefendorf emphasizes that postwar planning remained largely in the hands of pre-1945 planners who had gained experience in the years 1933–45 but whose plans tended to predate the Nazi regime. Despite the planners' ambivalence about public input and their debatable insistence that they were "apolitical," Diefendorf treats them and their plans generously: Freiburg and Cologne came to exemplify "conservative" planning, Kiel and Aachen demonstrated the "pragmatic" approach, while the "partial planning" of Mainz and Berlin "resembled that of most other West German cities" (p. 197). If the planners failed to solve burgeoning postwar traffic problems, it was because they could not anticipate the speedy arrival and proliferation of private motor vehicles.

Diefendorf devotes the last two chapters to the topic of post-1945 building laws and to the new extraordinary reconstruction agencies that operated alongside normal building organizations. The comprehensive national building law desired by planners never passed, chiefly because it challenged private property rights and threatened expropriations. The extraordinary reconstruction agencies were similar throughout Germany but more successful, for various reasons, in the north. On the whole, Diefendorf deems the rebuilding of most German urban centers a reasonable success. His diligent and thoughtful study is a reliable guide to the structural parameters attending the reconstruction of postwar West Germany's cities; it is a major contribution to the subject.

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PETER H. MERKL. *German Unification in the European Context*. Assisted by GERT-JOACHIM GLAESSNER. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 448. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$18.95.

This book is instant history or political science, written in the immediate aftermath of the events described—the collapse of the Communist regime in East Germany and the subsequent reunification of the two German states in 1989–90—with all the advantages and the perils such an undertaking implies. Peter H. Merkl, long an analyst of West German politics, is admirably qualified to place these events in perspective, especially because he was a visiting professor in Göttingen in 1990 and Berlin in 1991. His firsthand experience of the events and above all of the public reaction to them forms a major part of this book.

Merkl is primarily interested in the impact of political and economic change on constitutional institutions and the public opinion that drives them. At the Institut für praxisorientierte Sozialforschung (IPOS) and the Forschungsgruppe Wahlen in Mannheim he had access to sophisticated polls, which he supplemented with many German newspaper polls.

As a result he is able to follow shifts of opinion in both East and West Germany almost by the day. More important, he has identified these shifts by "political generation," an age cohort defined as a group sharing "politically formative experiences [between fifteen and twenty-five years of age] such as a war, a great depression, a revolution, or at least a dramatic election campaign in a democratic country" (p. 40).

Merkel opens by analyzing solutions to the German problem of the generations from Otto von Bismarck on: the founding generation, the generation of the 1880s and 1890s (from which Chancellor Konrad Adenauer came), and the generations of World War I and World War II. After 1945, he identifies three generations, each with distinctively different patterns of political behavior: a postwar generation devoted to democracy and European unification, from which Chancellor Helmut Kohl came; a "critical generation of 1968" (p. 44) that attacked the rites of the Cold War; and a generation of the 1970s and 1980s that challenged the capitalism of unlimited growth in West Germany and in East Germany supported the revolt in 1989 that overturned the hard-line Communist regime. For Merkel, the first all-German election in December 1990 was "a generational showdown in which the older generation carried the day" (p. xii) against younger generations who were at best lukewarm to the idea of unification.

With the aid of Gert-Joachim Glaessner, who contributed an incisive chapter on the East German Communist "party patrimonialism" that ended as a "sclerotic bureaucratic nightmare" (pp. 78, 81), Merkel has placed the unification in a broad European setting. He first shows that, in comparison with earlier unifications under Bismarck and Adolf Hitler, the one of 1990 was unsatisfactory to some because it involved abandoning such areas as the Oder-Neisse territories. He gives some credit to Mikhail Gorbachev, but none to Ronald Reagan, for setting in motion the collapse of all the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, and he shows how the prospect of unification deeply divided the West German public.

The final half of the book discusses in detail four great problems posed by unification: constitutional reform, the vast difficulties and costs of bringing East Germany to the economic level of West Germany, the mixed reactions of Germany's neighbors, and the German role in European security. He concludes that unification has destabilized the West German party system, in part because the East German electorate has failed to vote on class or professional lines. Clearly a new analysis will be needed to replace this nevertheless excellent survey when the institutions of unified Germany have become as sound as those of the former West Germany.

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Davis

PAUL F. GEHL. *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 310. \$38.95.

Paul F. Gehl's seemingly narrowly focused book provides major new perspectives on crucial issues in Italian Renaissance history: the nature of regional culture, questions of continuity in Latin curriculum, and, thus, the periodization of the coming of humanism and the place of Latin learning in Trecento Florence. In all these areas, Gehl's book is deeply revisionist, challenging successfully both Eugenio Garin's thesis of a sharp break between medieval and humanist pedagogy and educational ideals, coming with the putative institution of the *studia humanitatis* early in the fifteenth century, and the negative vision of Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, who view educational reform in the humanities as serving the growing absolutist state.

Instead Gehl proposes to evaluate these conflicting theories in the controlled environment of the fourteenth-century Tuscan classroom, relying on two linked sets of data. In an appendix Gehl has painstakingly compiled a census of Latin reading books surviving from the later Middle Ages. Gehl has arranged his codicological descriptions of contents and format into three parts: forty-nine manuscripts that can definitely be assigned to Trecento Tuscany, thirteen oversized manuals that functioned as Latin readers, and 149 codices examined and excluded largely because they are of fifteenth-century or non-Tuscan provenance, or not intended for private use. Gehl's sixty-two Trecento Tuscan manuscripts, several of which are composites of smaller books, yield seventy-one different readers, which form the basis for his analysis of what authors were taught in the Latin grammar schools of fourteenth-century Florence.

Perhaps the most original part of the book is chapter 2, on "what kind of book . . . Florentine boys [carried] to class once the Latin course was well begun" (p. 43). Here Gehl documents the open-ended (and perhaps eccentric) quality of the Latin grammar course in Tuscany: of the twenty-three texts found in the seventy-one readers, seven appear only once, and a number of works of grammar, popular in medieval France, do not appear at all. Missing also are rule books in prose, the *Donadello* or *Ianua*, which began the process of "latinizing" after some instruction had been given in the *volgare*. Gehl has unearthed the reading texts in poetry from the second course, which inculcated values as well as vocabulary and rules, making instruction in Latin grammar (as the author claims in his title) a moral art. The bulk of the study is a detailed description of the contents of these books, arranged by genre and origin, starting with the pagan classics of the Latin Aesop and Cato's *Disticha* and the Christian classics of Prudentius's Bible stories and Prosper of Aquitaine's epigrams from Augustine's sentences. Treating also the *Charitula* and *Physiologus* from the monastic tradition, Gehl

provides the best brief analysis of what schoolboys read in their Latin course that we have in English.

Less sure-handed is Gehl's attempt to delineate the grammarian's place in Tuscan society. Following Ronald Witt's studies on the origins of Italian humanism, Gehl disparages the place of Latin language study in Tuscany, compared with Padua with its university and rich tradition of classical studies. Challenged by the values of both the merchant class and the mendicant orders, the Tuscan schoolmaster was poorly paid and acquired little prestige. Gehl's analysis here is highly speculative, as the use of such words as "imply," "imagine," and "hypothetical" suggests. Perhaps further archival research on teachers' contracts will yield better results in an area where Gehl has been content to synthesize the work of other scholars. Indeed, the solution of a puzzling error may help in this regard. A schoolboy's ownership mark (given in facsimile on p. 50) reads "Iste liber est Alexandri Ser Nicholaj populi Sancte Felicitatis ultra Arnum morantis in scholis magistri Antonij doctoris grammaticae," but is transcribed by Gehl as "Iste liber est mei Nicolai Francisci . . . manentis in scholis magistri Antonij," changing not just the name of the owner, but altering the wording "residing" (*morantis*) to the generic "studying" (*manentis*). The true reading suggests a boarding school (*contubernium*) for the pupil and university degree for the teacher, arguing both for more serious Latin schooling and higher status for instructors than Gehl has allowed. But these are mere blemishes on a stimulating study that will challenge many traditional views on the Latin curriculum of the early Renaissance.

BENJAMIN G. KOHL
Vassar College

CAROL BRESNAHAN MENNING. *Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: The Monte di Pietà of Florence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 333. \$51.95.

The first *monti di pietà*, institutions that lent money to the poor on the security of pawns and pledges, began to flourish in Italy toward the end of the fifteenth century. They are inextricably linked to the virulently anti-Jewish rhetoric of such preachers as San Bernardino of Siena and Bernardino da Feltre. San Bernardino, for example, decried the profits made from usurious moneylending because they did not circulate back to the community but instead bled dry the body politic, running "in a pestiferous stream to the apostate, since all Jews, and especially lenders-at-interest, are the chief enemies of all Christians" (*Opera Omnia*, vol. 4 [1956], p. 383). The motivation to establish the *monte di pietà*, then, was twofold: first, to provide an alternative for the poor to borrowing money at insupportable rates of interest; and second, to remove the Jews' livelihood, forcing their removal from Christian society. The opening chapters of Carol Bresnahan Menning's institutional history of Florence's *monte di pietà* rightly treat this connection,

raised by Brian Pullan twenty-four years ago (*Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* [1971]), between early modern anti-Semitism and charity. The tantalizing issues raised in the introductory chapters, however, are not taken up again, even in the conclusion, so the reader is left to wonder what tangible effects the new institutions had on the Jewish community, and what role, if any, they played in the alleviation or mitigation of poverty.

Menning's study is organized chronologically, beginning with the modest efforts to establish a small-scale charitable institution and tracing the increasing involvement of the Medici in the operations of the *monte di pietà*. She argues that the development of the *monte* and the interests of the Medici coincided during the reign of Cosimo I so that, by the mid-sixteenth century, what had begun as a charitable institution had become an indispensable organ of state finance and ducal patronage as well as charity. Menning thus views these developments not as a significant moment in the history of banking (although it did employ several innovations in attracting and investing deposits), but as a key to understanding the process of Medici state-building. Although I find her argument persuasive and her supporting evidence invaluable to understanding Cosimo's political economy, the enterprise is potentially subverted by the failure to define that elusive term, "the state."

Following Arnaldo d'Addario and Furio Diaz, Menning links the development of the *monte di pietà* to Cosimo's absolutist intentions and, more generally, to the formation of the modern state. But the evidence cited makes quite clear that the grand duchy was a Renaissance state *par excellence*: decentralized, weak, and dominated not by an impersonal idea of defined territory or boundary but by the interests of dynasty. Menning alludes to this most clearly when noting that the line between Cosimo's household finance and state finance was thin, even indistinct at times: "In an era where the distinction between public and private wavered and blurred, the *monte* had become firmly entrenched as an adjunct to the ducal treasury" (p. 262). Yet the *monte* was only one of several charitable institutions, such as the hospitals of Santa Maria Nuova and Santa Maria degli Innocenti, whose resources Cosimo and Francesco exploited to shore up an ever more complex fiscal regime. This suggests not, as Menning would have it, the development of a bureaucratic civil service (p. 264), but rather a loosely defined and constituted state. R. Burr Litchfield observed that "Weber's contrast between 'patrimonial' and 'rational legal' does not fit Tuscan experience closely in the early development of the Florentine bureaucracy out of the institutions of the city-state, but it does fit developments in the eighteenth century" (*Emergence of a Bureaucracy* [1986]); this would have been a useful corrective to the older Italian view on which Menning relies.

This aside, however, much of value remains in this book. Although the poor who benefited from the

institution are notably absent. Menning's detailed study provides a wealth of information on the connection between Medici governance, the Florentine fiscal regime, and charitable institutions. The appendix on Florentine money (pp. 307–10) is alone worth the price of the book. Until the appearance of works large enough in scope to treat the full complexity of Cosimo's political economy, Menning's work, even if it does not strictly illuminate charity and state, nonetheless provides a readable and useful portrait of skilled and energetic practitioners of dynastic statecraft.

PHILIP GAVITT
Saint Louis University

NUNZIO PERNICONE. *Italian Anarchism, 1864–1892*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 326. \$39.50.

Nunzio Pernicone's book is the most comprehensive and balanced study to date of the Italian anarchist movement from its origins in the 1860s through the glory years of the 1870s to its decline and marginalization by the 1890s.

Pernicone sides with those who attribute to Michael Bakunin the key role in implanting the anarchist ideal in the peninsula. Bakunin's brand of anarchism found fertile ground in a generation of Italian radicals who were used to conspiratorial activity during the Risorgimento and who were bitterly disappointed with the conservative outcome of the national struggle. Many of his first recruits came from republican-oriented Freemasonic lodges, and Bakunin initially seems to have borrowed freely from existing Masonic organizational models. Friedrich Engels's misjudgment of Bakunin also allowed the Russian revolutionary to formulate the International Workingmen Association's alternative to Giuseppe Mazzini's republican nationalism.

Although Bakunin was absent from Italy from 1867 to 1876, his influence continued to grow. In 1872, three extraordinary disciples—Carlo Cafiero, Andrea Costa, and Errico Malatesta—emerged at the forefront of Italian anarchism. By 1874, the movement won considerable support among independent artisans and skilled workers. But the anarchists soon became trapped in the logic of their Bakuninist ideology. "Propaganda by deed" meant that every time the Italian anarchists built up their organization they felt compelled to mount an insurrection to justify the revolutionary expectations of their followers. The first major attempt in 1874 led to arrests and botched government prosecutions but did not permanently damage the movement. The second attempt in 1877, followed by a rash of anarchist actions in Italy and elsewhere in Europe in 1878 and 1879, brought the full wrath of the state down on the movement and, not so coincidentally, revealed a fundamental failing. Pernicone notes that the anarchist movement in Italy, unlike its Spanish counterpart, never won

over the peasantry. He argues that by the 1880s, when conditions were riper for such penetration in the countryside, government repression had crippled the entire movement. The anarchists who assumed a revolutionary peasantry found during their abortive insurrections that rural Italy was often as suspicious of them as it was of the government.

Pernicone attributes the defeat of the anarchists both to the merciless governmental repression and to ideological and organizational blunders. Propaganda by deed provoked the crackdown that was rendered more effective by the anarchists' tendency to equate serious organizational methods with "authoritarian" socialism. This weakness, combined with their predilection for conspiracy, also made them extremely vulnerable to police spies. Many of the best leaders of the movement, such as Andrea Costa in 1879 and F. S. Merlino in the 1890s, were alienated by sectarianism and political impotence and broke away from the movement.

Pernicone stops his narrative in 1892 with the foundation of the Italian Socialist Party and the isolation of the anarchist movement, but he makes a case for its continuing influence on the Italian, Argentine, and North American labor movements through the work of new leaders like Luigi Galleani and Pietro Gori, who joined the eternal Malatesta in pressing the cause. Pernicone might have used the conclusion to develop more fully the future direction of the movement and its links to a syndicalist labor movement. Nonetheless this sympathetic but critical study is likely to become the standard work on the subject.

ALEXANDER DE GRAND
North Carolina State University

DAVID I. KERTZER. *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control*. Boston: Beacon. 1993. Pp. xiii, 252. \$25.00.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Italians were abandoning 37,000 babies annually, the highest rate in Europe. Most of these babies had come through the *ruota* (wheel), a revolving compartment in the door of foundling homes or municipal offices that protected the anonymity of parents giving up their offspring. The wheels were often called "little cemeteries," since a majority of babies consigned to them died before their first birthday, either from starvation or disease (p. 144). Although most abandonment involved illegitimate children, married couples in cities such as Milan left a third of their children at the wheel. In his fascinating study, David I. Kertzer seeks to explain the prevalence and persistence of child abandonment in Italy, a country "renowned for the strength of its family ties and for its mothers' devotion" (p. 171).

Kertzer rejects economics as the primary factor, because the highest rates of abandonment occurred in both poor southern regions such as Sicily and in

rather wealthy, northern industrial cities such as Milan. Instead, he emphasizes the central role of the Catholic church in forcing unmarried mothers to give up their children. Through a network of midwives, doctors, and neighbors, local priests collected information on all pregnancies among single women and made sure that their newborns were confided immediately to the wheel. Such a system was meant to discourage abortion and infanticide as well as assure the baptism—although certainly not the health—of all babies. The church claimed to be protecting the honor of unmarried women since abandonment was anonymous. Yet its policy also taught that single women were unfit to bring up their own children.

Child abandonment is not a new topic for historians of modern Italy, and Kertzer draws much of his data from a multitude of recent local studies and complements it with his own archival work in Bologna. His achievement is to have created a compelling framework for understanding the magnitude of child abandonment in Italy and the diversity within the peninsula. In the north the wheels were located in urban foundling homes, while in the south village officials received babies and quickly transferred them to local peasants for wet nursing. The high rates of abandonment in much of the south dispels any notion that industrialization can be blamed for this aspect of family breakdown. My only quibble with Kertzer's emphasis on the national context is that it overshadows his own extensive data base for Bologna, which might have revealed a more nuanced local case study.

Finally, Kertzer does all European historians a service by placing the Italian experience in a larger geographical context. Comparison with Protestant countries buttresses his thesis that the Catholic church, in collusion with state authorities, was primarily responsible for providing both an ideology and institutional structure that encouraged and indeed forced many women to give up their children. Compared not only to Italy but also to France, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium, Protestant nations with equal or higher rates of illegitimacy experienced little abandonment, since both mothers and fathers were expected to take personal responsibility for their offspring. In Italy, the wheel protected women's honor only at the heavy price of surveillance and control, but the main beneficiaries were men who escaped any moral or financial onus. Historians of demography, the family, and sexuality are fortunate finally to have such a compelling and carefully wrought account in English of the Italian experience.

MARY GIBSON
*John Jay College,
City University of New York*

PATRIZIA GUARNIERI. *A Case of Child Murder: Law and Science in Nineteenth-Century Tuscany*. Translated by CLAUDIA MIÉVILLE. Cambridge, Mass.: Polity. 1993. Pp. vi, 210. \$24.95.

The tale is bizarre yet familiar: a man strangled four boys, ranging in age from four to nine, and buried their bodies under the floor of his workshop. He was caught in the act of attacking his final victim and confessed to the earlier murders; this open-and-shut case nevertheless soon became complicated. A cause célèbre, the details followed avidly by reporters, the courtroom crowded every day with an eager public, his trial turned into a duel of opposing teams of psychiatrists. Newspapers drummed up some unlikely sympathy for the strangler as the "true" victim: an abnormally short man with a number of physical deformities, he was driven to his irrational acts, according to the press, after years of cruel mockery by the children of his town.

This was the story of Callisto (known as Carlino) Grandi, a Tuscan cartwright who briefly captured the attention of Italy in the 1870s. The echoes of certain contemporary trials are not surprising. Grandi's case, coming as it did in the midst of both a revision of the penal code and the veritable explosion of psychiatry as a discipline, provided one of the earliest contests between doctrines of legal responsibility and insanity, issues that continue to be argued today. Patrizia Guarnieri tells this sad history with great skill and insight, particularly in regard to the workings of the legal system and the role of the press. She also notes the high stakes in the outcomes of such trials for the professionals involved, particularly young Dr. Enrico Morselli for the defense, whose career was made by this case even though he lost.

The center of the book, however, and the battlefield for the competing versions of psychiatric explanation, is the mind (and body) of the criminal himself. Grandi—with his extra toe, his complete lack of body hair, his delayed puberty, and his strangely shaped head—provided an obvious case study for those who believed that internal abnormalities manifested themselves in measurable external ways. Yet the very obviousness of Grandi's problems ironically made him an ineffective example for the psychiatrists, who were attempting to prove their specialized expertise in the courtroom over and above the simple "common sense" of jurors, judges, and lawyers. No expertise was necessary: everybody who came in contact with Grandi could tell that he was crazy. Yet justice, and public opinion, demanded a penalty. He was sentenced to twenty years at hard labor.

The brevity of this study has ensured that the portrayal of the competing schools of psychiatry is less complete than one would wish, and little explanation is given for those not already familiar with late-nineteenth-century psychiatric schools. There is, for example, an offhand reference to "revised Morelian degeneracy and Mantegazza's neogenetic version of atavism" (p. 146), neither of which is adequately defined in this text. Fortunately such lapses are rare. In addition to its fascinating excursion into late-nineteenth-century village life, this book also provides a compelling and highly readable introduction to

the major issues facing late-nineteenth-century psychiatry.

JILL HARSIN
Colgate University

W. BRUCE LINCOLN. *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians*. New York: Random House. 1994. Pp. xxii, 500. \$30.00.

W. Bruce Lincoln's panoramic chronicle of Siberia from ancient times to the present will rank with the best of popular histories. Lincoln is a compelling writer whose chapters are colorful snapshots of Siberia's past and present. He may receive some criticism for telling a story rather than writing an analytical monograph, but academics should find much of value here. For classroom lecturers, the book yields abundant, multifaceted material on Russia's presence in Asia and the North Pacific. Researchers will discover a rich vein of bibliographical references: Lincoln has mined the published sources thoroughly and tapped the holdings of Russian, French, and American archives.

Lincoln's treatment of Siberia is nuanced. He conveys the complex and contradictory realities of a region that has been a "land of opportunity" for its merchants and peasant migrants, but simultaneously a "land of tyranny and suffering" (p. 162) for its exiles. He then qualifies this dichotomy when appropriate, for example by revealing the inconstant nature of Siberia as a tsarist penal colony, as exemplified by the harshness Dostoyevsky experienced and the domestic comfort allowed Lenin.

As one of his underlying themes, Lincoln expertly recounts the colonial-like rapaciousness that has characterized the Russian approach to Siberia, from the early extirpation of fur-bearing animal stocks to the Soviet industrialization ventures that turned it into an ecological disaster zone. Related to this theme is his intermittent focus on Siberia's natives, whose degradation under Russian dominion has received relatively little attention from historians.

Some of his interpretations are open to dispute. Lincoln most consistently depicts Siberia in the image of the American West, with a hardy democratic ethos among lower-class settlers and the rowdiness of boom towns. Yet the contrasts between the American and Siberian frontiers were pronounced. Siberian peasants, like their European-Russian counterparts, showed little inclination for individual homesteading, preferring collectivist forms of farming and social organization. And although the absence of a nobility and distance from St. Petersburg gave them a sense of freedom from outside interference, the millions of peasants involved in the great Siberian migration from the mid-1890s to 1914 were fully dependent on government assistance to establish themselves on the land. Indeed, large-scale Slavic resettlement in Asian Russia was centrally planned after construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad commenced. The universal-

ity of the Turner thesis has great romantic appeal, but it does not work for this frontier.

For all the government's extraordinary efforts at colonization, it was unable to develop Siberia as effectively as the United States did its comparatively compact interior. I therefore also have reservations about Lincoln's assertions that "to the present day . . . Siberia's natural wealth [has] helped to keep the Russians strong" (p. 89) and enabled Russia to "rise among the great powers of the world" (p. xix). Large percentages of the world's timber, precious metals, diamonds, iron, coal, oil, and natural gas are located in Siberia, and surely their exploitation contributed to Russia's military-industrial capacity. But paradoxically, the possession of this immense, unwieldy territory also helps to account for Russia's historical deficiencies. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the defense, infrastructure, and administrative costs for Siberia east of the Yenisei have outweighed the gains from possessing it. By draining attention and vital funds from the European Russian "metropolis," Siberia has weakened the realm rather than strengthened it. Had more prudent development strategies prevailed over the past four centuries, Russia might have attained from the raw materials of its Siberian continent a more enduring economic base for its power; instead it has often found itself in the confounding position of being resource rich and economically anemic.

Aside from these conceptualizations, there is little to dispute in this book, which will help chart the way for exploration of the still largely unknown terrain of Siberian history. Lincoln deserves praise for synthesizing existing research in a book that will be essential for scholars, and for writing a vivid narrative that will inform and entertain the broader reading public.

STEVEN G. MARKS
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HEATHER HOGAN. *Forging Revolution: Metalworkers, Managers, and the State in St. Petersburg, 1890-1914*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies; Studies of the Harriman Institute, Columbia University.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 319. \$35.00.

Heather Hogan's monograph contributes a new perspective to the growing literature on urban conflict and class identity in late-imperial Russia. Earlier studies have analyzed the growth of class consciousness among the workers in relation to the radical intelligentsia and the state. Without ignoring these elements, she concentrates on the interaction among the technical personnel, factory owners, and workers themselves as a way of explaining the evolution and militancy of the St. Petersburg metalworkers.

Students of the period will not be surprised by her characterization of the main features defining the successive periods of labor history from 1890 to 1914.

The rise of a class consciousness in these years ran an irregular course. Before 1900 there was a "general failure of metalworkers to participate in collective protest or strike action" (p. 46). From 1900 to 1904, during "the emerging crisis," skilled workers became more militant, inspired not only by the radical intelligentsia but also by the conflicting policies of the state bureaucracy and the St. Petersburg employers who jealously defended their monopoly of control over the workplace. The mobilization of 1905 led to "a more coherent, less fragmented conception of working-class identity within the heavy industry of the capital" (p. 151). But the economic depression and psychological exhaustion that followed plunged the workers into an era of "small deeds."

Hogan challenges the conclusion of Victoria Bonnell that the revolution of 1905 laid the foundations for the growth of stable trade unions. Instead the more skilled workers had imbibed from their experiences a radical critique of the dominant economic system and the autocracy. This helps explain the subsequent intense and violent reaction to the Lena goldfield massacres in 1912 that touched off a new wave of labor militancy that crested on the eve of World War I. However familiar the general outlines may be, Hogan provides a thick description of the sources of the alienation of labor, and hence of its militancy, that merits close attention. She argues that the introduction of "Amerikanizm" in the form of time and motion studies, especially Taylorism, and increased authority for supervisory personnel created a hell of minute control over workers' lives on the shop floor. She reveals that the new industrial techniques were introduced and adopted for different reasons. Engineers envisaged a technocratic utopia that would, by rationalizing the work process, create abundance without destroying the capitalist system. Employers seized on the innovations as a means of increasing productivity and profits while maintaining their monopoly of control.

Hogan's thorough sifting of archival sources and workers' memoirs provides rich documentation of the frustration and anger that the system generated and gives the term alienation a concreteness that is fresh and illuminating. Less successful is her attempt to characterize the outlook of the St. Petersburg employers as a corporatist ideology. The idea is not fully developed or adequately substantiated. She concludes that the metalworkers' support for the Bolsheviks just before the war was due more to a shared outlook, a "way of seeing," than an unqualified endorsement of party ideology or political hegemony.

This is a solid work that adds depth to our understanding of the explosive social combination of militant workers, intransigent employers, divided bureaucrats, idealistic engineers, and radical intelligentsia that helped to precipitate the revolutions of 1917. Still, one is left wondering at the end whether the

class consciousness that Hogan has worked so hard to explain is rather more transient than she allows.

ALFRED J. RIEBER

University of Pennsylvania

ANNA GEIFMAN. *Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia, 1894-1917*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 376. \$39.50.

Focusing on the Russian revolutionary years of 1905-07, Anna Geifman describes a "new type of terrorist": an individual who had little if any knowledge of revolutionary theory, who was seldom if ever responsive to the unquestioning discipline demanded by radical leaders (many of whom were still polemicizing with each other in Switzerland), and who was equally disdainful of the sanctity of human life and the niceties of philosophical principles. Examining in turn the major revolutionary groups (Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionaries, and anarchists, together with the many branches thereof), the author finds that few *soi-disant* members within Russia knew or cared what V. I. Lenin or Petr Kropotkin said. Rather, acts of violence were planned and executed by local groups without the approval of party leaders, and often by individuals without the approval of local groups. As violence escalated, its perpetrators became ever less discriminating in their deeds. Human life seemed cheap, and anyone who represented the sociopolitical order became fair game. Eventually some rebels were motivated by grudges: teenagers who hated their elders found in revolution the justification to attack them. "Expropriators" who stole private or government funds for the revolution kept lots of the money for themselves. Geifman's most fascinating chapter deals with the criminal and mentally unstable types that zestfully joined in the fray, along with rebel youths who might well be called hooligans. Even for honest men, violence per se became a goal; most of its perpetrators were so deep in plotting their next deed that they forgot what the revolution was about.

Geifman gives us special insights into the role of non-Russian (including Jewish) "terrorists" in these years. There is an excellent chapter on the dilemma of the Kadets, whose unwillingness to compromise on the new constitution forced them into the arms of the revolutionaries.

This extremely well-documented, well-organized study is really telling us something we should have known. In a leaderless revolution, where no one was there to give orders or set up military forces, where the very breadth of the empire made for lack of coordination, the action necessarily boiled down to individual violent deeds. Stimulated at first by purposeful and educated intelligentsia, the revolutionary tide was later dominated by the brutal and uneducated downtrodden, by the frustrated, the angry, the misfits, and the thugs. Geifman makes this perversion of intentions eminently clear. But in Russia of 1905,

what else might we expect? How can wholesale violence remain noble?

I have only a couple of comments. First, we need a more careful definition of "terrorism," a word that we often use indiscriminately. Many of Geifman's tales of Russian revolutionaries remind us of what is going on in our own inner cities. But is it "terrorism" when a group takes over a city administration, or when angry men attack a contingent of police, or when strikers brawl with scabs? Is Geifman justified in equating the term with any violent action by an individual or a small group? Should definitions be altered when revolution is at hand? Second, the author uses a vast array of sources in this extremely well-documented text, with the bulk of her examples drawn from the secret police's Paris files, now housed at the Hoover Institution. She finds these (as I have in my own research) to be on the whole accurate. Yet a nagging doubt persists: would we ask the FBI to describe post-World War II un-American activities for us? Unfortunately, there are few other written sources to tap; fortunately, Geifman balances where she can by citing a vast array of equally one-sided writings by literate revolutionaries.

This book will never make bedtime reading; it is dense with facts and examples. But it represents a new approach to Russian revolutionary activity, and it will make us do some careful thinking about violence, its nature, and its practice.

DEBORAH HARDY
University of Wyoming

LOREN R. GRAHAM. *The Ghost of the Executed Engineer: Technology and the Fall of the Soviet Union*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 128. \$22.95.

This remarkable book by Loren R. Graham deals with one of the many independent minds crushed by the Soviet government: Peter Palchinsky, a mining engineer who was executed in 1929 by Joseph Stalin's order. His name is famous, but, as Graham quotes from an entry in an American encyclopedia of Russian history published in 1982, "little information is available on Palchinsky, and Soviet sources are silent on him" (p. 2). Graham has collected material on Palchinsky for more than three decades. Only with the recent opening of the Palchinsky files in a Russian archive was Graham able to make a major breakthrough. This book, perhaps the first in any language on Palchinsky, is a result of his research in that archive.

Palchinsky, like many of his fellow engineers, took a sharply critical view of the tsarist regime, which he openly condemned for devaluing human life. His keen concern with the human aspects of engineering was sharpened by his observation of life in the Donbas, a steel and mining region in the Ukrainian-Russian borderland. Palchinsky came to sympathize with the moderate anarchists and the populist Socialist Revolutionaries. He participated in the revolution-

ary movement and after the 1905 revolution was exiled to Siberia and then fled abroad. Later he was pardoned, returned to Russia, and played an important role in the Provisional Government in 1917. After the victory of the Bolsheviks, against whom he had fought, Palchinsky came to terms with the new revolutionary government. Believing that the new regime was a more just system with more possibilities for "humanitarian engineering" than its predecessor, Palchinsky came to occupy an influential position in the Soviet state planning agency. Yet Graham shows that Palchinsky's vision of humanitarian engineering was utterly incompatible with that of a government that allowed little room for human values. Graham suggests that a violent end to Palchinsky's career and life was inevitable.

Graham develops his biography of Palchinsky into a critique of the entire history of Soviet engineering and technology. He convincingly shows that the regime's lack of concern for human life was an important factor in its ultimate downfall. Thus, Graham sees the ghost of Palchinsky haunting the ruins of the Soviet Union.

Palchinsky's humanitarian engineering was conditioned by his belief in technocracy. It led him in 1926 to propose a "Tekhintern" (Technical International) in place of the "Komintern" (Communist International): he believed that the twentieth century was "not one of international communism, but of international technology" (p. 43). Technocracy dates back to Saint-Simon and influenced generations of socially conscious engineers, including Palchinsky's contemporaries in the United States and elsewhere. Historians may disagree over whether Palchinsky's alternative was indeed viable, but at last we have the story of a legendary Russian about whom little was known until recently.

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ROBERT V. DANIELS. *The End of the Communist Revolution*. New York: Routledge. 1993. Pp. viii, 222.

In this book Robert V. Daniels has attempted an extremely difficult historical genre. He has marshaled the erudition of a long and distinguished career to place the failure of perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union into a historical context that will be comprehensible to the general reader. He begins with a description of the events of the Mikhail Gorbachev years, continues on a circuitous and selective journey through Soviet history, and returns to the present for a provocative and insightful discussion of Russia's future. No friend of the Soviet regime, Daniels eschews the capitalist triumphalism of so much popular and academic writing on the fall of the Soviet Union. Although the book's ideas are original and interesting, it does not succeed rhetorically. Because Daniels is more allusive than explicit in clarifying the connec-

tions among his various subjects, his book does not cohere particularly well. The result is more a collection of essays than a complete and reasoned argument.

It would appear Daniels does not consider specialists his primary audience. Based largely on secondary works in English, the book presents little that will be unknown to scholars in the field. Daniels limits reading of the Soviet press primarily to *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*, which are curious sources for a work covering the period of glasnost, because these two journalistic warhorses were not among the leaders in innovation or criticism. Daniels has organized his information in an original way and, regardless of the problems of presentation, offers insights that will stimulate the thinking of all readers.

The book begins with two chapters on the birth and death of perestroika. Although the events described will be familiar to those who have followed developments closely, Daniels does offer an explanation for the failure that is both provocative and persuasive. He identifies two pivotal moments. The first came with Boris Yeltsin's realization that reform within the Communist Party was impossible. His allies' decision to gain control of government in the Russian republic proved a crucial step in undermining the power of the Union center, which was then fighting the forces of centrifugal nationalism. Although Russia was the center of the empire, Yeltsin, largely because of his personal rivalry with Gorbachev, attacked Moscow in order to weaken his enemy's authority. The second pivotal moment came in the late summer and early fall of 1990, with Gorbachev's rejection of the Shatalin 500-day plan, which would have constituted a form of shock therapy. Whatever the merits of the plan, Gorbachev had made his peace with those very orthodox Communist forces who would move against him in August 1991.

In a chapter on the decades that preceded Gorbachev's rise to power, Daniels agrees with those who have argued that the urbanization and accompanying social change of these years undermined the authority of the party, which did little to change its methods or personnel. Quoting Tatiana Zaslavskaja, the sociologist who was the bellwether of early perestroika, Daniels makes clear that such a course, by standard Marxist logic, was a recipe for revolution.

Chapters that deal with the years of Joseph Stalin and the revolutionary period are less persuasive. Daniels spends too much time rehashing the ideological texts of various "giants" and not enough on the day-to-day, year-to-year history of the larger society. Daniels may not have wanted to take the long march through the Russian sources, but these chapters are weakened by his complete omission of twenty years of recent Western scholarship on the revolution, not to mention the 1920s and 1930s.

Unlike others of his generation who have ignored this literature, Daniels does not restate old truths about the Soviet Union. His discussion of the Cold

War demonstrates the distortions of Soviet reality that were then current in Western political discourse and exposes the conservative impact on Western domestic politics of exaggerations of the Soviets' power and intentions. In a final meditation on Russia's future, he rejects contemporary capitalism as an appropriate path for Russia and criticizes the naive, ideologically driven embrace of a no longer extant *laissez-faire* capitalism so fervently accepted by those Russians who call themselves reformers.

Daniels regrets that the Soviet experience so discredited anything called "socialism" that a social-democratic alternative, which Daniels sees as especially appropriate to Russia, may never be tried. "The Eastern reformers," he concludes, "assume without reflection that pure capitalist economics will carry them along the developmental path of Germany and the USA, when they may be more likely to find themselves bogged down in a Latin American-style morass of corruption above and desperation below" (p. 183). If Daniels's fears are realized, Russia may become a Brazil but with bad weather. This is a warning that should not be ignored.

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NEAR EAST

PALMIRA BRUMMETT. *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 285. \$17.95.

Among Palmira Brummett's intentions in this study is to demonstrate that the Ottoman state, contrary to relevant Eurocentric historiography of this period, was an active trading, commercial, and entrepreneurial participant in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth-century world order. To accomplish this goal, she proffers three reconceptualizations of the prevailing Eurocentric historiography: the Ottomans were a protagonist rather than an obstacle; to "refocus attention on frontiers not privileged by the Age of Discovery theme" (p. 176); and to expand the understanding of Euro-Asian relations beyond the boundaries imposed by the rhetorics of differences.

The first two reconceptualizations are subjects of chapters 1, 5, and 6, in which Brummett, concentrating on the period 1503-17, seeks to demonstrate that the Ottomans established commercial, trading, and entrepreneurial dominance over the Venetians, Mamluks, and Safavids, but not the Portuguese. Furthermore, she claims, the Ottomans achieved their dominance on the basis of treaties, negotiations, and diplomacy within a context of an acknowledged and strategically implemented commercial policy and not simply for conquest to fuel an expansionist agrarian state motivated by a religious jihadist mentality, as

Bernard Lewis, Charles Issawi, and Thomas Goodrich, among others, have postulated (p. 249, nn. 2–5).

Brummett makes clear in chapters 4 and 5 that the Ottoman state, like the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English, was a seaborne empire and that it was essential for the state to use sea power to defend its interests in the trading of silk, grain, copper, and spices, and not simply for purposes of territorial expansion spurred by religious zeal. She demonstrates that the Ottomans and their state were conscious economic participants in the economic organization of the early sixteenth century.

The author emphasizes that the Ottomans, especially the *askeri* (military and bureaucratic class) and their “rather nebulously omnipresent ‘state’” (p. 231 n. 15) were more active participants in capitalist activities than scholars such as Lütü Güçer, Rhoades Murphey, and Halil İnalcık have acknowledged (p. 230 nn. 14–15). Brummett refrains from categorizing the Ottoman state as mercantile. In her judgment, such a categorization suggests that the Ottoman state possessed more definition than she assigns it. She argues, however, that the decisions of the state and the *askeri* class were prompted by their economic goals.

If this is the case then why, asks the author, have the Ottoman and Safavid states, that is, Islam, been singled out as an impediment to elite participation in long-established and acknowledged commercial behaviors? Her response is found in all three of her reconceptualizations. The reason for the European exclusion of the Ottomans as one of the sixteenth-century seaborne commercial capitalist states “must lie in the nature of the threat that the Ottomans posed to European sovereignty and in the attempt of European historiography to distinguish itself from the Ottoman ‘other’” (p. 180). Historiography focuses on outcomes, Brummett notes, and I will add that in the case of Islam, it does so mightily. This study makes a solid contribution to understanding the sixteenth-century world structure.

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BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN. *The Crystallization of the Arab State System, 1945–1954*. (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, with the cooperation of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University. 1993. Pp. xvi, 253. Cloth \$39.94, paper \$18.95.

In his preface, Bruce Maddy-Weitzman states that “until now, Patrick Seale’s *The Struggle for Syria* [1965] . . . has been the sole serious treatment of inter-Arab politics between 1945 and 1958,” and in this he is correct. Although published soon after the events it described and without the benefit of the relevant documents, Seale’s perceptive work deeply influenced the study of the history and politics of the Arab

world in the post-World War II era. Maddy-Weitzman’s book attempts a new treatment of this period, and although he has uncovered much that is fresh through a meticulous examination of elements of the documentary record unavailable at the time Seale wrote, his book lacks the incisive focus that the earlier one had.

Regarding documentation, this book illustrates a problem with work done by many Israeli scholars on modern Arab history: their inability to utilize the relevant archives in the Arab world. This situation, which affects both Arab and Israeli researchers who are denied access to archives on the other side of the armistice lines, is an effect of the state of war between Israel and the Arab states, whose impact on research will presumably soon be a thing of the past. Granting this problem, however, it is misleading to say, as does Maddy-Weitzman, that “the diplomatic archives of the Arab states remain unavailable to historians” (p. xv). Although this is regrettably true for some states, and for some records and some periods, much recent work has been published drawing on primary documentary sources, including in some cases the archives of the Arab states. For the period after World War II, Madiha Rashida al Madfai’s book using the Jordanian foreign ministry archives (*Jordan, the United States, and the Middle East Peace Process* [1993]), Adnan Mardam Bey’s edition of Khalil Mardam Bey’s diplomatic despatches, Hanna Batatu’s seminal work, as well as books on Iraqi foreign policy by Iraqi scholars such as Mamduh Rousan and Khalid al-Khayru, Walid Khalidi’s work on the end of the Palestine mandate, and recent books on Egyptian policy by Egyptian scholars such as Rif’at Sayyid Ahmad are all based entirely or in part on such primary and archival sources in the relevant countries.

Maddy-Weitzman’s book, like many works on modern Arab history, derives mainly from material in the British, U.S., and Israeli archives. This enables the author to describe events from the perspective of these actors, particularly the British, who played a major role in the politics of the region until the end of the period covered by the book. It is nevertheless a weakness, since by and large it means that we must rely on the perceptions and words of others to explain what Arab statesmen, politicians, and diplomats thought and said. Although the author occasionally refers to Arabic memoir material or the local press, he more frequently cites British or other diplomatic accounts reporting conversations or summarizing press campaigns (see, for example, p. 191 n. 12; p. 192 n. 21; p. 95 n. 61).

Notwithstanding such lacunae, Maddy-Weitzman’s book has several merits. It provides a detailed and well-written account of the complex course of inter-Arab relations as they developed over the issue of Palestine, the problem of Syria’s regional alignment, and questions of regional defense in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Finally, it is generally accurate in its assessments of a difficult subject. Nevertheless, at the

end, the reader may be left without a clear idea of exactly how and why the Arab state system crystallized during the period covered. This may, however, be the result of the opacity of the workings of this system rather than any inability on the part of Maddy-Weitzman, who has given us a competent account of the subject.

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BENNY MORRIS. *Israel's Border Wars, 1949–1956: Arab Infiltration, Israeli Retaliation, and the Countdown to the Suez War*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 451. \$39.95.

Benny Morris is the most important of the Israeli historians who have used Israeli archives made public during the last decade to rewrite the history of Israel's early years. In his meticulous books on the 1948 war and the Arab refugee question, he showed that force and intimidation were the primary factors behind the mass displacement of Palestinian Arabs from what came to be Israeli territory in 1948. In this book, Morris continues the story, mining Israeli state archives, the records of the Israeli military, recently published diaries and memoirs of leading protagonists, and the resources of the British Public Record Office, to describe the character of Arab infiltration into Israel between 1949 and 1956 and Israel's changing but always controversial responses to this legacy of the 1948 war.

Morris argues that initially the impetus behind almost all Arab infiltration came from the spontaneous needs of individual refugees and their desire to return to their homes or villages. What, for Israeli border settlements, seemed like a coordinated Arab campaign of harassment and irredentism was, for starving Arab refugees, a desperate effort to feed themselves (by reaping harvests from their own fields) mixed with collateral opportunities to take revenge on vulnerable Israelis or defend themselves against border guards. In the early years of Israel's existence, hundreds of Arab men, women, and children gathering crops at night were shot to death in "free fire" zones created along the borders.

Israelis saw the infiltration as a challenge to the country's territorial integrity, as a test of the new state's staying power, and as a low-intensity problem whose solution could serve both as a morale booster for the Jewish population and an important training exercise for a new generation of Israeli soldiers. Israeli techniques for countering infiltration passed quickly from "defensive" measures to reprisals. But the nature of the retaliation policy changed: from strikes targeted against perpetrators, to collective punishment of villages or districts from which infiltrators or marauders had come, to attacks on Jordanian, Egyptian, and Syrian military units, to the war against Egypt in 1956. Morris shows how each new policy was triggered by the relatively low but still

painful costs in manpower, money, and international goodwill that became associated with the previous variant of Israeli policy. Although Morris does assert that the retaliation policy led Israel's Arab neighbors to limit infiltration, his more sustained argument is that the excesses and brutality of the policy (including mass expulsions, executions of injured infiltrators, public denial of responsibility for army actions, and incommensurate responses to outrages committed by Arabs) made it, in part, a self-fulfilling prophecy, contributing to the failure of opportunities for peace negotiations, driving Gamel Abdul Nasser into the arms of the Soviet bloc, leading directly to the Egyptian-sponsored Fedayeen attacks of 1955 and 1956, and making the Suez War, or something like it, virtually inevitable.

It is impossible in this brief review to do justice to the richness of Morris's study. In both the text and the footnotes the reader finds a treasure trove of information; we get glimpses into the thinking and actions of many prominent Israelis (including Moshe Dayan, Ariel Sharon, Pinchas Lavon, Moshe Sharett, Motta Gur, and David Ben-Gurion) that will surprise and enlighten even the most well-informed specialist. His assessment of the total casualties on each side that resulted from Arab marauding and Israeli defensive and retaliatory measures will be difficult for anyone to challenge. His comparison of what the record shows and what official Israeli pronouncements claimed about casualty levels, the reasons for infiltration, and the operation of the retaliation policy, shows how skeptical any observer must be about the value of official accounts or descriptions of policy. His assessment of the causes and effects of the Israeli raid on Gaza in February 1955 goes far toward answering many important questions about that event. His discussion of his sources is revealing both for what it says about the extraordinary amount of information released by the Israel and for what it says about what in the country's past remains most difficult for its leaders to contemplate.

Finally, it is worth noting that Morris several times comments how much more we could know, and perhaps will know, when the archives of the Arab countries are opened to researchers. Meanwhile, this superb and dispassionate study will stand as the authoritative work in the field.

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JACOB M. LANDAU. *The Arab Minority in Israel, 1967–1991: Political Aspects*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. 237. \$35.00.

In this book, political scientist Jacob M. Landau has updated his earlier work, *The Arabs in Israel: A Political Study* (1969). This volume's nine chapters examine economic trends, religion, social change, education, language and culture, political organization and participation, and identity since 1967. Although there is

no explicit thesis, the implicit argument is that modernization in the Arab community has been driven by contact with Israeli society and by post-1967 exposure to the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza. Landau also seems to argue that modernization has led to politicization, which he equates with radicalization. The equating of politicization with radicalization is, in itself, problematic; even if one were to accept it, however, the question of why modernization in this community took this path and not another remains. Landau offers no answers.

The basic problem with Landau's discussion is that existing state structures and practices are taken as a given and are seen as generally benign. He repeatedly asserts that Israel had no coherent policy toward its Arab citizens and implies that the existing inequities between Arabs and Jews were largely unintended consequences. Such an argument begs the question of how a state that governed its Arab citizens through a separate military administration from 1948 until 1966 could be viewed as having a "non-policy" toward them.

Perhaps the most glaring example of the problems inherent in this type of analysis is Landau's treatment of identity. In Israel there is a difference between nationality and citizenship: Jews and Arabs alike are Israeli citizens, but they differ in nationality, which is, in effect, another term for religion/ethnicity. Landau takes this system of classification as unproblematic and then adopts the same divisions, analyzing the Arabs separately as Christians, Muslims, and Druzes. He does note that one's sense of identity can be complex and may change. Nonetheless, he fails to examine how these categories have been reinforced and manipulated as part of a broader state policy to divide and control the indigenous Arab minority.

Landau also selectively uses statistics in a way that minimizes the role of structural elements in controlling or discriminating against the Arabs. For example, when evaluating various aspects of Arab progress under Israeli rule, the author introduces statistical information to support his case. When discussing state expenses on municipalities and education, however, Landau notes that Arabs have the feeling that they have not received their fair share, but he offers no numbers. The statistics would have shown that the state does spend disproportionately in the Jewish sector.

Landau's book covers a great deal in only 196 pages. The discussion in chapter 8, a survey of changing participation in elections since 1967, is a very useful summary. The bibliography is also extensive and will be of particular value to those interested in the available literature in Hebrew. Nevertheless, despite several quotes from Arabs and the apparent use of Arabic-written material, the reader does not sense that Landau really understands Arab society. Yet this distance from his subjects should not be confused with detached objectivity. Twenty percent of the Israeli population—the Arabs—remain largely face-

less, while the majority population, Israeli Jews, who enjoy full economic and political rights, figure only marginally into the analysis. Thus, in the final analysis, this is a highly political and partisan work.

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AFRICA

EUGENIA W. HERBERT. *Iron, Gender, and Power: Rituals of Transformation in African Societies*. (African Systems of Thought.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 277. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

Eugenia W. Herbert's argument is that power is maintained as authority through ideology and that ideology is rooted in cosmology, which is itself grounded in "natural" categories of age (including "ancestors") and gender. Cosmology is expressed and reinforced by ritual, especially rituals of transformation. As its subtitle states, this study deals with rituals of transformation, the well-known rites of passage now stretched to add the transformation of raw materials into finished products to the transformations of people. In tropical Africa such materials are anthropomorphized, given both gender and a concrete social position (pp. 101, 213). In part 1 Herbert discovers the relevant cosmology in the rituals of iron smelting (analogous to giving birth) and those accompanying the consecration of the forge. By comparing these to rituals concerning kingship, hunting, and pottery (a poorly ritualized women's industry), in part 2 she finds that gender is an essential category to tropical African cosmologies (p. 206). This is the case because reproduction is a matter of life and death that therefore must be controlled by those in authority (p. 238). Hence ritual control of fertile women makes sense. Those in authority are the old, and as age takes precedence over gender in the hierarchy of social categories, the old are genderless; they include postmenopausal women.

This work should not be read as a study in history. It is a standard essay in comparative anthropology along structuralist-functionalist lines, warts and all. Its universe is tropical Africa, but why that constitutes a universe remains unclear. Herbert's procedure is to present a small number of well-studied cases, irrespective of location, point out ritual similarities and dissimilarities between them, and then supplement these accounts with information from other cases while ignoring both less accessible information and lacunae (p. 20). She explains by positing structural logic or functional conjecture, as when she writes about the social "purpose" of a belief (p. 118), although it could just as well be an "effect." The exercise produces a generalized picture of African beliefs extracted from rituals, objects, and sometimes words, although she is quite clear that her interpretation may not be evident to the participants them-

selves (see, for example, her discussion of the Mount Holyoke graduation ritual, pp. ix-x).

This type of comparative anthropology yields conclusions unencumbered by time and place. The book asserts that there exists a single, presumably unique, system of belief over the whole area (p. 16) including an African view of causation (p. 85). But what does this mean? Has a cosmological language common to all of tropical Africa and to no other area been uncovered? And an unchanging language at that (p. 4, at least until the "modern world came along," p. 111)? Surely it is not enough to find that some major categories such as age or gender are used in symbolic discourse. One wants to see how these operate in a given place at a given date, for only in this way can one show how cosmology underpins authority. In the end one cannot escape history. As a historian, I found the work profoundly frustrating precisely because its findings are abstracted from time and place.

Nevertheless a great deal of careful study has gone into the making of this book. It constitutes a starting point for historical studies of gender and power, while the wealth of data and opinions cited also make this work useful to those who are interested in the history of technology, industry, and ritual.

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SARA BERRY. *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 258. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.50.

The apparent inability of African agriculture to "modernize" effectively has puzzled economists. Despite the facts that the commercialization of agriculture began long ago in Africa, that private-property rights have been widely accepted, and that the considerable powers of both the colonial and postcolonial state have been marshaled to encourage production, little has been accomplished. Indeed, per-capita food production has been dropping at an annual rate of one-half of one percent over the past quarter century, and African farmers are frequently criticized for their apparent irrational inflexibility.

Attempting to illuminate this problem from a specifically historical perspective, Sara Berry has, with both subtlety and cleverness, crafted a book of importance beyond its narrow geographical focus and cool understatement. The subtlety lies in the argument. Basically, Berry argues that in twentieth-century Africa, land and labor, as key factors in the growing commercialization of agricultural production, have increasingly become the objects of endless conflict, negotiations, litigation, and sometimes compromise. The initiators of these conflicts over access to crucial resources have been both social networks rooted in the past, such as families, and new types of social networks, such as political parties. Their activities

have rendered access to land and labor ever more ambiguous and uncertain and hence ever more open to contest. In effect, the seemingly straightforward processes of the commercialization of agriculture, land, and labor relationships that economists identify as leading the way to greater productivity have been compromised by the actions of social networks deeply rooted in African culture.

The book's cleverness lies in its structure. Arguing that vague generalizations about "Africa" are close to useless analytically because they are not rooted in the continent's many different histories, Berry has organized her study around three areas of anglophone Africa, each with a large literature and a different experience of economic history. The areas are the cocoa-based peasant farms of southern Ghana and western Nigeria; the Kikuyu area of central Kenya, profoundly affected by decades of expropriation of land for white settlement; and isolated northeastern Zambia, an area drained of its population through labor migrancy to the Copperbelt. By demonstrating that social networks worked in similar, although not identical, fashion in all three zones despite the great differences in the areas' histories, she arrives at convincing general statements about the process of commercialization and the growth of conflict over access to resources in West, East, and Central Africa.

The carefully proposed generalizations arising from Berry's data will make this book an important contribution to the debate about African agriculture. I hope that it will also stimulate studies that will carry her insights about motivations in contesting access to land and labor to fresh areas of Africa. For example, if her conclusions apply to the peasants of anglophone Ghana and Nigeria, would they work for francophone Senegal and the Ivory Coast? If they fit the labor migrants of anglophone northeastern Zambia, what about lusophone southern Mozambique? If Berry's book is received as it deserves to be, it will serve as a signal blow against the ever-present tendency to deny to Africans historical change and to posit for them a blind adherence, close to irrationality, to unchanging customs.

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ANDARGACHEW TIRUNEH. *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*. (LSE Monographs in International Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 435. \$69.95.

Andargachew Tiruneh has produced a notable new contribution to the literature on Ethiopia's first revolution. This detailed account traces the revolution from its immediate origins in early 1974 to the formation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 1987. A postscript covers the demise of the revolution between 1987 and 1991. The book is remarkable in that it relies heavily on a large number

of primary sources written either in Amharic or other indigenous languages of Ethiopia. These include not only government documents but also materials from various political organizations that either collaborated with or opposed the Marxist-Leninist regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam. Tiruneh writes from the perspective of a well-studied scholar who has experienced firsthand the intellectual evolution of the Ethiopian Left leading up to the revolution.

Rather than beginning with an analysis of the underlying causes of the revolution, Tiruneh chooses to concentrate on precipitating causes. After a brief tour of Ethiopian history in chapter 1, he plunges into an in-depth discussion of the intellectual history of the revolution, focusing mainly on the Ethiopian student movement. He provides rich detail on the organization and functioning of the various Ethiopian student unions, identifying those in North America, Europe, and Addis Ababa as the most active and important. These organizations provided the intellectuals who gave the revolution its ideological direction. Their members formed political organizations that initially worked with the Derg—the military committee that spearheaded the revolution—and later fought against it. Tiruneh is critical of the civilian Left, portraying them as naive and inflexible, especially in dealing with one another. This allowed the Derg easily to fill the power vacuum following the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie.

The major part of the book is devoted to describing how power was consolidated first by the military junta and after 1976 by Mengistu alone. Initially the Derg operated as a collegial group that tried to compromise and work with the civilian Left, even accepting the notion that Ethiopia had to engage in a scientific socialist revolution. Urban and rural property was nationalized in 1975, as were major financial institutions, all prior to the declaration of the Program for the National Democratic Revolution in April 1976. Even as this was happening, however, the Derg was strengthening its own position vis-à-vis potential civilian opponents. It allowed political organizations to form but forbade them to operate as political parties. They were all required to belong to the Joint Front of the Ethiopian Marxist Leninist Organizations, an umbrella organization of the main recognized political groupings in the country, including *Seded*, a military-based organization founded by Mengistu himself in 1976. Civilian opposition became violent, however, resulting in the regime's counterattack in the "Red Terror." Tiruneh vividly describes the gory details of the campaign, in which thousands of young people were liquidated by forces loyal to the Derg.

By late 1976 several factions had emerged within the Derg. An attempt was made to curb Mengistu's appetite for power, but he launched a counter coup in early 1977. By the end of that year, Mengistu stood alone at the top of the Derg and government. Tiruneh provides deep insight into Mengistu's efforts at power consolidation. Following the "Red Terror,"

he decided that it was a mistake to try and develop a party from an agglomeration of political organizations. Instead, he decided that one party had to be built on the foundation of a few "committed communists," individuals rather than groups.

The strength of the book lies in its thick description rather than its penetrating, critical analysis. The revolution is evaluated only in the most superficial sense. The same applies to the postscript. The latter describes what happened in the four years following 1987, but little attention is given to the theoretical, political, or policy implications of these events. Despite this shortcoming, Tiruneh's book is must reading for anyone who wants to fill in some critical gaps in their understanding of the process of Ethiopia's first revolution.

EDMOND KELLER

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GEORGE E. BROOKS. *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630*. (African States and Societies in History.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xvi, 360. \$49.95.

George E. Brooks's broad synthesis in this book is based on more than twenty-five years of his research and experience. The title refers to the systematized relationship, dating back at least a millennium, between itinerant merchants and indigenous groups in West Africa. The former received safety, shelter, warehousing, and patronage in return for acknowledging the latter's local land rights and fees, and for providing them access to non-local commodities. As the subtitle indicates, the book emphasizes what is, perhaps tritely but not incorrectly, an old theme of African studies: trade and its vast networks, which are such an obvious part of the vibrancy of West African society to this day.

Brooks's book is, however, more than the new wine of data poured into the old skin of trade in West Africa. One major innovative dimension is Brooks's template of ecological change in the region, specifically, a long dry period (1110–1500), a short wet period (1500–1630), and another dry period (1630–1860). Brooks maintains a constant sensitivity throughout his book to the impact that rainfall variations can have on everything from the mundane, such as fish preservation, to the momentous, such as military conquest by cavalry as tsetse fly lines recede. He persistently applies his template of the long dry, short wet, and renewed dry periods to all levels of analysis, including speculation on the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, arguably fed by the desperation of communities confronted with drought following 130 good years.

Another dimension developed in the book is that of the spread of "power associations" by Mande-speaking traders, blacksmiths, and migrants among their host communities. These associations altered, in fact

stratified, the power, class, and social organization of host communities. Brooks also discusses the waning of power associations in the wake of Islam's gradual spread throughout the region.

Brooks's chronological focus encompasses the arrival of Portuguese explorers, traders, and settlers. The data he presents of Portuguese-African interaction, from illnesses to "stranger" contracts with African communities, settlement patterns, quantities and qualities of items bought and sold, and routes of intra-African and coastal trade, are impressively detailed and of tremendous utility to other scholars. Brooks's experience of the Cape Verde Islands also infuses into the book the significance of Euro-African settlement and trade.

Brooks recounts the rise, fall, and transformation of many very small and some large states, commercial networks, language groups, and agricultural communities throughout western Africa. By "western Africa" he means the Senegambia hinterland and coastal region down to Guinea and the Malaguetta Coast (Liberia), unfortunately excluding the Gold and Ivory coasts on to Nigeria, parts of which were linked into the great Mande trade networks. At times the narrative seems choppy as the author trots along geographically, presenting data first on the Senegal River, then the Petite Côte, next the Gambia River region, then the Bega-Corubal-Grande-Bissagos Islands, and so on. But the strength of the book lies in the fact that he never veers far from his themes of ecology, commodity production, and exchange. The various practical implications of trading in cotton, kola, pepper, salt, gold, or iron, and the environmental degradation and renewal of cultivation patterns, forest clearing, and climatic changes dominate his synthesis.

Brooks makes wide use of current published research and published Portuguese archival materials, much of the latter edited and translated by P. E. H. Hair, whom Brooks graciously acknowledges. It is somewhat disconcerting, however, that in a book with this depth of detail, scope, and erudition, purely archival citations are absent. The preface suggests that the author has visited the archives of Senegal, the Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau, but he appears to have studiously avoided citing any documentation from them or any other archive, perhaps because he feels compelled to mold his references into a social-science citation system rather than using traditional footnotes. Such an approach to documentation is an advantage to scholars who wish to pursue various published works but does a disservice to the reader who wishes to evaluate the original source.

The broad-ranging synthesis and fascinating ecological detail and analysis of this book make it distinct. Provided Brooks's climatic time periods stand the scrutiny of scholarly examination, no one will again be able to write about western African history

from 1000 to 1800 without considering these ecological changes.

DONNA J. E. MAIER
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JAMES F. SEARING. *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860*. (African Studies Series, number 77.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 252. \$49.95.

James F. Searing looks closely at the Senegal River Valley and the adjacent islands of St. Louis and Gorée in far western Africa in terms of their increasing orientation toward the Atlantic economy. Growing reliance on slaves throughout the region marked the beginning of the period covered, and it ended with the escalation of nineteenth-century French military policy there from protection of European "free trade" to territorial control. In the interim, the dynastic factions in the principal African states of the agricultural regions south of the Senegal River—Kajoor, Bawol, Waalo—became dependent on slave warriors for the power they exercised, village farmers imported slaves to grow millet for a thriving grain trade that provisioned the producers and transporters of exports, and the so-called "Moors" in the drier lands north of the river bought other slaves to collect gum arabic for sale into Atlantic markets. In addition, small mercantile slave societies took shape in the two island towns.

Searing contrasts his emphasis on the importance of slaves to every group of Africans in the region who assumed positions of prominence during this era with what he feels has been an overly narrow emphasis in existing scholarship on the slaves sent abroad from St. Louis and Gorée, mostly to the French islands of the Caribbean. He also dates the eighteenth-century growth of slavery in these far western regions of Africa earlier than have some previous historians, who have tended to correlate it with the rise of peanut production there in the 1840s. The importance of slavery in the Senegal Valley he compares, rightly, to the reliance on slaves in most other African regions experiencing commercial development in the nineteenth century: the Swahili coast in eastern Africa, the delta regions at the mouth of the Niger River, and the Zaire River trading peoples in central Africa. He might have added the nominally "Portuguese" residents of Angola, who went through similar developments, on closely parallel timing under the influence of another European mercantile empire.

Searing's close focus on local events is, of course, healthy and in conformity with African historians' longstanding quest to understand Africans on their own terms. To this end, he gives specialists in Senegambian history detailed reconstructions of key eras in the political history of the coastal kingdom of Kajoor, adds emphasis on the early and peaceable conversion of villagers to Islam as they became involved in commerce to the customary focus on later,

forced, and violent conversions through jihad, and, especially, demonstrates the centrality of the provisioning trade in millet for the fortunes of all concerned. The primary African variable over the long run, in these desert-edge latitudes, was the irregularity of the climate, and Searing returns again and again to the intricate consequences of drought and associated food scarcities. On this theme, he is at pains to avoid climatic determinism, showing how people also contributed to creating famine by cutting down protective forests to grow grain and raise cattle for export, how centers of dense population strained adjacent provisioning zones, and how social and political violence interacted with weather patterns to generate the consequences observed in an increasingly fragile ecological balance. He makes numerous acute observations around this theme.

The central chapters of the book focus on the urban inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée. Here Searing mines little-used, but often very detailed, French records to draw some relatively familiar characters—the eighteenth-century female traders of the Upper Guinea region (usually termed *signares*, derived from *senhora*, meaning “lady” in Portuguese, despite the erroneous etymology on p. 77) and French subjects who mounted increasingly voluble protests against colonial pressures during and after the French Revolution—together in a coherent story of the rise and fall of a coastal merchant community. He emphasizes the extent to which these leaders relied on slaves to conduct their business, to supply the export slave merchants with provisions to feed their captives, to operate the boats that carried imports far up the Senegal River and returned with more slaves, to staff the households of the towns, and to perform municipal chores. He finds the *signares* wealthiest and most influential before the Seven Years’ War (1756–63). From then until the French Revolution their sons, as heads of the extended families they had founded, tended to set the terms on which metropolitan companies operated in the local commercial domains. But Republican commerce then overwhelmed the more limited financial resources of the local traders, and severe drought in the 1830s, the decline in the gum trade (and the turn toward peanut exports) in the 1840s, and—critically—emancipation of their slaves in 1848 reduced them to agents of European trading firms, minor functionaries in the new colonial government of the 1850s, and politicians.

Beyond the frequent intriguing insights and the novelty of detail and emphasis, the reader also notices limitations. Cambridge University Press ought to produce volumes better copy-edited than this one; there are frequent repetitions (and sometimes inconsistencies among them), and paragraphs and sections too often start in one direction, detour in another, and start over in a third. The prose is frequently not easy to follow. And—a pointless discourtesy—the pages to which the notes have been relegated at the end of the

book carry no references to the pages of the text to which they refer. No bibliography has been provided, either. Although Searing provides various comparative contexts and occasional broad sketches of the Atlantic economy, the comparisons do not always seem germane. The conceptual frameworks of the discussion waver from the dominant tone of market economics to political economy and other current theoretical fashions. French policy and personnel figure so prominently that the nearly invisible metropolitan context seems significantly lacking. But Searing is sensibly on the mark in his understanding of the dynamics of Africa during the age of merchant capitalism, and his book brings us closer to understanding important general features of how traders there brought their societies into the modern era through investing in slaves.

JOSEPH C. MILLER
University of Virginia

CHARLES W. WEBER. *International Influences and Baptist Mission in West Cameroon: German-American Missionary Endeavor under International Mandate and British Colonialism*. (Studies in Christian Mission, number 9.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1993. Pp. xvi, 176. \$65.75.

Stereotypes of missionaries abound, ranging from their perceptions of themselves as the “messengers of liberation,” to those of critics as busybodies who generally mess up the lives and cultures of other people. Thus, terms such as “insensitive,” “paternalistic,” “ethnocentric,” and destroyers of native cultures are often used to describe missionaries in foreign lands. In this slim book, however, Charles W. Weber challenges this popular image of missionaries, focusing on the missionary lives and careers of Carl Bender, George Albert Dunger, and Paul Gebauer, three American Baptist missionaries in Cameroon, West Africa. Weber contends that none of these three missionaries fit the image associated with the “typical” missionary. In his words, “Neither of the three missionaries central to this study were really the stereotyped missionary of the period. As a matter of fact, they criticized their own missionary colleagues who they felt were insensitive, domineering, and uninformed towards the African peoples with whom they were involved. Instead, each of this study’s missionaries felt the necessity to understand the peoples and cultures, which they each wrote about . . . They saw their role as one of preserving the inherent worth of the African culture, protecting it from the detrimental aspects of Western culture” (pp. 153–54).

For illustration, the author discusses the attitudes of the three missionaries toward African culture, especially as reflected in their study of the local languages and their publications of aspects of African society and culture. He further points out that these missionaries not only sought to create an authentic African church but were also anxious to free the

Baptist churches in Cameroon from "foreign overseers" (p. 101).

The major problem here, it seems to me, is that Weber appears to accept these missionaries' noble thoughts, ideals, and expectations at face value. First, these missionaries' seemingly favorable attitude toward African culture was selective; there is no evidence that they embraced the culture in its totality. And were the trio not the "foreign overseers" of the direction of change? Surely their relations with the local people, particularly mission staff, may have been cordial. This by no means makes them unique in the annals of missionary enterprise.

Second, Weber seems to overlook the *raison d'être* of missionary evangelism, which embodies the replacement of African traditional religion with Christianity. In this regard, it is not clear what exactly Gebauer meant in this statement: "We shall not offer another religion to them [Cameroonians]" (p. 62). Missionary Christianity fundamentally turned African society and culture upside down, and cultural alienation, which necessarily accompanied Christian conversion, remained part and parcel of missionary enterprise. Yet Weber argues that, "To the missionaries in this study, evangelism was not a direct import from the West" (p. 155), and that "The mission desire was not to separate Baptists from their society, but rather to make them effective Christians within their society" (p. 98). The argument is unconvincing, given the impact of Baptist missionary work on Cameroonians.

Weber also examines the American Baptist Mission's "functional approach" to education, relations with other missions and the British colonial administration. The education policy, as analyzed by the author, reminds me of a similar attitude adopted by the British Church Missionary Society in Nigeria. Overall, this book makes interesting reading, and the life histories enrich our understanding of the mentalities of the missionaries. The major weakness of the book lies in its almost total lack of an African perspective. Why, for instance, is there no African opinion about the American missionaries and their work?

FELIX K. EKECHI
Kent State University

RICHARD RATHBONE. *Murder and Politics in Colonial Ghana*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 209. \$35.00.

Historians and detectives have much in common. Both deal with scraps of evidence, incomplete and often circumstantial, and search for motive, method, and opportunity. It is odd, therefore, that historians rarely examine murder as historical material.

Richard Rathbone's book demonstrates brilliantly the potential of doing so. His story is as gripping as a P. D. James mystery (indeed she is acknowledged as having helped with the forensic evidence). As history it leads us into fascinating aspects of the colonial relationship, African psychology, political behavior,

and the tensions between tradition and change at both the social and the individual level.

The central event in Rathbone's tale is the disappearance, on February 24, 1944, of the Odikro (town chief) of Apendwa, at the end of the funeral rites for Sir Ofori Atta I, king of the state of Akyem Abuakwa in the southern part of the then Gold Coast colony. The colonial police later dug up skeletal remains that they claimed were those of the missing chief. In July eight members of the royal family were arrested and charged with the murder of the Odikro. The subsequent trial, interminable appeals, and eventual executions of several of the accused became sensational issues in Gold Coast and British politics, with the convicted men and their lawyers in the colony and in Britain maintaining their innocence to the end.

Before unraveling the mystery Rathbone devotes a quarter of his book to an analysis of the thirty-year reign of Sir Ofori Atta over Akyem Abuakwa, which transformed the state, in fact and in the eyes of the British overrulers, into a "modern and progressive" polity and a model of what the "indirect rule" philosophy was supposed to achieve. Ofori Atta was clearly a complex character, dedicated to the survival of his state under colonial rule, which he believed could only be achieved through Western education for its aristocracy and by modernizing the bureaucracy. He befriended the Presbyterian missionaries while himself taking dozens of wives, all high born from subject towns, rearing their offspring to cherish learning and Western ways. Thus, a warrior aristocracy became transformed into an educated elite deeply involved in the cash economy and the new cocoa industry linked to the king by clientage and subsidization of school and even overseas university education. Within this system the new values of the colonial regime, cash economy and Christianity, were woven into a single cloth with the traditional culture. The death of the king, considered one of the "greatest" in the history of the state, was thus cataclysmic, and the emotions surrounding his funeral rites intense.

Rathbone then takes the reader through the trial of the accused royals. In an earlier article Rathbone had committed himself to the view that no murder had taken place ("A Murder in the Colonial Gold Coast: Law and Politics in the 1940s," *Journal of African History* 30, no. 3 [1989]). In a painstaking reassessment, he now concludes that the Odikro of Apendwa was indeed murdered, by the accused acting together. As to motive, Rathbone considers and dismisses a number of suggestions, concluding that this was indeed a ritual murder, according to tradition, in which the chief was sacrificed to do honor to the dead king (an honor that Rathbone agrees would have horrified Sir Ofori Atta).

Murder will out, and the aftermath of this one assumed Shakespearean proportions. The murder shook the economic and moral foundations of Akyem Abuakwa; it alienated the British (and later national)

authorities; it radicalized close kin of the accused, like J. B. Danquah, hitherto an ideal collaborative moderate nationalist in British eyes, into forming the first nationalist movement dedicated to self-government as soon as possible, and even played a role in the emergence of Kwame Nkrumah's more radical Convention People's Party, although Rathbone is careful not to make too much of "what if" scenarios.

This splendid book irritated me in only one respect: the two maps are singularly unhelpful.

JOHN FLINT
Dalhousie University

JEAN MARIE ALLMAN. *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 263. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Jean Marie Allman's study of Asante nationalism within the British colony of the Gold Coast—later renamed Ghana—during the 1950s is a welcome and important addition to the body of literature concerned with the history of nationalism in Africa. She challenges the notion that mass movements ostensibly organized during the late-colonial period to defend the interests of self-defined subgroups within the colonial state were either expressions of primordial ethnic sentiments or merely the instruments for defending the class interests of aspiring businessmen. She contests the idea that the failure of these movements was caused solely by their emphasis on narrow ethnic-based interests. She also raises some important questions about the definition of nationalism.

The focus of Allman's study is the National Liberation Movement (NLM), an organization that emerged in the mid-1950s initially to defend the interests of Asantes as the Gold Coast colony moved toward independence under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP). Allman describes why so many diverse groups within Asante (peasant cocoa farmers, small business men, the old educated families of Asante, and the Asante king) lent their support to the NLM. She discusses how this organization was able to mobilize and maintain the support of these diverse groups. She also analyzes the ultimate failure of the NLM within the more inclusive context of interethnic relations, the competition for political and economic power within Ghana, and the historic competition for power and prestige within Asante.

Critical to Allman's analysis is the role of the *nkwanakwa* of Asante. She identifies this group as those young men who by the late nineteenth century had enough means to distinguish themselves from the poor and underprivileged, but who were also unable to pursue the established avenues to power and prestige because they were not of royal birth and did not come from families of significant financial means. In the 1880s, the *nkwanakwa* made a bid for power. They did so by aligning themselves with more wealthy

members of Asante society (another aggrieved group) and then launching a coup against the Asante king in order to overturn those policies that they felt were detrimental to their interests. According to Allman, the *nkwanakwa* performed the same function in the 1950s. They organized opposition to the CPP policies when the latter were perceived to have had a detrimental impact on a number of groups within Asante. It is also Allman's well-supported contention that the ultimate demise of this movement was due not only to its inability to appeal as a political party to non-Asantes in the Gold Coast (who feared Asante domination) but also because tensions existed between the *nkwanakwa* and the Asante royals over access to power and prestige within the NLM, tensions that dated from the late nineteenth century. This is a superb study of Asante nationalism. The only area of concern I would raise is the fact that one never gets a sense of who exactly the *nkwanakwa* were. A more developed sociological analysis or brief biographies of the twentieth-century *nkwanakwa* would have given the reader a clearer image of these individuals.

By defining the foundation of the NLM as an expression of nationalist rather than ethnic sentiments and then linking these nationalist sentiments to the precolonial, pre-industrial, and oral-based Asante state, Allman also raises important questions about the definition of nationalism. To what extent are there real and significant distinctions between ethnic and nationalist sentiments? Should we understand the growth of nationalism as a phenomenon necessarily dependent on the existence of widespread literacy (as articulated in Benedict Anderson's most influential study, *Imagined Communities* [1983]), or is it possible for nationalist sentiments to develop in oral-based states? Was twentieth-century Asante nationalism built on a preexisting nationalist foundation that had its origins in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Allman discusses the complexity of the problems posed by these questions but opts to assume that Asante nationalism did exist in the precolonial period, and that the *nkwanakwa* simply activated these sentiments in their bid to challenge the CPP. While reading the book, I found myself wishing Allman had given more attention to these questions. Nevertheless, as a study of the rise of Asante nationalism on the eve of Ghana's independence, it remains an important contribution to a field of study that has to date received far too little attention from historians.

SANDRA E. GREENE
Cornell University

PAUL E. LOVEJOY and JAN S. HOGENDORN. *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936*. (African Studies Series, number 76.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 391. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$19.95.

The British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was the world's largest slave society in the twentieth century. Its predecessor, the Sokoto Caliphate of the nineteenth century—with probably two million of its inhabitants in slavery—roughly matched Brazil in its number of slaves, and its slave population was perhaps half that of the American South. In this amply documented volume, Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn have gone behind the published and often-cited memos of Lord Lugard, founder of Northern Nigeria, to explore the reality of slavery under colonial rule.

This is a monographic study of Nigeria alone. As such, it advances our understanding of slavery and its heritage in that great and populous country. But the book is also important for comparative and global studies of slavery: it ought to be read along with studies of slavery and emancipation in the United States, the Caribbean, Brazil, and elsewhere in Africa.

Lord Lugard, assuming control of the region in 1900, favored abolition of slavery, but at a gradual rate and with minimum cost to the owners. He was, as Lovejoy and Hogendorn say, "one of the most conservative abolitionists in the long fight against slavery" (p. 286). The linchpin of his policy was what the authors have called "legal-status abolition." Lord Lugard, following an approach launched in British India in 1843, implemented abolition of the legal status of slavery, in contrast to the "sudden emancipation" of slaves in the British West Indies. Slaves could not sue for their freedom, since the law did not recognize their slavery.

Lovejoy and Hogendorn open by tracing the British conquest, the initial flight and desertion by perhaps 10 percent of the slaves (especially males), and the crushing of a Mahdist rebellion in 1906 dominated by fugitive slaves.

The authors then turn to "the reform of slavery" under colonial rule. Themes in this reform, addressed in successive chapters, include the continuing debate over implementation of the act of legal-status abolition from 1897; the establishment of a tax structure that bore heavily on slaves and ex-slaves; and implementation of a land policy that largely denied ex-slaves access to land holdings. The latter point opens readily to comparison with the literature on postemancipation land disputes in Jamaica and the American South.

More innovative and equally important is the authors' focus on the persistence of concubinage. Theirs is the most detailed and thoughtful analysis to date of slavery and concubinage in Africa; their framework and the priority they attribute to the issue may well be applicable, with some adjustment for racial distinctions, to slave societies in the Americas.

The rich narrative, based on ample resources in archives and in oral testimony, reflects an effective collaboration of the authors in research and writing. They note regional and topical omissions in their coverage, although it is hard to imagine a more

comprehensive first effort to address this vast topic. For me, the analysis underscores two broad points: on one hand, the ability of a slave system to survive for decades without strong state support and, on the other hand, the reality of an immense and thriving system of slavery under twentieth-century European colonial rule.

The Northern Nigerian state did not advocate slavery; neither did it repeal slavery. With dense documentation and in restrained but elegant prose, the authors reveal the immensity of the cost in suffering and exploitation brought by a policy of gradualism, as an entrenched government decided that the ultimate triumph of justice must be subordinated to the interim imperatives of order and hierarchy.

PATRICK MANNING
Northeastern University

JEREMY KRIKLER. *Revolution from Above, Rebellion from Below: The Agrarian Transvaal at the Turn of the Century*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 261. \$55.00.

Jeremy Krikler's book concentrates on the countryside of South Africa's Transvaal territory during a narrow span of time: barely half a decade, ca. 1899–1904. These were not just any years, however, but critical ones encompassing the South African (or Boer) War and its immediate aftermath. Krikler's concern is not with the military contest between imperial Britain and the Afrikaners but with what he sees as a concomitant "class war sheathed within the Boer-British conflict" (p. 31), specifically a war between white landlords and African peasants. He demonstrates that all over the region Africans took advantage of the British invasion to settle their own scores with the landowners: seizing cattle and land, refusing to render labor service, and backing their claims with a considerable exercise in armament. They believed the expropriation of Afrikaner property would surely be permanent, supported by the victorious Britons. They sought, in Krikler's memorable phrase, "a world without landlords" (p. 28).

They were to be disappointed. Shocked peasants at Lydenburg, as elsewhere, were blithely informed by the new British Native Commissioner that "the land belongs to the Boers as before the war" (p. 42). Tenancy agreements were to be enforced. Most dramatically, perhaps, the occupying imperial power completely disarmed the peasantry; according to Krikler, the number of armed Africans dropped in two years from 50,000 to 100. Thus, "the class of Boer landowners, brought to the very edge of extinction by the war, was restored" (p. 59). Why was British rule so charitable to its late enemies? Krikler argues, following Shula Marks, Stanley Trapido, and others, that the South African war was fought to create a (southern African) world fit for mature capitalism. Although the

agrarian Transvaal was hardly as vital to British interests as the huge Witwatersrand gold mines, the colonial power sought to lay the foundation for long-term transition to rural capitalism. Given the racial attitudes of the day and the basic need for stability, it is not surprising that Britain placed its bets on white estate agriculture rather than a black peasantry.

A world restored; the parallel with the collapse of radical reconstruction in the southern United States is inescapable. Yet Krikler argues that it was not, after all, "quite the same world" (p. 64), as, of course, it was not quite the same world in the American South either. Hence his argument for a "revolution from above," a British effort to transform the sleepy (though brutal) precapitalist nature of the rural Transvaal by regularizing administration and taxation, establishing agricultural and veterinary services, and accentuating private property with fences and cattle brands, among other measures.

All the while, however, the African peasantry pursued its own agenda, primarily by resisting the alienation (a key word in this work) of its labor to the landlords. Peasants avoided in every possible way the interference, control, and exploitation of landlords: thus, they settled on the few remaining non-private lands at densities twenty-five times greater than tenants on private estates, preferred absentee landlords over resident ones, opted for cash rent instead of labor obligations, and did anything—even labor tenancy and sharecropping—to avoid seeing their direct household links with the land dissolved and their own proletarianization. Their efforts met with some success in this period. In the longer run, unfortunately, their relative independence would be all but destroyed in the creation of the late-twentieth-century South African apartheid state.

Given that Krikler insists on a strong, precapitalist black peasantry and a weak, largely precapitalist white farming sector even at the close of his period, one may question how revolutionary this period of British intervention was. He detects only a "tendency" toward fully capitalist private property (p. 224). Terminology aside, his case rests on the argument that a new kind of state had been created, "a state in which the capitalization of agriculture could proceed" (p. 225).

Some readers may find Krikler's work old-fashioned in that it harkens back to the heyday of Marxian African studies in the 1970s. Some may find reading a book now that closes with a ponderous meditation on South Africa's transition to socialism positively quaint. Indeed, Krikler is avowedly and unabashedly Marxist in his approach, citing Karl Marx's *Capital* at many junctures. But he succeeds in showing the continuing utility of many Marxian tools of analysis. Although he can belabor a point and occasionally romanticize the peasant class struggle, he does not succumb to jargon. The book is actually a pleasure to read, partly because of Krikler's considerable literary gifts, but mainly because of the richness of human

historical detail, based on an exhaustive mining of the archival sources. This is a vivid portrait of a rural world and a valued contribution to southern African agrarian history.

KENNETH P. VICKERY
North Carolina State University

ASIA

SUZANNE B. CAHILL. *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 303. \$39.50.

The Queen Mother of the West (Hsi Wang Mu) was, Suzanne B. Cahill writes, "the greatest Taoist goddess of the T'ang Dynasty (618–907)" (p. 1). From her perch in the Taoist pantheon where she reigned as "The Ninefold Numinous Grand and Realized Primal Ruler of the Purple Tenuity from the White Jade Tortoise Terrace" (p. 34), she acted as a political legitimizer, divine matchmaker, great teacher of the Taoist arts, and lover of royal heroes. Her persona was cosmologically if not sexually androgynous: she was associated with both yin and yang, sun and moon, and life and death; "she is not only a nurturing and compassionate goddess but also a governor of death" (p. 68).

Cahill focuses her remarkable study of the Queen Mother on two themes: transcendence, "which implies overcoming human limitations such as mortality and ignorance"; and divine passion, "the desire of deities and humans for mutual union and communication" (p. 3). Through their worship of the goddess, "people of the T'ang united their two greatest longings," namely "the wish to transcend death and the desire for perfect love" (p. 242). As both teacher of the arts of immortality and divine matchmaker, the Queen Mother was in a position to fulfill both longings.

The "people of the T'ang" to whom Cahill refers do not, however, include common people. The two main sources for her portrait of the Queen Mother are both products of elite culture: the hagiographical account of the goddess by the Shang ch'ing Taoist master, Tu Kuang-t'ing (850–933), and works by various T'ang poets collected in the *Complete T'ang Poetry* (Ch'üan T'ang shih). To borrow a phrase from the title of a poem by one of these poets, Tu Fu's "Lines on the Beautiful People" (p. 96), Cahill presents the Queen Mother as the beautiful people of the T'ang imagined her. But these beautiful people were not all of a piece, as exemplified in Cahill's contrast between Tu's "cool and formal" hagiographical account and the more "playful or sensual" poetic presentations (p. 9). Cahill likens some of the T'ang poems on the goddess to "accounts of the lifestyles of the rich and famous in the modern popular press" (p. 212). But her translations of T'ang poetry, with their sprinklings of jade syrinxes, pink perianths, erianthus

grasses, cyan drop-offs, and simurgh and phoenix topknots, do not readily call to mind the language of the modern press.

Although the bulk of the book (chapters 2–6) focuses on T'ang impressions of the goddess, chapter 1 “investigates worship of the Queen Mother and her meetings with heroes up to the T'ang dynasty” (p. 7). Chapter 2 “defines the goddess’s names, birth, appearance, companions, and home,” chapter 3 “considers her meetings with legendary rulers and sages of antiquity,” chapter 4 discusses her encounters with historical rulers and immortals, and chapters 5 and 6 recount her encounters with men and women of the T'ang, all as related by Tu Kuang-t'ing and T'ang poets. Chapter 1, in which Cahill provides glimpses of the development of the mature Queen Mother from combinations of goddesses dating back to Shang times, is probably of greatest interest to historians of religion. But this interest might have been enhanced by an explanation of just how or why this synthesis of deities took place.

The book ends with an account of the Queen Mother’s special relationship with women, especially those outside the family. It notes the striking contrast between the power and prestige of the goddess and the actual roles of women in T'ang China. As in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), the low status and paucity of opportunity available to an oppressed group was masked by the doctrine, stated by Tu Kuang-t'ing, that “men’s and women’s paths are equal but separate” (p. 215). Had the Queen Mother been as powerful and compassionate as she was supposed to have been, how could she have permitted her chief hagiographer to express such a reactionary idea? No wonder that her influence waned in subsequent eras of Chinese history.

JOHN B. HENDERSON
Louisiana State University

MARILYN A. LEVINE. *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties*. (Jackson School Publications in International Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 287. \$35.00.

Deng Xiaoping went to France when he was sixteen. He spent five years there, much of the time working in a Renault plant. They were important years. They had a formative effect on Deng and on the future character of the Chinese Communist Party. Although Deng, unfortunately, is mentioned only in passing in Marilyn A. Levine’s well-researched new book, he is today the most famous of those future party leaders chronicled by Levine who studied and worked in Europe during the 1920s.

When they returned to their native country, those who helped form the European branches of the Chinese Communist Party later became a distinctive and important group within the party. Levine sets out to show how the greater access to Marxist materials

and the relatively open atmosphere of Europe gave the Chinese students different organizational and ideological principles than other members of the party.

Certainly those who joined the party in Europe seem not to have wavered in their commitments over the years. As Levine points out, only two of the fifty-seven members who signed up with the party in the first year after it was organized in China remained in it. But virtually all of those who entered the party in Europe stayed as members, and almost all became prominent.

There was little in the background of these people that would explain this phenomenon. Like the young Deng Xiaoping, most students had little education, factory experience, or skills prior to arriving in Europe. The majority were from Sichuan or Hunan. Over 1,600 of this “found generation” went to study in France (on which Levine concentrates almost exclusively) between 1919 and 1921 as part of the “Work-Study Movement,” motivated by a desire to find solutions for China’s national salvation. The students financed their education with work in Western factories, which were experiencing a labor shortage in the wake of World War I.

Some learned to speak French well, others hardly at all. Some made a lot of foreign friends, others hardly any. All, however, were exposed, usually for the first time, to working-class life, and all felt broadened and enriched by their travel and their new environment. Levine argues that they gained a better understanding of the proletariat in its Western context and a less parochial view of the Chinese scene.

Thrown together in an alien environment, the students bonded with each other. This may, Levine explains, clarify why they became such a distinct group. When the more radical students began a party cell in 1921, their actions did not, as in China, lead to a schism in the radical movement but rather served to identify those genuinely interested in ideological activities and to create a greater solidarity among these students, one that grew deeper over time as they fought the same struggle with university officials and bureaucrats.

Levine’s point that it was this ideological commitment and mutual bonding rather than Comintern manipulation that gave the students their unique identity makes a valuable contribution to the literature. She has done a nice job of ferreting out this story. More detail on exactly how the students experienced Europe would have made this study more exciting. It also could have focused more on precisely how the experiences of those abroad differed from and yet were still shaped by those who stayed behind in China. Levine nonetheless has sifted through a great wealth of information to bring us an interesting, long-awaited work.

LEE FEIGON
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POSHEK FU. *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937–1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 261. \$35.00.

Poshek Fu's book is an original contribution to both the history of Chinese intellectuals and the hitherto hardly studied period from 1937 to 1945. The author avoids the usual global approaches, be it national politics or military history, to focus on one place, Shanghai, and a few intellectual figures. According to Fu, these figures are representative of the moral dilemmas Shanghai intellectuals had to face during the Japanese occupation and the choices they made to save their lives and their souls.

After the defeat of the Nationalist government and its resettlement in Sichuan, intellectuals in Shanghai could either flee to the interior to join the resistance effort or stay in Shanghai under the protection of the foreign settlements afforded to them, at least until 1941. Because of this particular context, intellectuals were hard pressed by the nationalist resistance and the Japanese army and their collaborators to side with either of them. They had an even stronger feeling of guilt for having remained under Japanese rule. To overcome this feeling, the figures studied by Fu sought redemption in various ways.

Wang Tongzhao, after an initial participation in anti-Japanese publications, was deeply depressed by the brutality of war, even of the resistance, which he found contradictory with the ideals of humanity he had pursued since the May Fourth period. He eventually retreated into seclusion and passivity to preserve his own moral integrity, especially after Shanghai's occupation in December 1941. Li Jianwu distinguished himself by a weak involvement in active politics, even in literary circles, during the whole period. Fu credits his choice to an unrelenting will to preserve his independence, although he still labels him a resister for writing dramas with subtle nationalist undertones. Finally, the choice of collaboration is illustrated by a group of mediocre writers who launched the *Gujin* journal under the patronage of Zhou Fohai. They justified their unfortunate choice by sticking to the motto of their own irrelevance and therefore irresponsibility: they were born at the wrong time in the wrong place.

One of the great merits of Fu's book is to add flesh and blood to our understanding of the fundamental choices Chinese intellectuals had to make after the Japanese occupation. He presents a careful and nuanced analysis of the intricate problems of resistance and collaboration and the ways intellectuals drew on the vast register of historical references to adapt to the pressures of their time. Moreover, referring to the European experience, Fu shows that one could hardly find clear dividing lines between passivity, resistance, and collaboration. Fundamentally, as one Japanese observer noted: "Chinese intellectuals are without exception pro-China" (p. 151).

Nevertheless, one cannot help but express reservations on some aspects of Fu's book. A major one is his choice of Li Jianwu to illustrate "resistance" outside "genuine" resistance. In spite of his eventual arrest and torture by the *Kempetai* in April 1945, Li's production during the occupation was scarce, hardly original, and provided little material to stimulate the spirit of resistance. Fu notes that few people were able to perceive the "hidden message" that his plays were supposed to convey. Like Wang Tongzhao, yet in a different way, he instead tried to preserve his "loyalty" toward China. The same problem of definition applies to the "collaborators" whose journal gained an immense and undeniable success in terms of readership in the city. How should this be interpreted? Finally, I was surprised by the radical tone of the epilogue, which contrasts with the author's otherwise well-balanced interpretations. I, for one, do not subscribe to the idea that Shanghai had "lived on borrowed time" or that it was characterized by "an imperialist regime of terror and exploitation." These are not the real issues discussed in the book.

Fu's work is to be recommended for its original approach to the Sino-Japanese war period. It points to the need for new research in the same sensitive vein.

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PHILIP C. BROWN. *Central Authority and Local Autonomy in the Formation of Early Modern Japan: The Case of Kaga Domain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 312. \$45.00.

This monograph is an exploration of the nature of Japan's transformation to the early modern era from the late sixteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries. Rejecting the techniques of past research, which has viewed the development of the state from a national perspective and employed local history merely to illustrate national trends, Philip C. Brown uses a case-study approach of the Kaga area to challenge current assumptions regarding the "prodigious" (p. 14) nature of central authority in this dynamic period of state-building. By examining the interaction between national developments and the domain at the local level, his analysis reveals the "creative institutional contribution" (p. 25) of villagers to the early modern order.

Brown focuses his inquiry on four key issues—Toyotomi Hideyoshi's land surveys, class separation, land taxes, and the restructuring of local administration—in which the role of the hegemon (Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu) has been seen as crucial. Space does not allow a consideration of all four policies; yet Hideyoshi's land surveys have perhaps most often been cited first as evidence for effective national authority. Hideyoshi, however, was only able to survey at most one-half of the country. The material on Kaga also reveals that

the daimyo there did not attempt to follow a national, standard model (for example, actual measurements of land were not made; variations in measures of length and in the units used to calculate official land values were common), nor was any effort made to impose a model from above. Land-survey techniques generally were lacking in precision and uniformity, and, therefore, by their very nature, served as poor tools for hegemon or daimyo to influence local practices. Instead, Brown finds that land-tenure policies "developed through a dialogue between village and domain" (p. 112).

From an examination of this and the other three key issues, Brown concludes that the ability of the hegemon to transform society has been overrated. In explaining the development of Kaga domain, the relationship between the daimyo and their subjects was more important than that between daimyo and hegemon. For example, in explaining the origins of class separation, Brown holds that one must look beyond the orders of a central authority (the "sword hunt" and class separation edicts, for example) to the bifurcation of the tasks of the local warrior-farmer elites. Although external influences were the strongest in the first decades of Kaga's formation, local autonomy largely prevailed; internally directed social and political change was of great importance. Furthermore, change was gradual rather than revolutionary, the product of a great deal of experimentation, pragmatic trade-offs, and local initiative.

While not denying the capabilities newly acquired by the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth-century hegemon, Brown finds that their powers were directed in a restricted manner at controlling the daimyo's personal behavior and maintaining public order. Nowhere does he find evidence of daimyo being compelled to administer their domains according to central dictates or being subject to an imposed standard of good administration. Rejecting the dichotomy of strong state-weak state in analyzing state-society relations, which Brown contends has led to a "Eurocentric conceptualization of states" (p. 27), he argues convincingly for an examination of the middle ground between the two poles. Using a social-science model to explore the different combinations of "nominal authority" (acceptance of the idea of the state by the major political actors) and "capability" (its ability to carry out its goals) in state-society relations, he concludes that the early modern state might best be described as "flamboyant." This characterization seems apt in that the early modern state possessed a high degree of nominal authority but a relatively low degree of capability to enforce it. It also allows for the creative contribution to early modern institutions that Brown has found at the village level.

This is an important book that gives clear evidence of the mature state of historical studies by American scholars of Japan's early modern period. Based on substantive work with manuscript documents, it is meticulously researched, carefully argued, and pru-

dent in its conclusions. Although Brown acknowledges that his findings will require testing for other areas of the country as well, this study convincingly demonstrates the need to rethink many assumptions about the relationship between central authority and local autonomy in the birth of early modern Japan. Scholars interested in state-society relations in general will also find this an invaluable contribution.

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GARY P. LEUPP. *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 237. \$29.95.

The strength of this work is in its details. In his attempt to "describe how human relations were radically affected by the tremendous expansion of the money economy during the Tokugawa period" (p. xii), Gary P. Leupp draws extensively on population records (*ninbetsuchō*); works of noted dramatists, parodists, and poets; as well as from legal codes, position papers, and other documents authored by members of ruling organizations (families, domains, the *bakufu*) selected from a range of periods and locations. In his dissertation, on which the present work is based, Leupp used "domestic servants and commercial shop employees" to, following Karl Marx, "mirror" the transition from "feudalism to capitalism" (p. xi). Although he has abandoned the argumentation necessary to sustain a discussion of nascent capitalism found in an emerging class of wage laborers, aspects of this original project nevertheless remain. Leupp, arguing from and occasionally with Thomas C. Smith's work on peasants, seeks instead to craft what we might call a socio-anthropology of the urban working class in early modern Japan.

The presentation of the workday, language, fashion, personal concerns, and interactions of urban workers, or "servants" in Leupp's terminology, is lively, richly documented, and often excellent reading. Leupp's fourth chapter (of six), titled "Servants in Society," for example, concentrates on the image of "servants" as revealed in the popular essays and plays composed by Ihara Saikaku, Chikamatsu Monzaemon, Jippensha Ikku, Takizawa Bakin, and Shikitei Sanba. Leupp's deft use of the writings of these masters of description and parody to craft his telling image of Tokugawa urban life is provocative and clearly explicates what Leupp takes to be "the primary rule of Tokugawa society: 'Mi no hodo o shire' (Know your place)" (p. 121). This chapter is a sophisticated example of writing that combines "literary" and "documentary" materials in a historical narrative.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine Tokugawa period "masters" and their "servants" in terms of demographics and interpersonal relations, respectively. Chapters 5 and 6 focus on "laborers," their definition, and the "ruling class fears" associated with their emergence.

Although these chapters rely on truly impressive primary research, they share neither the narrative verve nor analytical clarity that characterizes "Servants in Society." For example, by uncritically retaining the conception of Tokugawa Japan as being "feudal," Leupp applies the language of scholarship on feudal Europe wholesale to a Japan filled with serfs, barons, burghers, guilds, and, somewhat oddly, the shogunal "seraglio." On a related point, although there is a wealth of comparative asides derived from European history, the analysis necessary for an integration of such distinct materials into the case of Japan is often missing.

On another level, the "servant" class is eventually defined by Leupp to even include some who "were actually fully recognized as samurai officials" (p. 43). Indeed, inasmuch as virtually everyone in Tokugawa society was in a relationship of "service" to someone else, the categories of "wage earners" and "servants" become either broadly defined and all-inclusive or exceedingly narrow. Leupp wrestles with the unquestionably difficult terminological confusion that emerges from this problem with varying degrees of success throughout the book. (See, for example, the charts on pp. 42, 46, 47, 50, and 124, which detail "servant" and "laborer" types and their English "equivalents.") Moreover, in attempting to draw a clear distinction between "servants" and their "masters," Leupp asserts that, on the one hand, Tokugawa servants felt no "love," no "lifelong, familial ties" for their masters (p. 99). Even sexual relations between them "lacked true warmth and mutuality" (p. 99). Masters, on the other hand, were "frightened" (p. 155) by this working class and sought desperately for means of control. This "cool and indifferent" relationship allows Leupp to claim that these "servants," distinct from their predecessors, were in fact "free proletarians, principally out for themselves" (p. 100). By juxtaposing a definition of "love" reminiscent of Victorian idealism with the freedom of a proletariat capable of the emotionally indifferent commoditization of their labors and their bodies, which results in part in a reciprocal fear held by the "sedulous burghers," Leupp succeeds in constituting a wage-earning class central to discussions of a nascent capitalism. He does so, however, at the expense of his own elegant presentation of the lives and concerns of individual members of this class. He preserves the dynamic and complex nature of social class throughout much of the work yet loses sight of his own hard-earned and expert readings of contemporary sources in an effort to trace a historical trajectory driven by theoretical concerns that are suggested but left unargued.

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PETER NOSCO. *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, number 31.) Cambridge:

Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1990. Pp. xiv, 271.

Peter Nosco traces the emergence in middle Tokugawa (1600–1867) of *kokugaku*, a nativist school of literary studies marked by fear and loathing of things foreign and fatuous glorification of true Japanese spirit. Despite the considerable impact of *kokugaku* on the Meiji Restoration and Japanese aesthetics and moral philosophy down to the present, scholars outside of Japan have largely avoided the subject. Nosco partially fills the gap in this clear, well-researched narrative of *kokugaku*'s origins and early development. There is nothing innovative in terms of methodology and conceptualization; this is traditional intellectual history conceived as lineage of great minds. Briefly describing the social context of *kokugaku*'s emergence, Nosco closely examines the lives and thought of Kada no Azumamaro (1669–1736), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), and Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801).

Japanese intellectual history in North America is sharply divided between postmodern theory and an older, author-centered approach relying on biography and chronological narrative. Nosco's book enacts the strengths and weaknesses of the old model. He illuminates the personality and life history of *kokugaku* scholars and continuities and shifts in thought, moving chronologically from Azumamaro to Mabuchi to Norinaga. The author-oriented narrative, however, fails to reveal the ideological significance of this body of thought.

The conceptual and emotional core of eighteenth-century *kokugaku* was pseudohistory: the positing of a remote and idyllic age in Japan prior to the corrupting influence of Chinese civilization when Japanese lived in perfect harmony with the true Way of the national gods. Conceptualized as *magokoro*, "true heart" in Japanese, this previous gift was bestowed at birth only to be occluded and negated by exposure to Chinese thought. The spirit of *magokoro*, however, remained alive in native texts, especially poems of the *Manyōshū*, the earliest anthology of Japanese verse, and foundation myths of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*. *Kokugaku* scholars believed linguistic analysis of ancient texts written in an esoteric and highly irregular Sino-Japanese could recover the pure language and spirit of the golden age that preceded Chinese influence.

Rather than view eighteenth-century *kokugaku* as the eruption of a new field of ideological discourse, Nosco sees an evolutionary process constituted as much by continuity as innovation. Continuity, Nosco argues, loomed large even in relation to its arch-enemy, Confucianism. The institution of the private academy was pioneered by independent Confucian scholars; the technology of philological analysis developed by the *kogaku* ("ancient learning") school of Confucian studies; and even the core concept of an

idealized ancient past accessible through scholarship originated in neo-Confucianism. Nosco emphasizes how each scholar's teachings built on earlier formulations. Azumamaro, inspired by seventeenth-century nativism, started the process by denouncing Confucian and Buddhist doctrines of the Way, thereby positing a superior native Way; Mabuchi went him one better in claiming that unlike Chinese, who by nature are immoral and in need of regulation, Japanese naturally possess the moral rectitude of the national gods; and Norinaga's literal reading of the *Kojiki*, his insistence that Japan's sun deity provides the world with light and warmth, added religious fundamentalism to virulent nationalism.

Missing in Nosco's construction of *kokugaku* is the revolutionary impact of these texts. Indeed, Nosco shows the real-life politics practiced by *kokugaku* scholars to be cautious and stale; nevertheless, their texts infused the generation below them with passionate belief in an emperor-centered polity and a spirit of reckless and self-righteous defiance of the establishment that transformed first the intellectual landscape and eventually the politics of Tokugawa Japan. Unless we understand the compelling process of ideological signification at work in these texts, the revolutionary political space opened by *kokugaku* remains a mystery.

STEPHEN VLASTOS
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RICHARD M. EATON. *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760*. (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies, number 17.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xxvii, 359. \$50.00.

Richard M. Eaton does not deliberately try to dissuade readers from perusing his book, but his succinct, plot-summary introduction and the following hundred pages relating the geographical, political, and religious particulars of Islamic penetration of Bengal in the pre-Mughal period successfully conceal the enormously rich and insightful analyses and methodological excursions contained in its latter two-thirds. The aficionado of Bengali history, or of Indo-Muslim history in general, will enjoy every bit of this well-written exploration of Islam in Bengal or perhaps rage at Eaton's disinclination to follow any of the customary theories of Bengali Islamicization he outlines at the end of part 1. But this is a book that deserves a broader audience. It should be read by Islamicists in general and by historians of the Islamic Middle East in particular.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Turkic Muslim adventurers chased the Hindu rulers out of the western part of the delta formed by the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers. They built some mosques. They had varying relations with stronger Muslim states to the west centered on Delhi. Some Sufis wandered by. Various accommodations were made

with local non-Muslim elites. Readers interested specifically in Bengal or seeking an encyclopedic knowledge of the expansion of Muslim dominion will find this story well told. Parallel narratives could be mounted for a dozen other locales, however, most notably in Anatolia and the Balkans during the same period.

Eaton's purpose in laying this narrative foundation comes out after he disposes of the prevailing theories of Bengali Islamicization. The conversion-by-sword theory lacks evidence and cannot account for Islam succeeding best, as in east Bengal, where the sword was least strenuously applied. Conversion as an escape by low-caste peoples from the tyranny of Brahmanical social and economic domination cannot account for Islam flourishing most, proportionately, in regions like east Bengal where the Brahmanical establishment was least established. Conversion to share in the financial benefits of Muslim empire cannot explain why Muslims predominate in remote provincial east Bengal more than they do around Delhi and Agra, where Muslim rule was longest lasting and most fully elaborated. The fact of the matter, he persuasively argues, is that the enormously high percentage of Muslims in east Bengal reported in the British colonial censuses cannot be readily explained either by the narrative of early Muslim rule or by any of the prevailing theories.

Part 2, therefore, begins a fascinating detective story as, step by step, Eaton homes in on an explanation for the Islamicization of Bengal. Using a broad array of data, including colonial censuses, Bengali and Sanskrit poetry, lists of mosques and shrines, analysis of Mughal landholding practices, and local folklore, he establishes that the main growth of Islam came well after the advent of Mughal rule, indeed, much of it during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, often dismissed as periods of Muslim decline in India. He further links the growth of the Muslim population to siltation and the consequent eastward migration of the Ganges River's outlet to the sea, the present position being reached roughly at the start of the Mughal period. This riverine excursion led to the development of a low-lying, densely jungled, lightly populated delta. The process of jungle clearance and the establishment of rice farming becomes the economic counterpart of the expansion of Islam among a dispersed peasantry of local peoples and newcomers from the north and west.

In operational terms, the Mughals gave land grants to Hindu and Muslim officials, who then subleased them to entrepreneurs who corralled and supervised the work teams that actually brought the jungle under cultivation. Eaton shows through specific examples of settlement and aggregate statistics from key areas that the focus of these land grants was usually a Hindu or, much more often, a Muslim holy place. Mosques and shrines supported by converted jungle agriculture (although not through the institution of *waqf*) implanted Islam in a countryside that was rapidly in-

creasing in productive output and population. Bengal eventually became the most flourishing agricultural region in India.

Turning to the social aspects of this development of an agricultural frontier in Bengal, Eaton observes that many Muslim entrepreneurs had religious credentials that gave them charismatic authority over their work groups, or that they were subsequently credited with such authority in local lore. But they are far from being the wandering Sufis and propagators of mystic brotherhood so often imagined by historians endeavoring to explain Islamic expansion. Sufis of this sort, mostly Chishtis, were present in pre-Mughal times, but the new Muslim communities of the rice-growing delta were dedicated to agricultural labor and organized around mosques and shrines rather than brotherhoods.

As for the Hindus, their comparatively small share in the growth of the frontier arises from several sources: partly from the negligible impact of Hinduism on the region prior to the advent of Islam, the indigenous population being oriented for the most part toward local jungle goddesses; partly from the greater acreage granted to Muslim mosques and shrines than to Hindu establishments; and partly to a factor not well articulated, the apparently greater ability of Muslim than of Hindu charismatic entrepreneurs to deploy a work force to clear the jungle and plant rice.

This latter factor provides Eaton with a springboard for discussing the nature of religious "conversion" in general and for reinterpreting the concept of Islamicization. Eschewing conventional understandings of conversion as movement across definitive doctrinal boundaries, Eaton argues for a more amorphous religious environment in which people called on whatever supernatural forces they were aware of to help them in their daily lives. He shows that in the early phases of "Islamicization," Muhammad and his family were invoked alongside Krishna, Siva, and various local nature deities. Only gradually did Muhammad emerge as a figure directly parallel to non-Muslim divinities, and more gradually still as the exclusive source of holy precept and example. The last stage, coming only in recent times, has resulted from the effort by reformers, particularly pilgrims returned from Mecca, to purge Bengali Islam of local customs that diverge from Middle Eastern practice. To strengthen his case, Eaton discusses the advantage a scriptural tradition like that of Islam has in competing with more fluid religious traditions, and he observes that the production of writing in Bengal expanded in tandem with the spread of Islam, although the Arabic language and script never became deeply established.

Although Eaton's argument is made with great subtlety, it does not quite answer the question it is intended to address: why Muslim entrepreneurs succeeded so well in recruiting peasant workers, many of whom must have been only slightly familiar with

Islam. He rightly strives to avoid a simple equation of economic growth with Islamic expansion. But observing that what the peasants who settled the frontier actually believed in was a melange of Hinduism, Islam, and local cult—presumably reinforced or tolerated, if not fully shared, by their charismatic Muslim community leaders—falls short of explaining why the Muslim component of this mixture came to prevail so generally. Were the newcomers from the north and west already oriented toward Islam when they arrived in east Bengal? Or did this association start when they signed on to work under a charismatic Muslim entrepreneur?

Because Eaton has done so much to elucidate the growth of Islam in Bengal, asking a question like this is probably unfair. The sources at his disposal simply do not provide an answer. In this, they are like the sources relating to Islamicization in most other parts of the world. Historians can describe and date the growth of Islamic communities, but explaining why Islam becomes the choice of masses of individuals is almost always a matter of guesswork. Eaton's insight into the apparent murkiness of the distinction between Islam and non-Islam is pertinent to other conversion situations and a caution to historians who try to impose the strict doctrinal boundaries of later times on periods of the initial growth of Muslim communities.

Eaton's contribution in this book, therefore, goes well beyond Bengal and India. It is a superb case study in the growth of a Muslim community. It provides an exemplary display of the historiographical sophistication needed to make sense of diverse and difficult sources. Readers who are not particularly interested in the history of Bengal are urged to persevere.

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BRIAN K. SMITH. *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origins of Caste*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 408. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

This illuminating study, a companion to Brian K. Smith's *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion* (1989), continues his exploration of "hierarchical resemblance" in India's ancient Vedic ideology: the presumption that the universe is composed of mutually resembling, interconnected, and hierarchically ranked constituents. In the earlier volume, Smith explicated the vertical connections between higher or prototypical forms and their lower counterparts. In this volume he explores with elegant clarity the horizontal linkages that conjoin similarly ranked elements in the hierarchical registers that collectively comprise the universe: social classes, gods, space, time, flora, fauna, and so on. Separate chapters are devoted to those various realms. Although the subtitle's reference to the "origins of caste" suggests more

than is delivered, Smith's analysis of Vedic hierarchies provides abundant compensation.

Smith argues that the well-known *varṇa* ("class") model of society—a three or, in some texts, four-fold arrangement that places Brahmins (priests) atop an idealized social scale that also includes, in descending order, Kshatriyas (rulers, warriors), Vaisyas (agriculturalists, pastoralists, merchants), and, in quadripartite models, Shudras (servants of the other classes)—served as a template for other hierarchies in Vedic thought. Homologies are explicit. Thus, Brahmins are linked not only vertically with lesser classes in the social order but also horizontally with their similarly ranked (in this instance, predominant) counterparts in other ranked orders: Agni among the gods, spring among the seasons, the east among directions, and so on. Indeed, the Vedic approach to understanding and controlling the universe is one of conjoining and homologizing different elements within a universe governed by the principle of hierarchical resemblance. Smith's exploration of this pervasive concept in the Vedas is not social history but rather a contribution to the history of ideas with respect to Vedic culture and its antecedents.

The power of the *varṇa* model to construct the social order cannot be understood, Smith argues, without taking into account its ability to construct every realm in the universe. The authority on which the class (and, by extension, caste) system rests is not merely the allegedly divine origin of that arrangement but the fact that all things—space, time, flora, fauna, even the gods themselves—are subject to prioritizations that are integral to the natural order of things. Thus, there are multiple sources of authority underlying the social hierarchy, and many passages in the Vedas provide sanction to that order while describing realms that have little or no explicit connection with the social. Treating plants and animals as exemplifiers of *varṇa* has the effect of characterizing social class as natural truth. Even the Vedas themselves, with the Rig Veda occupying the position of first, original, and hence "highest" and most sacred of texts, are similarly classified in Vedic thought.

To the extent that there is at least a tenuous connection here with the origins of caste, it is a logical or conceptual linkage embedded in the thesis that the basic structure of caste ideology is ordained in the Vedic texts. Caste, the author insists, is indeed Vedic in its origins. In addressing this thesis, Smith must confront terminological issues in the scholarly literature, since some authors continue to refer to *varṇa*, or class, categories as "caste," while others, including Smith, reserve the term caste for the hundreds of subgroups, commonly called *jāti*. But unlike many writers who treat *varṇa* as an abstraction and the more specific *jāti* affiliations as the "real" caste, Smith observes that both class and caste are what Émile Durkheim characterized as "collective representations." That is, both are ideas or ideologies—ways of describing and classifying fluid social group-

ings—but they function at different levels of specificity. Smith has managed to combine close textual analysis with a discussion of these and further interpretive issues—numerous asides on Sigmund Freud, Durkheim, Georges Dumézil, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and other theoreticians interweave the chapters—in a highly rewarding manner. There is an excellent index.

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MICHAEL H. FISHER. *Indirect Rule in India: Residents and the Residency System, 1764–1858*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 516. \$23.00.

K. M. Panikkar's book, *The Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States 1774–1858* (1929), probably laid the groundwork for Michael H. Fisher's lengthy and exhaustive study of the British Residents and the Residency system from 1764 to 1857. Panikkar's volume analyzed British policies toward the Indian states. Fisher's approach emphasizes the actual "field experiences" of the Residents who dealt on a one-to-one basis with the princely rulers. Fisher gives less importance to the policies emanating from the Board of Directors of the East India Company, and, for that matter, he does not seem to be overburdened by what the governor general or the governors of the provinces felt about the implementation of their policy directives in the princely states. These administrative heads, Fisher states, were content with delegating extraordinary powers to the Residents and supporting the latter's administrative decisions.

Fisher's description and analysis of the critical role of "Indian service elites," that is, the Indians who worked in the Residencies, serving and guiding the British Residents, is one of the most interesting and original parts of his book. As intermediaries between the paramount ruler (the British East India Company) and the rulers of the princely states, the Indian service elite had to balance and reconcile the expectations of the British Residents and the rulers. Fisher describes the gamesmanship of the Residents and the rulers in achieving what they considered to be in their best interest; the Residents trying to impose British policies and imperial will, and the rulers trying to maintain the modicum of power as independent rulers of states. Occasionally a strong ruler such as Nizam of Hyderabad would curtail the Residents' activities and access to information and political intelligence within his state. Most rulers would acquiesce to the wishes of the Residents. The will of the British East India Company as the paramount Indian ruler would prevail in the end.

In part 1 of his book Fisher discusses the origins and growth of the Residency system of India, the composition of the "political line" (recruitment, training, promotions of the Residents), and the source of funding of the Residencies. Part 2 deals with two phases of evolution and growth of the Residency

system, from 1764 to 1794 and from 1841 to 1857 respectively. In part 3, we find Indian rulers adjusting their relationships with the Residents. Also included is the story of the Indians in the service of the empire, which is a fascinating story of collaboration of Indians in the British enterprise. Part 4 offers case studies of indirect rule in Awadh, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Nepal, each study displaying a different degree of British control over the rulers and their administration. The book ends with a postscript on what transpired in the development of the Residency system between 1857 and 1947 and how the Indian system of indirect rule was implanted by the British in the Persian Gulf, Africa, and in some regions of Southeast Asia.

It appears that Fisher has chosen to analyze only those Princely states that have exhaustive English documentation; he hardly uses the vast body of literature in Persian, Urdu, Marathi and Rajasthani (Persian and Urdu sources number fewer than twenty in his endnotes). He relies on English sources to a greater extent—English glosses and interpretations of facts—in his case studies of Nepal, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Awadh. The documents in the regional languages do exist in the various archives of India (for example, in the archives of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Panjab, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Karnataka). The lack of serious study of select documents in Indian languages from these archives as a counterpoint to English-language sources hampers Fisher's observations. The "native" documents are the missing links, for these should inform us of the perceptions of Indian rulers concerning English diplomacy and the roles of English Residents and the Indian elites serving them. This is especially true of the first phase (1764–97) of the Residency system when the Residents mostly functioned as the East India Company's envoys at the rulers' court.

Despite Fisher's highly restricted use of indigenous language records of the Maharajas, Rajas, Peshwas, Nizams, and Nawabs from 1764 to 1858, his book is a valuable reference work of British administrative policies and practices toward their subordinate Indian rulers. The book is also an important contribution to a story of conquest and consolidation of British rule in India from 1764 to 1858.

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PETER WARD FAY. *The Forgotten Army: India's Armed Struggle for Independence 1942–1945*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 573. \$35.00.

The Indian National Army (INA) was one of the consequences of the calamitous defeat inflicted on the British by the Japanese in Malaya. From the masses of Indian soldiers, many of them little better than raw recruits, captured between December 1941 and February 1942, came large numbers of more or

less willing volunteers. There were enough Indian commissioned officers, mostly of junior rank, to provide a leadership cadre. The large Indian communities of South and Southeast Asia meant additional sources of manpower were available. The arrival from Germany in May 1943 of Subhas Chandra Bose added vigorous and charismatic leadership. A Provisional Government of Free India was proclaimed, and the INA became its army.

Dispatched to Burma in 1944, the INA fought at Imphal during the disastrous Japanese offensive that played into Lieutenant General William Slim's hands, allowing him to inflict on the Japanese Fifteenth Army a shattering defeat that opened the way for the brilliant counterattack that carried Slim and his Fourteenth Army (composed largely of Indian troops) to Rangoon by May 1945. The INA was involved in the Japanese attempt to hold Slim on the Irrawaddy but, swept away by the Fourteenth Army's advance, war's end found the "Jiffs" ("Japanese Indian Forces," in British parlance) again prisoners of war, this time of the victorious British. (Bose died in a plane crash just before the Japanese surrender.)

The INA had little operational significance. It was too lightly equipped and too little regarded by the Imperial Japanese Army for that. Like their distant German allies, the Japanese Army high command did not take the client armies they sponsored for political and propaganda purposes at all seriously as fighting forces. Peter Ward Fay argues in this well-written and interesting account, however, that the real significance of the INA came after the Japanese surrender, when a British decision to conduct highly publicized trials of some of its officers at Delhi's famous and emotive Red Fort became a propaganda disaster for the Raj, accelerating its demise by raising the question of the reliability of its *ultima ratio*, the Indian Army.

The story of the INA and of the Red Fort trials is a relatively well-known one, but Fay has added a great deal of detail, having combed the published literature and archival sources thoroughly. He has also drawn on extensive interviews with Prem Kumar Sahgal, a pre-1939 regular Indian Army officer who joined the INA at its birth, and his wife Lakshmi Swaminadhan Sahgal, a physician by training with a practice in Singapore who became the commander of the INA women's unit, the Rani of Jhansi regiment. Written engagingly in a conversational (and occasionally discursive) style, informed throughout by great sympathy for the men and women of the INA, Fay's book deserves to become the standard account of the subject.

One doubt lingers, however, on finishing this book: can the INA trials, political debacle for the Raj though they were, be made to bear the weight Fay assigns to them? Clearly the decision by General Claude J. E. Auchinleck, commander in chief in India, to put INA officers such as Prem Sahgal on trial, far from vindicating army traditions as he

hoped, ended by making its now crucial body of Indian officers quite uneasy. This is clear from Shahid Hamid's *Disastrous Twilight* (1986), an account by an Indian Army officer who was the "Auk's" private secretary (and whose memoir is one of the few relevant titles Fay seems to have missed). The Raj, however, was already in a terminal state. Clement Attlee's victory at the polls, signaling the primacy of domestic issues as well as the general weariness of a victorious but battered and bankrupt Britain, meant that Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, M. A. Jinnah, and others were pushing at a door that was already swinging open. The INA trials contributed to the pressure, certainly, but the door was moving in any case.

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ANTHONY REID. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680. Volume 2, Expansion and Crisis*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 390. \$35.00.

This second volume of Anthony Reid's superb Braudelian survey of Southeast Asia traces the patterns of state-building, political economy, and the history of Southeast Asia in what he calls the "age of commerce," 1450 to 1680. During this period Southeast Asia experienced rapid changes that dramatically transformed the region and in some respects resembled those of early modern Europe. Merchant empires, heavily dependent on trade, were developing increasingly centralized and absolutist governments. New scriptural religions, emphasizing personal morality—Theravada Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity—took root and spread through Southeast Asia, abetted by trade and frequently established by ambitious rulers. Although the new faiths sometimes divided Southeast Asians from one another, they also forged commercial and political ties between Southeast Asians and their coreligionists both within and outside the region. Basic to these changes was the integration of Southeast Asia into the global trading network of the age of commerce.

Southeast Asia's age of commerce did not begin when the first Western ships arrived. Its pepper, fine spices, and aromatic woods had earlier been important articles of long-distance trade, especially with China, and its geography had long exposed it to seagoing commerce. Direct trade with Europe greatly increased the demand for Southeast Asian products, but at first Europeans fit into trading patterns that had been established before their arrival and interacted with native and other Asian traders as equals. The Dutch East India Company (VOC), headquartered at Batavia on Java, for example, was (like Aceh, Banten, Makassar, Ternate, or Portuguese Melaka) just one of the competing commercial states in the region. Along with Southeast Asia's integration into the world economy came marked urbanization, economic specialization and monetization, and rapid

advance in nautical and military technology, all of which Reid describes in convincing detail.

Gradually the VOC began to monopolize the trade, first of all in nutmeg, mace, and cloves during the early 1620s, and to militarily reduce its major competitors. Reid locates the turning point of the struggle in 1629, the year Aceh and Mataram suffered defeats at the hands of the Portuguese and the VOC respectively. By 1680 the VOC had crushed all of their remaining rivals in Southeast Asia: Portuguese Melaka, Makassar, and Banten. Along with Dutch successes, Southeast Asian states gradually withdrew from the global economy. Trade and, more importantly, interest in trade declined; cities declined and the rate of technological innovation slowed; people became poorer. Reid observes that not only Southeast Asian merchant empires but also many European competitors fell to the capital-rich and militarily powerful VOC during the seventeenth century.

Reid does not imply that the VOC was the sole reason for the decline of Southeast Asia. He tries to relate the end of the era of commerce to the global, "general crisis of the seventeenth century." He suggests that two facets of the much discussed "general crisis" seem applicable to Southeast Asia: the general decline in global trade during the first half of the seventeenth century, caused in part by diminished supplies of gold and silver; and the global decline in mean temperature and the attendant climatic changes due to the Maunder Minimum. For each of these Reid finds convincing evidence in Southeast Asia. He finds other reasons for Southeast Asia's withdrawal from global trade in the seventeenth century, or at least for its apparent inability to recover from the general seventeenth-century downturn, in comparisons between Southeast Asian merchant empires and their European competitors. Despite a startling number of important similarities, Reid observes that the Southeast Asian commercial states failed to develop institutions and laws protecting private property and guaranteeing merchants a stake in the increasingly powerful states.

Reid's magnificent panorama of Southeast Asia in the age of commerce depends heavily on European sources. Probably no adequate history of Southeast Asia for that period could be written without the reports and descriptions of Europeans, who were busily changing Southeast Asia even as they described it. Reid prefers to date the age of commerce from about 1400, but uses 1450 as his initial date because the sources for the first half of the fifteenth century are inadequate.

Reid's two volumes provide an exhilarating overview of an important area of the globe during a crucially important time; they represent by far the best, most comprehensive study available. In addition they provide a major contribution to our understanding of the rise of merchant empires in the early

modern period. They will serve us for many years to come.

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LEONARD Y. ANDAYA. *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 306. \$38.00.

Leonard Y. Andaya's book is an ambitious attempt to present the evolution of the relatively small region of the northern Moluccas within the context of the interaction of European and indigenous political, economic, and social forces. More so than many other historians, Andaya attempts to chart the full mind-set of both indigenous and invaders' civilizations. Drawing on a wide range of Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and Malukan sources, he covers the long timespan from the arrival of the first Portuguese in 1511 to the early nineteenth century, just after the abolition of the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

Andaya's *longue durée*, however, is sharply terminated at the death of Sultan Nuku in November 1805, when a virtual state of war between Tidore and the Dutch had developed. This is regrettable as it leaves many questions unanswered. In particular, the reconquest of the Moluccas after 1816 and the nature of the new Dutch regime would have been able to tell us much about the significance of Nuku's restoration of the Tidore sultanate and his legitimizing invocation of Maluku ideology, especially because the Dutch in the 1820s annexed West Irian, then regarded as the periphery of Tidore. Moreover, the importance of the Papuan and Pacific elements in Maluku history—which Andaya in his conclusion so rightly emphasizes (p. 249)—could have been developed more fully.

Andaya has been largely successful in constructing his history as viewed and experienced through both ends of the telescope. The European context arises clearly and sharply in its juxtaposition to indigenous society, which, as it happened, had just experienced a series of major shocks resulting from the introduction of Islam. The "meeting of the two worlds" and the process whereby the Dutch East India Company took the place of the sultans in ultimately looking after—and being expected to look after—the welfare of their subjects emerge in evocative and convincing terms. Policies and personalities on both sides of the ethnic divide are discussed in engaging immediacy.

Yet a nagging doubt remains about the overall context within which the Malukans—or at least their leaders—are portrayed as active actors in a play, the script of which was mostly being written by the European "others." Andaya's explanation throughout revolves around well-worn and immeasurably flexible terms: "centers," "peripheries," and "dualism." These cover a vast array of broad concepts, such as European attitudes to the alleged moral turpitude of the faraway Malukans, the rivalry between Ternate and Tidore and the outer spheres of their political

(and/or economic?) power, and the clash of interests between Westerners and Malukans. As the terms are used throughout the three centuries under discussion, values and attitudes thus described become stereotypes, denying nuances and the existence or the possibility of contrasting voices.

The Malukans are said to have maintained much of their cosmic and ideological mind-sets, irrespective whether they had to deal with Muslim traders, Portuguese Catholics, or Dutch Protestants. Yet it seems too facile to assume that Nuku in his rebellion was primarily moved by the belief that he had to re-create Tidore's dynamic dualism with Ternate or the four pillars of the four Malukan kingdoms. Ideology is easily adapted to circumstance, as Andaya himself convincingly shows in the context of religion, and, for example, Bacan does not seem to have mattered to Nuku.

These comments should in no way be regarded as diminishing the importance of Andaya's book. Its methodology is highly original and successful. His understanding of Maluku society and politics is profound and combines a solidly structuralist approach with a sensitive and creative reading of the sources from both sides. Above all, Andaya has made a major contribution to the "Europe in Asia" debate with a case study that gives active roles to all participants and that imaginatively opens a window to the Pacific for inspiration and reflection.

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ARIFFIN OMAR. *Bangsa Melayu: Malay Concepts of Democracy and Community 1945–1950*. (South-East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 251. \$49.95.

Ariffin Omar has written a comparative study of changing Malay political values in the half decade following the end of Japanese occupation of South-east Asia. The period was a genuine watershed in the history of the region, profoundly so for Malay political history. Omar compares two Malay or *Melayu* communities: one in the peninsula, where Britain began to create British Malaya in 1874; and the other in East Sumatra, which from about 1871 became part of the Netherlands Indies.

Omar seeks to understand Malay history in its own terms. Central to this purpose is the term *kerajaan*, a Malay word given scholarly currency by J. M. Gullick in *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya* (1988) and more especially by A. C. Milner in *Kerajaan: Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule* (1982). The briefest definition of *kerajaan* is the rule of a raja or sultan. In trying to understand *kerajaan*, modern terms such as the nation, sovereignty, nationality, and democracy only obfuscate. Indeed, these words had no meaning for most Malays in the first three or four decades of the twentieth century. The raja ruled a *negeri*, a community not a nation. He possessed *daulat*,

divine and magical power, not sovereignty. His subjects possessed *bangsa*, family and clan identity and a sense of ethnic community. The ruler had obligations to his subjects and they to him. He was in theory and often in practice very powerful, but he was not an absolute ruler in the sense of Western historical experience. The ruler was the apex of a political culture called *kerajaan*, which without him had no meaning.

Kerajaan suffered erosion in colonial times, most seriously in East Sumatra. The British and the Dutch, Omar writes, treated *kerajaan* differently. The British used modern political terminology among themselves and others to describe their relations with the Malay rulers. But they understood *kerajaan* and among the Malay people they diligently preserved its meaning. Most Malays in the peninsula never lost the sense of *negeri* and *bangsa Melayu*. The Dutch, however, did not maintain *kerajaan*, treating their rulers as paid agents. This came to be perceived by many of their Malay subjects.

In the post-occupation years, *kerajaan* and the political values associated with it retained much of their meaning for Malays in the peninsula. Influenced by the heady events of the times, a minority proposed to modify the old values drastically. They hoped to substitute *kebangsaan*, nationalism, for *bangsa Melayu* and to unite the peninsula with the newly declared Republic of Indonesia. But these radical views did not prevail, and *kerajaan* and the Malay aristocracy in the peninsula survived the political tumult of post-occupation years. The contrast with events in East Sumatra is sharp. There, *kerajaan* had lost much of its meaning, and most of the Malay rulers of East Sumatra were eager for the Dutch to return. But nationalist leaders had declared an independent Indonesia, formed a republic, and fielded an army. The rulers were offered positions as constitutional monarchs by republican leaders. Apparently not fully understanding the situation, and unaware of historical precedent elsewhere, they failed to seize their only chance for survival. They were violently overthrown in March 1946. *Kerajaan* disappeared, except as a memory in the minds of the remnants of formerly aristocratic families. In the process, the old terms acquired new meanings. *Negeri* was replaced with *negara*, nation; *daulat* became sovereignty and *kedaulatan rakyat*, the peoples' sovereignty; and *bangsa* became nationality.

Changes in Malay political values did not occur as simply as the above narrative suggests. Omar treats a number of other important contributing developments. In the peninsula, the Malays clung to *kerajaan*, in part because of their fear of the many Chinese in their midst. Cheah Boon Kheng has dealt with Malay-Chinese relations at this time in *Red Star over Malaysia: Resistance and Social Conflict during and after the Japanese Occupation, 1941–1946* (1983). The Malay rulers were regarded as shields against the demands of the Chinese. Then, in 1946, Britain introduced the Malayan Union constitution, seeking to rationalize the Malay

polity. This caused a vigorous and successful popular reaction among Malays, who sought to retain their political institutions and to slow the pace of change. They were, in fact, led by some of the *kerajaan* aristocracy.

In Indonesia, nationalist sentiment and republican political leadership had a longer history and was more developed than in the peninsula. The Malays of East Sumatra more readily accepted *bangsa* Indonesia over *bangsa Melayu*. Of special interest is Omar's conclusion that *bangsa Melayu* has not yet fully given way to *bangsa Malaysia* in contemporary Malaysia.

The book is well researched and nicely written. A valuable contribution to historical scholarship, it should be read by everyone interested in modern Malaysian and Indonesian history and politics as well as in the impact of imperialism on indigenous political values.

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LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN. *Crime and Punishment in American History*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xi, 577. \$30.00.

In 1938 Frank Tannenbaum concluded: "We have failed to reform the criminal." This view, confirmed by many subsequent studies, is echoed in Lawrence M. Friedman's excellent survey: "The sad fact is that no amount of tinkering, no amount of jail building or amendments to the penal codes will do the trick, at least not in this society" (p. 464). Nonetheless, he counsels us to resist pessimism even though "We seem to be in the midst of a horrendous crime storm—a hurricane of crime" (p. x). In a sober, almost self-deprecating tone—"I have no real idea . . . about life in blasted, weed-choked vacant lots between crack houses . . . or what it is like to be behind the wheel of a patrol car" (p. x)—he urges the value of historical understanding, "tinged with the viewpoint of the social sciences" (p. 6).

This perspective, familiar to readers of Friedman's earlier works, does not view the criminal justice system as an arbiter of philosophical debate on good and evil or the embodiment of a particular theory of criminology. Rather, it is a sentry patrolling the margins of society and enforcing norms whose principal characteristic is their dynamism. Friedman's analysis spans American history since European settlement, deftly interrelating an astonishing number of topics, from law-breaking of all sorts to court procedures and police/correctional systems. He also assesses the role of groups traditionally excluded from influence in the judicial system—African Americans, women, Native Americans—as well as the lawlessness of law-abiding society as in the widespread violation of vice laws. Here as elsewhere his observa-

tions are acute: "Even inside the 'moral majority,' there were many traitors and moles—double agents, or simply tortured, conflicted human beings" (p. 341).

Drawing on Alexis de Tocqueville and J. Willard Hurst, Friedman views American crime as unique: one of the inevitable by-products of a society shaped by ever-changing popular demands for freedom. Thus, analysis of the colonial period focuses on pressures to gain freedom from Protestant patriarchies more interested in stigmatizing sinners than in brokering change. Provincial courts frowned on the use of lawyers, but the contentious social order encouraged their presence decades before the right to counsel appeared in the Bill of Rights. The crumbling colonial code gave way to a justice system formed by physical mobility, economic striving, and urban growth. These forces created new crimes (antitrust violations and swindling) and enforcement mechanisms (detectives and municipal police forces), but the new order liberated only some white males, leaving women without influence and African Americans harshly controlled. Sin, reconfigured as vice, was deplored as a failure of self-control but flourished illicitly due to (mostly male) consumer demand. This "Victorian Compromise" sparked a backlash leading eventually to Prohibition, which itself soon faltered in the face of powerful new demands for freedom grounded on privacy, self expression, and civil rights.

Friedman's rather equivocal portrait of the culture of rights comprises half of the book and will likely attract most comment. He is pleased by the civil rights revolution and the decline of censorship; he is guarded about the Warren Court's conferral of rights to counsel and notification, represented by *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) and related decisions, concluding that these have not improved the chances of the accused. Despite current anticrime sentiment, however, the decisions are unlikely to be overturned, because the rights themselves rest on the countervailing power of "American individualism" (p. 303). And nothing has prevented the ongoing erosion of the social fabric. Friedman illustrates this decay with the usual indicators of family/school decline and increasing youth violence, but he also emphasizes the widening influence of narcissistic justice (media-saturated trials) that lionizes the few while ignoring the minor drug offenders who flood our prisons. Considering everything, are we better off? Yes, says Friedman, "but at a stiff price" (p. 13).

Friedman writes with flair. Celebrity trials cast justice as "a ham, a mountebank" (p. 255). Federal criminal filings, even in the 1990s, amount to no more than "a spit in the ocean" (p. 268). Early systems of criminal justice grew slowly "like the beaks of Darwin's finches" (p. 263). And his tour is lively and instructive perhaps because the cast includes both the famous (Lizzie Borden and Carlo Ponzi) and the unknown (Cattle Kate and Miller the Swindler). Occasionally Friedman's naturalistic analogies raise

more questions than they answer: "Constitutional law and criminal procedure came together with a bang, like the *Titanic* and its iceberg, in this century" (p. 295). Also, his judgments sometimes mystify, as, for example, this remark introducing the ideas of nineteenth-century jurist Charles Doe: "The most 'advanced' views of insanity were to be found, oddly enough, in the small state of New Hampshire" (p. 145).

I do not wish to close on a negative note. Everyone can learn from this fine book.

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FRANK RICHARD PRASSEL. *The Great American Outlaw: A Legacy of Fact and Fiction*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 412. \$29.95.

Both law enforcement and historians have found the American outlaw to be an elusive figure, whether hidden in the Badlands or in badly written contemporary accounts. In his sweeping study, Frank Richard Prassel tries to separate myth from reality while admitting the futility of such a task. Fiction has always been at least as powerful as fact in the evolving outlaw profile.

The core of that myth was well-established by the end of the Middle Ages with Hereward and Robin Hood. The outlaw, linked to commoners by birth or choice, battled the oppression of corrupt, usurping authority. Crime was a last resort, not a first choice, for the outlaw who used courage, trickery, disguise, skill at arms, and a largely anonymous band of followers "to right wrongs." Targeting the rich and powerful won wide popular support and martyrdom.

The flexible, persistent Anglo-American myth has used many labels for the outlaw, which the author uses as chapter titles: bandit (Robin Hood), pirate (William Kidd), highwayman (Dick Turpin), desperado (Jean Lafitte), rebel (John Brown), hoodlum (Jesse James), gunman (John Wesley Hardin), gangster (Dalton brothers), renegade (Geronimo), moll (Belle Starr), *El Patrio* (Joaquin Murietta), mobster (John Dillinger), badman (Bonnie and Clyde), and fugitive (the Wild Bunch). The fact that some labels are blurred or some outlaws bear more than one label does not undercut the basic argument. Several labels originated in non-English cultures, yet the author does not detail how European immigration, particularly after 1880, may have shaped the American outlaw. His discussions of the renegade and *El Patrio* make the valuable point that the dominant culture and race had a "peculiar kind of perverse prejudice" toward minority outlaws who seemed "to be evil almost beyond description or presumably ignored because of their unimportance" (p. 195).

This study puts the outlaw into context. Post-revolution and post-Civil War frontiers and the outlaw have long been linked, yet Prassel recognizes that crime rates, including for bank robberies, were at

least as high in long-settled areas. Future work might well explore more closely why desperadoes, gunmen, and mobsters flourish after wars that glorify weapons skills, courage, escape, and violence in aid of a self-defined righteous cause. Prassel also stresses technology, which, like so much else, has played contradictory roles. For example, two-way police radios sometimes limited the physical scope, if not necessarily the careers, of rural outlaws, while talking movies replaced or superseded Wild West shows and dime novels as purveyors, even creators, of the myth. The author seems divided as to whether outlaws are all criminals or a select few who by chance or publicists' avarice have become "great." Much of his own argument and sources support the latter view. And his several references to "current" (1983) criminal and prison populations make the all-encompassing definition even more tenuous. But again, America's drug wars and the much-reported fear of crime have not eliminated the attraction of the outlaw.

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ROBERT S. KUENNE. *Economic Justice in American Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 435. \$59.50.

Robert E. Kuenne's volume is an interdisciplinary treatise that offers a carefully considered set of principles and policy proposals to move toward economic and social equity in the United States. Much of it is an intellectual history of the diverse European and American social philosophies that shape his analysis. It grapples with two enduring themes of American intellectual and social history that are more salient than ever in the Bill Clinton era of the 1990s. The first is the dialectical tension between what Robert Bellah and his colleagues have called the "two languages" of American political culture: individualism and community. A second, related theme is the quest throughout American history for a pragmatic, consensus politics that transcended divisive categories of Left and Right by interweaving the most reasonable elements of each.

The core of Kuenne's theory is his concept of "dualistic individualism," which combines the "egoistic" and "compassionate" strands of the American ethos into a public philosophy that is "appropriate to the moral basis of American society": legitimizing unabashed self-interest and the "free market economy" while placing restraints on them to serve communitarian interests, particularly to ensure a strong safety net for the disadvantaged (p. xxi). To formalize "an operational system of economic justice at the constitutional level," the author has designed a "Bill of Economic Rights and Obligations" that "will give as much definition to proper governmental conduct in the economic terrain as the American Constitution does in the political" (pp. 97, xxii). Unlike past efforts to set forth an economic bill of rights by

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1944), the United Nations (1948), and Martin Luther King, Jr. (1964), Kuenne's is not abstractly rhetorical but concretely programmatic, including detailed discussion of policy implementation and painstaking analysis of the socioeconomic practicality of his proposals for tax reform and other income redistribution. It is an unorthodox mix, yet logical on its own terms, calling for a more progressive income tax (coupled with abolishing regressive sales taxes), a guaranteed annual subsistence income, and expanded child care and job training, yet balanced by an end to welfare, affirmative action, and income taxes on corporations and wealth along with thoroughgoing privatization, notably a recommitment to conventional private health insurance.

Kuenne's bold theory sets a standard of scholarly rigor and comprehensiveness that will provide an indispensable yardstick for other efforts to prescribe a system of economic justice in an era that sorely needs a rational solution to poverty and economic decline. He has made a solid start, but his philosophical biases undermine his conclusions. A basic flaw is the boundary lines that he draws between egoism and social compassion. By making "the rightness of egoistic action" predominant in his scheme, his study seems more a codification of corporate capitalism that reinforces the status quo of economic injustice than a real attempt to further equality. Moreover, his theory's viability depends on a dubious resurgence of economic growth and prosperity. Finally, with his naive hope for constitutional reform, he does not see that the Constitution's neglect of economic matters was no historical accident that can be simply remedied through the amendment process; that the framers deliberately crafted a political charter whose myriad checks and balances (not least its hurdles to constitutional reform itself) would perpetually thwart efforts to mobilize democratic majorities to realize economic and social justice.

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JACK P. GREENE. *The Intellectual Construction of America, Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. 216. \$29.95.

In this expansion of the Phelps Lectures at New York University from 1990, Jack P. Greene examines the changing meanings that American and European writers from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries assigned to America, with special emphasis on the early and enduring belief in American exceptionalism. Although he devotes his attention mainly to these earlier conceptions of America as exceptional, he also takes issue with historians who have more recently employed the data of social history to debunk exceptionalist interpretations. In comparison to European societies, he argues, American society did offer, as its earlier interpreters claimed, an excep-

tional degree of social mobility, indifference to rank, and economic opportunity, at least for its inhabitants of European descent, and social historians have not yet shown otherwise.

The conceptual creation of America, in this rendition, began with sixteenth-century efforts to assimilate the new world to the old. By 1548, however, writers such as Richard Hakluyt already depicted America as a potential utopia, and during the subsequent century an array of colonists and promoters launched the colonizing experiments that would, they hoped, create new American societies devoid of European problems. Although most of the social experiments failed, the new colonies of America retained their image as promised lands, but now the interpreters presented them as places where ambitious individuals could find wealth and independence. By the eighteenth century it had become a literary commonplace that the New World offered its white settlers unparalleled opportunities for gain. It was easy to ignore the Amerindians and the Africans.

When the revolution ended, the belief in American exceptionalism included the confidence that America offered not only distinctive freedoms and opportunities but also an exemplary model in democracy. For three centuries, Greene argues, the sense of exceptionalism that undergirded this confidence had been the principal component in the efforts of both Americans and Europeans to identify the meaning of America.

Greene makes a convincing case that belief in American exceptionalism has a long history, and he reminds us that if we want to call into question the categories with which earlier generations interpreted themselves we have to discover what they meant. Claims about American exceptionalism have never had a univocal meaning; they have functioned differently in different times and places, and their meanings have varied in accord with changing standards of comparison. Greene could have been more precise in distinguishing the diverse functions of exceptionalist claims. They could occasionally be calculating and deceptive, as when some seventeenth-century promoter depicted a disease-racked, death-ridden colony as an unparalleled land of milk and honey. But on the whole, Greene attends closely to both the intellectual context and the social setting of his documents.

The result is salutary. Just as the debate over American exceptionalism seemed to reach its conclusion—or at least to reach a stalemate—Greene has asked us to refine the question. Was America exceptional? It all depends.

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RICHARD J. ELLIS. *American Political Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 251. \$45.00.

The specter that stalked the 1960s generation—the prospect that American history remained imprisoned within a political culture of liberal consensus—continues to haunt subsequent generations of historians and political scientists. First discerned by Alexis de Tocqueville, and a century later embellished by Louis Hartz and Richard Hofstadter, the liberal interpretation depicted the American character as propelled by a steady acquisitive impulse based on property values and the promise of mobility and material happiness. In the 1970s the liberal interpretation seemed to meet its master in the classical republicanism offered by J. G. A. Pocock. With the waning of republicanism, a new challenge to liberalism has emerged in recent years in various theories of community that emphasize the priority of group allegiances, the function of the “public sphere,” and the active role of culture, all of which question the notion of a nation of isolated individuals more acted on by hegemonic domination than acting as conscious moral agents.

Richard J. Ellis's study is the latest of a number of contraliberal texts written by political scientists who seek to save American history from Hartz and Hofstadter. The watchword today is neither consensus nor conflict but difference, diversity, and something “other,” what had gone unrecognized in previous scholarship. Ellis argues that American history, rather than being encompassed in a monotonous and continuous liberal consensus, had all along been contested by rival cultures involving either community, hierarchy, the positive idea of liberty in Abraham Lincoln, and the politics of humanitarian reform, or even the autonomous hermitude of Henry David Thoreau. Such categories possibly represent some kind of challenge to liberalism; but when one recalls Lincoln's anguish in the face of democratic culture and its sins of slavery and selfish materialism, and Thoreau's retreat from a desperate acquisitive society he lost all hope of educating, one cannot help feel that Ellis's categories are marginal rather than mainstream.

Nevertheless, Ellis's thoughtful book provides a valuable critical survey of the latest scholarship on the history of America's troublesome political culture. Drawing on anthropology, he advises us that we should look on culture as a “prism” rather than a “prison,” a “world of clashing biases” (p. 175) rather than a monolithic totality. For those who see everywhere the one-dimensionality of American life, Ellis's book should provide fifteen minutes of relief.

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VERA NORWOOD. *Made from This Earth: American Women and Nature*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 368. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$17.95.

This volume is a collection of eight essays brought together by the theme of American women and

nature. Taken as a whole, this book, like its cover, shares some qualities with a traditional American women's work form, the patchwork quilt. Here the meaning of the word "American" is narrowed to mean the United States. The word "nature" is used in a big way, in fact in at least seven ways to include natural history, country life, scientific illustration, garden arts, conservation, folklore, and wildlife treks. Given this broad sweep, this work, somewhat surprisingly, does not include women's roles in outdoor sports or academic science.

Vera Norwood is most skillful in the areas of biography and literary criticism. In contrast to those bright sections, the essays dealing with women and illustration, gardening, and flower books are derivative and a bit dull. Norwood does not manage to orient her discussions here to the book's powerful finale. She gets back on track with her delightful sketch of "Susan Fenimore Cooper and the Seasonal Tradition," which is really the outline of a larger study. The seventh essay, on women and wildlife, is a neatly constructed microcosm that begs for its own volume.

The last and best essay, a pithy review of ecofeminism, links the themes of nature and women with all women, not just women in the United States. This essay gives the others focus and might well have served as the book's introduction. According to Norwood, "Ecological feminists believe that changes in power relations between men and women could improve our dealings with the environment" (p. 260). That is, the abuse of women is a dreadful symptom of the human trashing of the natural world. Move over Charles Darwin, here is a new view of systematic biology. This meeting of nature and culture is as shocking as a roadkill on an afternoon drive. My advice to the author would be to forget the sentimental language of flowers. Your next book should begin where this one left off.

CHARLOTTE M. PORTER

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SUSAN WARE. *Still Missing: Amelia Earhart and the Search for Modern Feminism*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1993. Pp. 304. \$22.00.

As Susan Ware tells the life of Amelia Earhart she also gives us many insights into the history of liberal feminism and its call for individual freedom and success. By the time she recounts the fateful final flight the reader is ready to accept that both Amelia Earhart and her quest for true equality between the sexes are "still missing."

An insightful biographer, Ware keeps a sharp eye on detail. She does an excellent job of giving us a sense of the private and the public Amelia Earhart. She describes Sam Chapman's patient courtship of Earhart that ended with her breaking their engagement in 1928. Ware also writes a sensitive treatment of

the relationship between Earhart and her promoter, publisher George Palmer Putnam, who eventually became her husband. Her skill in telling lives shows in knowing when to let Earhart speak for herself. Quoting the poignant letter Earhart wrote to Putnam just prior to their wedding ceremony in its entirety underscored Amelia's ambivalence about marriage and her wholly independent spirit.

Ware develops the public side of Earhart, an independent young woman who gained experience and self-confidence during her brief stint as a social worker at Denison House in Boston. She takes us through many of the stages Earhart underwent as she became a public person and popular heroine. Even though Earhart flew across the Atlantic as a passenger in 1928, she gained the public's attention as a female flier; that notoriety only increased after her transatlantic solo flight in 1932. In addition to her fame as an aviator, Earhart also served as a career counselor at Purdue University and designed and marketed a line of women's clothing under her name.

Ever conscious of the gender boundaries of her day, feminist Amelia Earhart always underscored her own accomplishments as evidence for the possibilities for other women. Earhart epitomized the ideals of personal autonomy of liberal feminists of the 1920s and 1930s. Ware effectively depicts her as sharing much with other popular heroines of this era. I agree with the author, who argues, "Instead of harping on the limitations of the feminist ideology adopted by Amelia Earhart and others in the 1920s and 1930s, historians must try to figure out why it was so appealing and what it meant to the generations of women who accepted its tenets" (p. 140).

Ware writes well, at times even in a chatty mode, making this biography accessible to lay readers. Endnotes do not distract from the flow yet make her well-documented research available to scholars. Ware addresses the controversies surrounding the July 2, 1937, flight, including speculations that Earhart was an American spy, captured by the Japanese. Recent books continue to argue along these lines. Ware gives several cogent reasons for rejecting such explanations. Wonderful photographs interspersed throughout the book help fulfill Ware's goal of bringing the life of Amelia Earhart into focus, rather than having her lost in "the clutches of the cult of her disappearance" (p. 238). Although it is the exuberant life of Earhart that I will remember, I also empathized with her enough to care about how she died. When I finished this engaging biography, I joined Ware in hoping that Amelia Earhart got her wish: "'When I go . . . I'd like best to go in my plane. Quickly.'" (p. 228).

SARA ALPERN

Texas A&M University

GEORGE HARWOOD PHILLIPS. *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849*. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 207.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 223. \$24.95.

George Harwood Phillips justly complains that traditional historians depict California Indians solely as extensions of European institutions (missions, ranchos, reservations) and, consequently, as a passive and dominated people. In this volume, as well as in *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (1975), Phillips does much to alter this view. Essentially, he maintains that during the eighty-year period between Spanish settlement and the gold rush, central California's Indians, a dynamic and adaptive people, took independent action that shaped events. Whereas in *Chiefs and Challengers* he focused on coastal tribes, in this work he turns his attention to those of the San Joaquin Valley, including the Yokut and Miwok.

Earliest Spanish entry into the interior caused little consternation among the Indians as long as the Spaniards sought only geographical and ethnographic information. Relations changed when the Spanish, in pursuit of mission runaways or new recruits to replace a declining coastal population, punished interior Indians who hid fugitives or potential "converts." Opposing Spanish incursions of any kind, the interior Indians "implemented strategies of *defensive resistance*" (p. 158). Once Mexico gained independence from Spain, mission neophytes accelerated their escapes, often fleeing in groups. Many took up residency in the interior, further escalating violence when Mexicans attempted to recapture them.

Meanwhile, traders from New Mexico entered California looking for horses and mules. Interior Indians, anxious for access to trade goods, advantageously supplied stock by raiding recently secularized mission lands, now Californios' ranchos. Phillips defines this as a strategy of "offensive resistance." Nuevo Mexicanos and interior Indians thus forged a new commercial union and in the process weakened the Californios' economic stability as well as their ability to fend off Anglo-Americans' intrusions. Furthermore, former mission neophytes, freed by secularization, often moved into the interior and diffused Spanish culture more effectively than the Hispanics. Rather than becoming marginalized within California society, a good number of them brought useful skills and knowledge learned at the missions and sometimes took up leadership positions in their new communities. Perhaps most significantly, the former Mission Indians often led the stock raids.

Non-Hispanic immigrants such as John Sutter arrived in California only to discover coastal lands were all taken and so they turned to the interior. Their ability to establish settlements depended partly on their own diplomatic skill and military might and partly on the Indians' policies and strategies. Far from a conquered people, the interior Indians maintained political autonomy and exercised a measure of power. In fact, Phillips argues, their conquest was not completed until the U.S. government acquired California and implemented its reservation system.

By delineating the complicated and rich history of

interactions among Spanish, Mexican, Indian, and Anglo in pre-gold rush central California, Phillips builds a convincing case concerning the adaptive qualities of Indian cultures and the crucial impact they had on "intruders." The depth of his research is impressive, although Phillips's writing is somewhat mechanical. This minor complaint is far outweighed, however, by the book's primary value: the restoration of the interior tribes to a more central role in California history.

SHERRY L. SMITH
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E. JOHN B. ALLEN. *From Skisport to Skiing: One Hundred Years of an American Sport, 1840-1940*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 229. \$30.00.

With the spectacular Olympic Winter Games at Lillehammer, Norway, in February 1994, still in memory, a claim of Norway as "the cradle of skiing" is easily accepted. Although E. John B. Allen begins his account in 1840, when skiing made its timid entry into the United States, he is ever mindful of its ancient Norse roots as well as of its immigrant foundations.

The earliest record of a skier in the United States according to Allen, is one Gullick Laugen from Numedal, Norway, who in 1841 skied from Rock Prairie to Beloit in Wisconsin to buy flour, making Americans unacquainted with skiing wonder what kind of animal had left the strange marks in the snow. Allen traces the utilitarian, recreational, and competitive developments of skiing. By 1940 all the component parts of modern skiing were in place.

The study falls into two chronological sections, the first covering the nineteenth century into the 1920s. Skiing is here viewed as a part of a reorientation of American culture; skiing provided a healthy and even moral distraction from the social malaise of an increasingly urbanized and industrialized America. It even entered the romantic idealism of an American youth culture—mainly of privileged collegiates—as a recreational activity and an expression of antimodernism. In the main, however, it retained the ideals and ethnic exclusiveness associated with the Scandinavian, particularly Norwegian, term *Ski-Idræt*, embodying both heroic qualities and a goal of achieving purity of mind and body.

The Norse heritage expressed itself competitively in cross-country racing and ski-jumping meets. Between 1880 and 1910, the peak years of Scandinavian immigration, many local ski clubs emerged based on the philosophical ideals of the *Idræt* heritage. In 1905 the National Ski Association was founded in Ishpeming, Michigan, to regulate club activities and thus assure equality in competition.

Allen distinguishes between skisport, which he relates to the *Idræt* ideal, and skiing, which he associates with the sporting activities of downhill and slalom

skiing in the alpine countries carried to America by a wave of immigrants from that region of Europe. The transition occurred in the 1920s and 1930s and constitutes the second half of Allen's analysis of how and why skiing became a modern sport. The change to alpine disciplines and their modernizing tendencies was spearheaded by an elite in the East; it was reflected in an adoption of German names until 1940, such as *Langlauf* for cross-country skiing, and in new skiing venues. In these years skiing became mechanized, manifested in the technical attributes and fashions of the sport and their marketing. It was this development rather than the Winter Olympic games—the first one staged at Chamonix, France, in 1924—that, contrary to popular belief, sparked the skiing boom of the 1930s and transformed the ski business into a major industry by the end of that decade.

Allen's study, in its theoretical framework, is indebted to Allen Guttman's *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sport* (1978), and may be read simply as a solid and captivating contribution to the history of sport. But it also possesses great merit as an investigation of ethnicity, how a transplanted winter culture fared and was transformed in the American consumer society. It is a comprehensive and integrated interpretation, so that the processes and causal forces that made American society modern are seen as being identical with those that made skiing a modern American sport. It is a most timely and readable story that should also find an enthusiastic readership beyond the academic community.

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NORMAN M. KLEIN. *Seven Minutes: The Life and Death of the American Animated Cartoon*. New York: Verso. 1993. Pp. vii, 284. \$29.95.

This book may be the most complex and engaging account ever written of the Mickey Mouse, the Tom and Jerry, and the Betty Boop short subjects that used to separate the feature from the B-movie at the Saturday matinee. Norman M. Klein is interested in everything about animated cartoons: costs (always rising), rental fees (falling), iconography (the remarkable instance of rural blacks in Walt Disney's early work: after all, Mickey Mouse is black), anecdotes about the drinking habits of animators (a thirsty lot), cartoons and consumerism (in which Klein is entirely too fervent a believer), and the ways in which animation transforms itself from the stepchild of print cartooning, like comic strips and magazine illustration, to become a rival of the live-action movie with the development in the 1930s of the style known as "full animation." His knowledge of the medium is astounding. He comments with effortless aplomb on everything from the number of pegs on an animation board to the evolution of plot in "chase" classics starring Wile E. Coyote.

Klein's encyclopedic knowledge of the field often poses problems for the dazzled reader, however. To savor the richness of his argument on the stylistic evolution of the animated short in relationship to popular art, high art, commerce, and American history from 1927 through the 1950s demands, at the least, a more than passing familiarity with the storylines, foregrounds, backgrounds, and soundtracks of the huge repertory of examples cited in the text. But rarely are illustrations provided to walk the novice through the details of an argument based on an analysis of style. There are good and sufficient reasons why scholarly books on art often appear minus the very evidence that might convince the print-oriented historian that discussions of form and content are more than empty twaddle: costs of reproduction are enormous and, in the cartoon field, fees demanded by those holding rights to illustrations are huge, too. So, for the moment, the best pictorial evidence for Klein's insights is provided by a rag-tag assortment of lavishly illustrated, non-scholarly coffee-table books, often produced with the cooperation of the industry. At the very least, the author should have directed his audience to such sources (or to videos, when widely available).

The weakness of the book is that citations of all kinds are sparse—except references to too-well-known theoretical texts—and amazing information on subjects like the introduction of the multiplane camera offered with no indication of where it came from. Neither does Klein read a lot of secondary work. Yet to attempt to interpret a complex phenomenon, like Disneyland, without acknowledging the growing body of recent literature dealing specifically with its architecture, structure, cultural geography, and relationship to the film seems quixotic at best. Klein's firsthand knowledge of the field ought not absolve him from the obligation to contend with the ways in which specialists in a variety of other pertinent fields are attempting to come to grips with the meaning of the "toon."

Those quibbles aside, however, this book is an important contribution to the history of American popular culture and a gold mine of suggestive insights into the inner workings of a cartoon business that has never, perhaps, been healthier or more crucial to the gross national product than it is in the 1990s. Watch for *Pocahontas* from Disney, coming this summer to a theater near you!

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BERNARD ROSENTHAL. *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 73.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 286. \$49.95.

Into an already crowded field of studies of seventeenth-century witchcraft, Bernard Rosenthal offers

his book. Although he deals with an episode familiar to virtually all students of American history, the author's carefully crafted study will add to the ongoing debate over the cause of the witchcraft crisis in Salem.

One of the many virtues of this engaging work is Rosenthal's clarity. One cannot mistake his interpretation of this event. He contends that gullible and zealous authorities supporting and encouraging a growing group of afflicted who were engaged in a massive fraud caused the tragedy of Salem.

Throughout his narrative, Rosenthal is unmerciful toward the afflicted. In describing their actions and motivations, he uses words such as charade, lie, fraud, forgery, and fabrication. He also charges that in many cases, particularly in that of the Reverend George Burroughs, malicious adults coached the afflicted. Villagers not afflicted, but who nonetheless came forward to offer evidence against the accused, fare no better in Rosenthal's study. He likens some of their testimony to "the carnival effect of a community joining in a festival of gossip and tall tales" (p. 64). Rosenthal reserves his greatest scorn, however, for the judges. Although advised early in the process to proceed with caution, the judges, Rosenthal believes, encouraged the accusations and, excluding Nathaniel Saltonstall, failed to challenge the veracity of the evidence presented to them.

There are only a few admirable figures in Rosenthal's account. He notes that most clergymen opposed the proceedings, and he has high regard for the accused who eschewed confession when it became clear that doing so would at least delay punishment. He places particular emphasis on the actions of Mary Easty, whose petition to the judges he believes was a pivotal factor in ending the episode.

Rosenthal offers an interpretation sure to invite challenges. He says little about factional strife in Salem Village, barely acknowledges gender issues, scarcely deals with everyday occult beliefs, and, except in his discussion of the George Burroughs case, does not see a genuine concern among the clergy, the authorities, and the accusers in a demonic plot.

In a passage near the end of his account, Rosenthal acknowledges the biggest dilemma with his effort to explain this event largely in terms of gullibility and fraud. After admitting that accusations cut across geographic, gender, and age lines, Rosenthal concedes that the impulse to accuse came from many possible motives, "either in sincere belief that a particular person was a witch, or for motives rooted in malice, greed, or the need to justify the proceedings" (p. 192).

Rosenthal, however, does more than offer a provocative thesis. Although many will question the conclusions he draws from it, his careful textual examination of the existing documents is unlikely to be superseded. Furthermore, Rosenthal includes an excellent explanation, drawing from a broad range of literary and cultural sources, of how the episode at Salem

"has become America's huge metaphor for persecution" (p. 8). Fascinating throughout, Rosenthal's book is a welcome addition to the debate on witchcraft at Salem.

LARRY GRAGG

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A. G. ROEBER. *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*. (Early America: History, Context, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 432. \$49.95.

The majority of German immigrants to colonial America were Lutherans from southwest Germany, not the free church Mennonites, Amish, and the Moravians who have received more popular attention. The Lutheran Germans brought across the Atlantic a rich and complex heritage of the meaning of liberty, not a simple idealization of authority such as some scholars have assumed. A. G. Roeber's landmark volume, based on a decade of diligent research in German archives and public records as well as in sources in the United States, marks a new era of more sophisticated knowledge and interpretation of how German understandings of liberty and property were transplanted to and transformed in the New World.

Essential to Roeber's analysis is the functioning of the domestic economy in families and villages of the German southwest, where liberty was understood in terms of traditional privileges (*Freiheiten*). Roeber emphasizes the role of married women as defenders of liberty within the village sociability. Such roles and privileges, such as the right of Lutheran women to sell wood from oak trees cut down on Ash Wednesday, did not survive in the British colonies, where very different Anglo-American conceptions assumed that liberty depended on security in property. Thus, Germans in America, especially women, lost certain liberties even as they gained freedom of a different kind.

Roeber argues that Pietism, with its critique of worldly goods and its new distinction between public and private, was a complex and polyvalent force. The Pietism of Halle fostered responsibility for wider public welfare, while the Pietism of Württemberg was more inward-minded and detached from the broader culture. Württemberg Pietists, such as the popular preacher Immanuel Gottlob Brastberger, taught that "true Christian liberty remained tied to the sociability of the conventicle and the domestic economy defended by the married women of the village" (p. 94). Halle Pietism, more Calvinist in orientation, made a smoother adaptation to Anglo-American liberty.

Roeber tells of German community developments in New York, Virginia, Carolina, and Pennsylvania. He traces the influence of two kinds of networks, each with its own distinctive brokers, who defined the meanings of liberty and property. One was a network of secular trader-agents, many of whom worked for immigrant settlers to recover inheritances back in

Germany. Another network was that of Pietist preachers who had been trained in Halle. After 1738 the publications of Christopher Saur functioned as a "semi-private" forum for the explicit engagement of definitions of liberty and property.

Among the most impressive features of this book is the author's skillful use of many different kinds of sources: sermons, novels, economic data, demographic statistics, court records, and more. Linguistic evidence is especially critical for the analysis. Roeber has synthesized a vast wealth of secondary works and added his own primary research at all critical points. Although Roeber protests the way other historians, such as David Hackett Fischer, oversimplify German culture in America, he occasionally returns the favor with passing references to an apparently monolithic Anglo-American heritage. Perhaps such shorthand is inevitable as historians briefly allude to traditions other than the subject at hand. In any case, this book has significantly advanced our understanding of the transplantation of German culture to America in the colonial era.

JAMES C. JUHNKE
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ANDREAS BRINCK. *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. (Studien zur modernen Geschichte, number 45.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1993. Pp. 295. DM 120.

Focusing on the largest wave of German immigration to the British colonies before the American Revolution—113 shiploads to Philadelphia alone between 1749 and 1754—Andreas Brinck draws on archival material (including some Dutch and American collections), published American documents, and port newspapers to explain this migration within a transatlantic context. The author does an excellent job of elucidating aspects of the Atlantic economy that impinged on migrants, documenting the importance of insurance rates, the types and sources of return cargo, and the advantages of an established redemptioner market in Philadelphia that sometimes led merchants to deposit passengers there who preferred other destinations. He establishes that the migration surge developed in a hiatus between two British colonial wars, when several colonies were competing to bolster their Protestant populations as security measures and sending recruitment agents to Germany. Still, except for some subsidized north Germans, most emigrants stemmed from Protestant areas of the southwest with existing migration traditions. Among long-term factors predisposing Germans to emigrate, economic hardships predominated but were closely intertwined with political grievances. Although stressing the importance of recruitment agents, Brinck could have strengthened his case by

consulting the work of Wilhelm Abel, which showed that German grain prices during this period remained normal. In crediting German governments, beyond obvious self-interest, with a modicum of paternalistic altruism in their efforts to discourage emigration (p. 173), the author ignores the contradiction between the Hessian state's ban on voluntary emigration to America with its sale of thousands of reluctant mercenaries for the British war effort there two decades later. Although praise of the American diet is discussed under propaganda, this is one area where America's objective advantage stands beyond doubt. Brinck does uncover a little-known fact important for interpreting an oft-quoted colonial eyewitness: Gottlieb Mittelberger's return to Germany was precipitated less by disillusionment than by the loss of his organist's position because of a sexual offense, and his traveler's account was encouraged and probably edited by Württemberg authorities to discourage emigrants (pp. 96–97).

The book lives up to its claim of providing a transatlantic perspective, but treatment of the American side hardly extends beyond the seaports. Aaron Fogleman's dissertation (1991) was perhaps too new to be consulted, but also absent from the bibliography is the work of Stephanie Grauman Wolf and the redemptioner studies of Farley Grubb and Sharon Salinger. An appendix lists all ships arriving with German redemptioners in British North America between 1748 and 1754, providing essential data, including the number of souls, men, or "freights" immigrating. No effort, however, was made to approximate more precisely the numbers of arrivals, to deal systematically with voyage mortality rates, or to address recent debates on the ethnic composition of eighteenth-century America.

In both scope and format, the book still reflects much of its origins as a dissertation. Excessive quoting in archaic and legalistic eighteenth-century language presents a challenge for those not thoroughly versed in German. Brinck offers a worthwhile addition to eighteenth-century immigration scholarship, but a more ambitious approach could have yielded greater rewards.

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DONALD E. CHIPMAN. *Spanish Texas, 1519–1821*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 343. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$14.95.

Looking the ethnocentrism of his fellow Anglo-Texans straight in the eye, Donald E. Chipman points to Jane Long. Because Long, wife of filibuster James Long and niece of double-dealing James Wilkinson, gave birth to a daughter at Bolivar Point in December 1821, she, Chipman laments, "is often called 'the mother of Texas'—a preposterous notion that reveals ignorance of the events that have been the subject of this book" (p. 240).

For more than a century before 1821, Chipman reminds us, Spanish mothers bore children in what would become the state of Texas, and, of course, so did countless Texas Indian women before them. What Spaniards were doing there, mainly in their public and not their private lives, is the central matter of this outstanding narrative.

Straightforward, well organized, and well written, this book provides as accurately as current scholarship permits the chronology, personnel, and institutions of Spanish Texas before Jane Long. Striking a neat balance between archival sources and secondary works, Chipman corrects previous studies with professional care, not relish. From time to time he quotes the apt words of other scholars as well as passages from the documents.

Spaniards first saw the Texas coast from shipboard as early as 1519. A couple of decades later, castaway Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Chipman's "favorite Spaniard in Texas" (p. xiii), walked across the southern part, surviving among the native peoples. Horsemen in metal came next, but did not stay, as Francisco Vázquez de Coronado navigated a sea of buffalo in north Texas and survivors of Hernando de Soto's competing venture entered Caddo Indian country to the east. After that, for nearly a century and a half, only random Spaniards came to Texas. It took the French explorer Sieur de La Salle in the 1680s to galvanize Spanish interest.

Then, with the active imposition of a zone of European imperial rivalry on so diverse a physical and human environment (ably interpreted by Chipman in his opening chapter), the plot of shifting alliances, disalliances, and intrigue thickened and stayed thick. No one has ever related the ebbs and flows of Spanish Texas with greater clarity. "From the founding of the first mission in 1682 to the last in 1793, there were close to forty different sites in Texas. Individual religious outposts lasted from less than a year to more than a hundred, but rarely were even a dozen in operation at any one time" (p. 248). Add to these missions eight scattered presidios and nine or ten civilian settlements, never all occupied concurrently, and one sees not only the fluidity of Spain's sparse, reflexive occupation of Texas but also the challenge facing anyone who would describe the circumstances.

More than anything, Chipman provides the context. Social historians who will ask more personal questions will find in this book a useful framework and a guide to sources. I would like to know more about cultural accommodations in Spanish Texas (more about the "white Indians" mentioned in the text), infectious disease, and Captain Felipe de Rábago y Terán, "an irresponsible rake" (p. 155), and, thanks to Chipman, I have the names, dates, and references to materials to get started.

Like David J. Weber's *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992), which it complements, Chipman's

volume is one of the very good things to come out of the Columbus Quincentenary.

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KEVIN MULROY. *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 246. \$29.00.

In this book, Kevin Mulroy provides a survey of the history of Seminole maroons from their ethnogenesis to the present day. The Seminole maroons, who were runaway slaves, became allies of the Florida Seminoles. Although these people were technically viewed as Seminole "slaves," Mulroy attempts to define what this really meant by exploring the relationship of these blacks to the Seminoles, their role in the Florida Indian wars, as well as what life was like in their own largely autonomous communities. Contrary to what many have assumed, the maroons were not simply "black Indians," and the two ethnic groups maintained social distance. The emergence of these people as a distinct community occurred just prior to the First Seminole War.

In exploring precedents for the establishment of maroon communities, Mulroy draws heavily on the Spanish example, ignoring completely the Creek practice of welcoming refugees into their nation as autonomous communities. The Seminoles, offshoots of the Creeks, had ample precedent for the establishment of such communities in their own cultural history.

Mulroy's history is weakest on the pre-Removal period. Mulroy does not mention the relationship of hostiles in the First Seminole War to the Creek Civil War, and he fails to point out that many Seminole hostiles, both red and black, were refugees from that conflict. More careful analysis of the surviving primary documents from this period would doubtless have shed more light on the exact relationship of the maroons to the Creeks, as well as to the Seminoles.

In following the intriguing history of this group, Mulroy briefly recounts their involvement in the Seminole wars and maintains that "Seminole resistance to removal would not have been so widespread and sustained had it not been for African involvement" (p. 29). Maroons were involved in removal negotiations, and Mulroy discusses this, as well as their own negotiations with the U.S. Army.

The strongest part of the book follows as Mulroy traces the efforts of the Seminole maroons to establish stable communities in the West. Confronted with broken promises by the U.S. Army, hostile Creeks, greedy slave catchers, division among the Seminole, and eager for the freedom they had been promised, one band migrated to Coahuila, Mexico. Following their own self-interest, these maroons distinguished themselves as Indian fighters, and Mulroy relates the intriguing story of these men, who fought hostile

bands of Indians for the Mexican government and were then lured back to the United States after the Civil War with more promises of land and freedom in return for helping subdue Kiowas, Comanches, and southern Cheyennes in the Red River War. Their military success did not translate into more lasting prosperity, and Mulroy follows the history of the scattered Seminole maroon bands in Mexico, Texas, and the Indian territory to the present day.

Unfortunately, Mulroy's dry prose does not reflect the excitement of his subject matter. This solid account, however, based on manuscript and archival sources from the United States and Mexico, as well as on interviews with members of the surviving maroon communities, is necessary reading for anyone interested in frontier history, Indian history, and the history of black Americans. The book includes numerous illustrations, maps, as well as notes and bibliography.

KATHRYN E. HOLLAND BRAUND
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GILBERT C. DIN. *Francisco Bouligny: A Bourbon Soldier in Spanish Louisiana*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 265. \$45.00.

Francisco Bouligny, active in Louisiana from his arrival in 1769 until his death in 1800, made a more significant contribution than most governors, according to Gilbert C. Din. Although he never achieved the governorship he so ardently desired, his recommendations in a *Memoria* of 1776 to Minister of the Indies José de Gálvez provided the guidelines for improved administration of the province under Spanish authority from 1768 until 1802.

Identifying Bouligny as a "Bourbon soldier" highlights the fact that Bouligny's military career was largely determined by military decisions made by Spain in concert with France as part of the "Family Compact" forged when members of the House of Bourbon ruled both countries. Although born in Spain, Bouligny lived for a while in Italy and had relatives among French merchants as well as ties to Spanish nobility. His army career began in 1758 when he was twenty-two years old. Two years later he was assigned to an elite unit, the Royal Guards, then was sent to Cuba after England declared war on Spain in December 1761. He arrived after the war ended and spent six years on the island before sailing for Louisiana with General Alejandro O'Reilly's expedition to suppress a threatened French insurrection in 1769.

Bouligny soon married into the New Orleans French creole aristocracy, acquiring responsibility for an extended family in addition to his own children. On a trip to Europe in 1775 involving family business, he composed a substantial *Memoria* for Gálvez as a guide to improving government of Louisiana. Based on his observations and experience, Bouligny recommended the British system of superintending Indian

affairs, the relaxation of trade restrictions, and promotion of colonization. Bouligny returned to New Orleans knowing he would become lieutenant-governor with responsibility for these areas of provincial government. One of his permanent accomplishments was the founding of New Iberia, a colony of *Malagueños*.

The new governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Gálvez, nephew of the powerful Spanish minister, unfortunately disliked Bouligny and dismissed him in 1779. This blot on his honor delayed Bouligny's promotion, impeding his career advancement. Nevertheless, he rose to become colonel in the Louisiana Regiment and served as commandant from 1791 to 1797. In the meantime, he had performed a valuable service to planters in capturing the ringleaders of a group of *cimarrones*, escaped slaves who had killed five Americans. On several occasions, he served temporarily as acting governor, taking charge of the volatile Natchez district where his knowledge of English enabled him to deal successfully with potentially disruptive American settlers.

After his health began to fail in 1797, Bouligny still worked on a second prospective *Memoria* summarizing his recommendations for protecting Louisiana against American expansion. Among his ideas was the creation of a vast Indian territory on the west bank of the Mississippi River between the Arkansas and Red rivers extending to the Osage River, to be a home for fifty thousand Indians acting in the Spanish interest.

The era of Spanish authority in lower Louisiana comes to life in this biographical study laced with ample historical narrative. To the upper class, military rank, social status, and kinship networks were matters of importance. Because the era of Spanish New Orleans seldom achieves prominence in American historical writing, this volume is a commendable addition to a sparsely covered field.

HELEN HORNBECK TANNER
Newberry Library
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KERRY S. WALTERS. *Rational Infidels: The American Deists*. Durango, Colo.: Longwood Academic. 1993. Pp. xvi, 308. \$37.50.

Many years ago, G. Adolf Koch examined the experiences of several major deists in *Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason* (1933), and Herbert M. Morais traced the ideological origins of *Deism in Eighteenth-Century America* (1934) back to England and France. The structure of Kerry S. Walters's book is a combination of his predecessors. This neatly organized and straightforward account begins with a brief introduction to the fundamental doctrines that American deists inherited from the Enlightenment, and the bulk of the book is devoted to six principal proponents: Benjamin Franklin, Ethan Allen, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Elihu Palmer, and Philip Freneau. Insisting that deism was

not limited to an educated few but rather became a movement, Walters tries to give life to the movement through a series of analyses of the convictions and activities of those individual deists. From Franklin's illusive religious attitudes to Paine's savage assault on orthodoxy, and from Jefferson's private correspondence to Palmer's zealous efforts to organize deistic societies, the author illustrates the gradual rise of deism in America and its growing militancy, which he believes to be "a revolution in religious and ethical thought" (p. ix).

Yet the claim of American deism as "a revolution" or "a nationwide and militant movement" (pp. xiii, 5, 11) has not been effectively argued for several reasons. First, the religious beliefs of Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine have been studied extensively, and Walters does not disagree with most scholars that their deistic tendencies were either philosophical or polemical. Second, he emphasizes that, more than any other deist, the crusader Elihu Palmer "single-handedly . . . transformed natural religion from a rather bookish philosophical perspective into a popular movement" (p. 192), but his documentation of Palmer's activity is far less comprehensive than Koch's was. Even though Walters says that "most of the primary sources used here are long out of print," few previously unexplored primary sources can be found in this volume. His chapter on Palmer is based almost entirely on his analysis of the latter's *Principles of Nature*, which Walters edited in 1990. Third, although the author is aware of the differences among those deists, it is misleading to suggest that as "a group of thinkers," "they denounced slavery, the abuse of Native Americans, the subjugation of women," and more (p. xi). In fact, the last sweeping assertion was pronounced by Palmer alone (pp. 193–94).

A specialist in philosophy, Walters seems to have undertaken a bold experiment because his book attempts to integrate philosophical analyses with biographical sketches and, occasionally, literary criticism. A more engaging portion of the book is the author's view of Freneau's expressions as a transitional stage from eighteenth to nineteenth-century free thought; a more provocative part consists of those reasons that Walters attributes to "the eventual demise of American deism" in his last chapter (esp. pp. 273–90). In a different intellectual atmosphere of romanticism and in the advent of a new wave of religious revival among the populace, deists' exaltation of reason and their denial of divine revelation ceased to attract either the educated or the masses. This segment is the author's strength, and future students will have to reckon with his explanations. Unfortunately, this sort of insight and analysis comes too late and is too short.

NIAN-SHENG HUANG
Bentley College

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON. *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802*. Chapel Hill:

University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 262. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$13.95.

Historians are too seldom accused of writing provocative books. The unspoken assumptions of the profession imply that a book may be either interesting or scholarly—but never both—and so we turn out predictably limited monographs for small but dedicated audiences. It is, after all, easier to claim the mantle of objectivity if a book is deadly dull; who would slant toward plodding prose?

Thus, Douglas R. Egerton deserves respect for eschewing the safe and predictable in his study. He employs a vigorous style and thorough research to present the incendiary efforts of two slave leaders, blacksmith Gabriel and waterman Sancho, and their dozens of followers. The author's description of the recruitment and planning stages of Gabriel's rebellion is especially vivid, full of compelling insights into the tangled relationship between master and slave in Thomas Jefferson's Virginia. The work re-creates a world where the causes of slave rebellion were legion and captives chafed purposefully against a life of servitude.

Egerton contends that these incipient revolts were actually stillborn revolutions. Gabriel, Sancho, and their supporters, we are told, wanted more than revenge against the whites who denied their humanity: they "wanted the fully acknowledged position of equality with the master class—political, social, and economic—that was the antithesis of human bondage" (p. 51). Inflamed by Republican rhetoric about the equality of man and invigorated by Toussaint L'Overture's success in Saint Domingue, Gabriel and Sancho convinced their compatriots that the battle would be swiftly won. Gabriel, the author insists, was confident in 1800 that radical artisans in Richmond would flock to the slaves' cause, that black and white "producers" would stand together against the merchants "who squeezed profits from the sweat of those who worked with their hands" (p. 30). The "black and white insurgents" Gabriel planned to lead "would spark a class struggle that had a recognized purpose and might force specific concessions from the state authorities" (p. 49). Although Sancho was less sanguine in 1802, he too expected victory without a full-blown race war.

The exciting prospect that Gabriel was a "black Jacobin" is, unfortunately, difficult to prove. The author supplies no information regarding the number, leadership, goals, or racial views of the oft-mentioned but little-described radical artisans of Richmond. Indeed, most of his citations regarding urban radicalism refer to books about craftsmen in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Richmond artisans might have shared some of the northern workers' views of the rights of labor and the prerogatives of small producers, but we cannot assume that they were blind to the implications of race in a slaveholding society. Other sources, like Frederick Douglass's first

autobiography, clearly illustrate the divisions between white workers and the slaves and free black artisans who charged less for their services.

This book contains a wealth of information on the planning, recruitment, and implications of slave insurrection in early national Virginia. Although Eger-ton does not fully develop his provocative hypothesis, he should be commended for creating what will be regarded as the definitive work on the plots of 1800 and 1802.

JOHN C. WILLIS
University of the South

SPENCER C. TUCKER. *The Jeffersonian Gunboat Navy*. (Studies in Maritime History.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 265. \$39.95.

Few aspects of American naval policy have been subjected to criticism as severe as that accorded the decision by the Thomas Jefferson administration to limit naval construction to large numbers of gunboats incapable of any but defensive action. This decision has been attributed to the desire for economy and to the fears that a seagoing navy would lead to embroilment in foreign wars and might cause a preemptive strike by Britain's Royal Navy similar to that at Copenhagen in 1807. Eventually, some 170 gunboats were built, and most authorities follow Alfred Thayer Mahan in dismissing the program as an expensive failure.

Spencer C. Tucker, whose authoritative work on early U.S. naval ordnance led to his familiarity with the gunboats, begins this first book-length study by considering the use of armed vessels propelled mainly by oar in the American Revolution and the Barbary Wars. He then discusses the arguments put forward by supporters and opponents of the Jeffersonian program, with adequate emphasis on the support of some senior naval officers. He also offers details of the gunboats and their construction, illustrated by several plans. Accounts of gunboats' service in the Mediterranean, enforcing the Embargo, and in the War of 1812 follow, the last divided by geographical area: Great Lakes and Lake Champlain, northern, middle, and southern Atlantic, and Gulf Coast theaters.

Gunboats proved most useful in the shallow inshore waters of the southern Atlantic and Gulf coasts, although their record against British warships was unimpressive. Elsewhere, they escorted coastal shipping, defended against attacks by British small craft, and transported troops and equipment.

Describing the final disposition of the Jeffersonian gunboats at war's end, Tucker points out that, contrary to popular belief, a few were retained in the postwar navy. Several participated in operations against Indians and fugitive slaves raiding from Spanish Florida in 1816.

Appendixes provide the service records of individual gunboats, with unavoidable lacunae, and a guide to sources on details of their design, construction,

and equipment. A short glossary defines nautical terms. The notes and bibliography indicate extensive research in U.S. archives and in published works. Tucker generally uses this material knowledgeably, but one must note that not all of the navy's first three frigates were "extremely fast" (p. 5), and those familiar with World War I will be surprised to learn that Turkish mobile batteries kept the Anglo-French fleet from forcing the Dardanelles in 1915 (p. 178).

The book's major weakness is inherent in its topic: following the fortunes of so many unnamed small vessels may become confusing to the reader, who further must distinguish between gunboats, galleys, and barges. Nonetheless, this is a good book, although one wonders about Tucker's conclusion: "It was the lack of larger ships, not the failure of the gunboats, that made the new nation powerless on the sea in the War of 1812" (p. 180). Were not the gunboats intended to take the place of larger warships?

ROBERT ERWIN JOHNSON
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

LEE A. CRAIG. *To Sow One Acre More: Childbearing and Farm Productivity in the Antebellum North*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science; 111th Series, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 161. \$28.50.

This book by Lee A. Craig examines a question that has a venerable lineage going back to Thomas Malthus: the relationship between fertility decline and the access to land by farm populations. It exhibits many of the strengths and some of the limitations of the cliometric enterprise, including a theoretical sophistication, the imaginative reanalysis of quantitative data, deft use of qualitative material (Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Farmer Boy!* [1933]), the banishment of arcane technical material to appendixes and notes, and a rigorous analytical argument presented in clear prose.

In the northern United States, part of the farm population proved to be the exception to the rule that a demographic transition followed industrialization. Before the Civil War some farmers went through a process of fertility decline before their urban counterparts. At the same time, there was regional differentiation among the farm population. Fertility was higher in newer settled areas than in older ones.

Scholars have failed to arrive at a consensus as to why rural populations proved exceptional in their reproductive behavior. The spread of contraception, the growth of education, and off-farm opportunities for women all had some effect, but as research progressed a better explanation suggested itself: the intergenerational transmission of property in family development. Richard Easterlin's "targeted bequest" hypothesis suggested that parents limited their fertility because they wanted to encourage their children to farm; they also desired them to have equal shares

of an inheritance. Others have suggested that parents were not altruistic in their behavior. They used "strategic bequests" to manipulate children to care for them in retirement.

Craig explores the fall of the antebellum farm birth rate and the role and value of children in agriculture. He demonstrates the deficiencies of theories that try to explain the decline of fertility; describes work routines on northern farms; analyzes precisely who performed each farm task, and what children contributed to the operation; and estimates the value of the labor of women and children, and the cost of raising children on the farm.

What firm conclusions does he draw? He suggests that economic theories of fertility decline, such as bequest models, are not adequate to explain either how families operated a farm or how they thought about the future. Rather, climate, soil, mechanization, and proximity to markets were better determinants than familial characteristics of farm production. Indeed, in all regions children proved to be "net costs" to parents. At the same time, interregional data show that young children and teenage girls did have some value in the woodland areas of the Old Northwest, and that teenage boys made a valuable contribution on dairy farms in the Northeast.

For historians this volume provides a brief survey of farm-family modernization, or, to use the author's word, "externalization," before the Civil War. Cliometricians are skilled at teasing out interesting results from unpromising data, and Craig is no exception. It is now up to historians to develop some of his ideas; to ransack the archives for suitable materials to test out the hypotheses that he has garnered by rigorous analysis of census manuscripts.

MARK FRIEDBERGER
Texas Tech University

S. CHARLES BOLTON. *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800–1940*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 152. \$32.00.

S. Charles Bolton's study of antebellum Arkansas is a short book with a limited purpose. He intends to question the stereotypical image of Arkansas as a southern frontier settled by a poor but proud group of self-sufficient pioneers out of step with the mainstream of the American frontier experience. In Bolton's study, American settlers moved to the Arkansas frontier because they wanted to materially improve their lives. Finding a frontier in which its Native American inhabitants had been largely eliminated by the Spaniards and the French in the previous century, these American settlers rapidly passed through the frontier stages of hunting and subsistence farming into a market-oriented economy characterized by cattle raising, family farming, and slave-operated plantations.

But Bolton's study does not make the case for a transforming frontier in the ways described by Fred-

erick Jackson Turner. Instead, he is more interested in testing David Potter's thesis in which economic abundance and an environment of opportunity shaped politics and institutions. What Bolton finds in Arkansas is a process of settlement in which American pioneers were able to achieve a level of material growth that satisfied the majority of its white residents.

In discussing this process of settlement, Bolton divides his book into seven concisely written chapters where he documents the emergence of an agricultural economy characterized by a substantial amount of economic opportunity, a markedly unequal distribution of land ownership and wealth, women pioneers who were as ambitious and as hard-working as were their men, a somewhat fluid and impermanent class structure in which slaveowners exercised greater political power in comparison to nonslaveholders, and by a drive for statehood motivated by the rewards of political office and the opportunities that would accompany the territory's move to national status.

Although the book has a limited agenda, its readers will find little that is unexpected or especially challenging. Neither will they be satisfied with the fact that Arkansas's African-American settlers have been left out of Bolton's story. Still, it is a well-written and important introduction to the subject that no historian of the old southwestern frontier will want to overlook.

RONALD L. F. DAVIS
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DAVID REMLEY. *Bell Ranch: Cattle Ranching in the Southwest, 1824–1947*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 393. \$39.95.

Several good books have been published on cattle ranches in Texas, Wyoming, California, and other western states, but little scholarly attention has been paid to ranching in New Mexico. David Remley's excellent entrepreneurial history of the Bell Ranch helps to fill this void.

The core of the Bell Ranch, which eventually covered three-quarters of a million acres in northeastern New Mexico, consisted of two Mexican land grants, the Baca Location Number Two and the larger Pablo Montoya grant. Remley traces the ranch's history from 1824, when Mexican officials awarded Pablo Montoya his princely domain, to 1947, when the Bell was broken up and sold as six separate ranches. In tracing nearly 125 years of the Bell's history, Remley focuses on the lives of the men who either owned or managed the ranch property. The author sees two different phases of Bell history: the early frontier period to 1893, characterized by frontier violence and overstocking of the range; and the post-frontier stage, when owners and managers used new technologies, improved the quality of beef cattle, and realized the importance of conserving range resources. About

two-fifths of the text is devoted to the first phase, with separate chapters focusing on Pablo Montoya and the two colorful entrepreneurs who subsequently acquired much or all of his grant: John S. Watts, the lawyer who took a large portion of the grant as his fee for overseeing its confirmation; and Wilson Waddingham, an enthusiastic frontier promoter who amassed the vast acreage that comprised the Bell Ranch and was the first to stock the property with cattle.

In the four remaining chapters, Remley ably discusses the “nuts and bolts” of running a modern cattle operation. The author makes clear that the success of this venture was due to the men with foresight (Arthur J. Tisdall, Charles M. O’Donel, and Albert K. Mitchell) whom the absentee owners hired to manage the ranch. This section of the book is solidly grounded on the records of the Bell Ranch, deposited in 1947 in the University of New Mexico library. The first scholar to delve deeply into this treasure trove, Remley calls it “one of the largest collections of ranch records in existence” (p. xi).

Remley has written an engaging account of the Bell Ranch. Specialists and general readers alike will find much to praise in this superbly researched volume. A masterful writer, Remley excites interest even as he minutely examines the intricacies of cattle breeding and water conservation. I wanted more detail rather than less. Although the book is graced with several well-chosen photographs and one map, its value would have been enhanced with more detailed maps, showing the neighboring ranches and villages referred to in the text. Similarly, readers will want to know more about Mitchell’s political career. Why did the Republican Party urge him to run in the gubernatorial race of 1938, for example?

Studies such as Remley’s help us to understand the problems of modern-day corporate and family ranching. His success should inspire other scholars to explore ranching history in the Southwest.

DARLIS A. MILLER
New Mexico State University

DONALD B. COLE. *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. x, 342. \$29.95.

This is the best account I have read of the presidency of Andrew Jackson. Donald B. Cole’s book is distinguished for its erudition, lucidity, fairness, and balance, while finding the essentials of such issues as “Eaton Malaria,” Indian removal, nullification, the bank war, the emergence of the two-party system, and the surprisingly complex character of the Old Hero himself.

I have two serious dissents. First, the so-called market revolution here plays a mechanistic, poorly defined role as the all-pervasive cause of anxiety and divisions in the United States. In his peroration Cole concludes that Jackson “came to the presidency when his country was turning away from its agrarian past

and toward its capitalist future” (p. 277). Yet a defense of agrarian republicanism by founders Thomas Jefferson and James Madison gave way, in Drew McCoy’s penetrating study (*The Elusive Republic* [1980]), to the promotion of mercantile and industrial capitalism; Joyce Appleby has also found the Jeffersonians liberating free-market capitalism, noting especially that farmers and planters were themselves often capitalists. Look closely at any region of North America from the settling of Jamestown to the present: turbulent change and cultural conflict will almost surely appear; so also will connections with world markets. Agrarian beliefs and capitalist behavior did indeed set up a tension in Jacksonian thought and behavior, as Cole claims; but that tension had existed long before, and would persist long after. The allegedly disruptive capitalist order (or disorder) has been implicated, in recent American historical writing, in such widely scattered phenomena as the Halfway Covenant in the late seventeenth century to the white-male-managerial-hegemonic design of the Chicago World’s Fair in the late nineteenth century. It has, to say the least, been stretched thin.

Less important for this book, but still important for the historical record, is Cole’s assertion, “As Oliver Wendell Holmes later described in his ‘One-Hoss Shay,’ Congregationalism fell apart under the attacks of Unitarianism, which had invaded the Harvard Divinity School in 1805” (p. 9). Not so: Congregationalism as church-polity is still alive and well; New England neo-Calvinist Christian theology, ably redefined by Nathaniel William Taylor at Yale, continued to flourish until “modernism” became an issue late in the nineteenth century.

Cole convincingly presents Jackson as originally an outsider in Washington, relying too heavily on old friends from Tennessee, and largely without a sense of direction. Finding cabinet members and advisers who were both loyal and competent occupied much of his first two years; only the removal of tribes still residing east of the Mississippi seemed urgently necessary. Jackson was eager to find a compromising middle road for the tariff. Blamed as a founder of the spoils system, he was, after all, the first “opposition” president to win an election since 1800. Like Thomas Jefferson before him, he was determined to replace men who were either political enemies or proven incompetents. Firm and determined in public against the bank and nullification, he was considerably more uncertain and inclined to compromise behind the scenes.

Cole accepts Peter Temin’s view that Jackson’s pet banks were, on the whole, capably and responsibly managed; international economic forces quite beyond the control of either the U.S. government or American banks caused the Panic of 1837 and the long depression that followed. Following John Belohlavek’s *Let the Eagle Soar!* (1985), Cole gives a favorable summary of Jacksonian foreign policy, and a convincing sketch of an administrative system that,

however improvised, represented a reasonably successful combination of honesty and efficiency.

Ideologically committed to producers and laborers, Jacksonians nevertheless were committed to the same economic and industrial progress that enchanted Whigs. The Jacksonians deserve more credit than they commonly get for perfecting state and national party conventions, and otherwise making a national party an effective means of governing a sprawling and contentious nation. Although he praises the Jacksonians for good deeds and intentions, Cole finds in Jackson's efforts to keep southern states' righters from becoming Calhoun Whigs the seeds of the later, fateful southern domination of the Democratic Party.

Based on a commanding knowledge of primary sources and published scholarship, Cole's book will reward specialists and should become a favorite assigned reading in advanced undergraduate and graduate history courses.

ROBERT MCCOLLEY
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

DONNA DICKENSON. *Margaret Fuller: Writing a Woman's Life*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xiii, 247. \$35.00.

Donna Dickenson's biography of Margaret Fuller begins after Fuller's death. Most readers of Fuller's works are familiar with the way in which her reputation was undercut by her contemporaries, even—and most particularly—by those who were her friends: the editors of Fuller's *Memoirs* (1852), principally Ralph Waldo Emerson, rewrote her works and portrayed Fuller as an egotistical, frustrated spinster who was deficient both in feminine beauty and literary talent. Dickenson suggests that such comments by male writers reflect fear of female competition. She points out, for example, that Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) sold a thousand copies in a week, whereas it took Emerson's *Nature* (1836) seven years to sell half that many; in fact, Emerson sold more copies of Fuller's *Memoirs* than he did any of his own works.

The reason Dickenson begins her biography after the end of Fuller's life, she says, is so that she can "highlight the contrast between the script written for [Fuller] to play from the unmarked grave, and the one she actually wrote for herself by living it" (p. xii). It is a shrewd strategy. The editors of the *Memoirs*, for example, only knew Fuller when she lived in New England, during a period that Dickenson calls the "moratorium" before her greatest work. They did not know her when she was writing for the *New York Tribune*, traveling in Europe, and directing a hospital in besieged Rome during the revolution of 1848–49. Moreover, it was after she left New England in 1844 that Fuller wrote the works for which she is most famous: *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, *Papers on Literature and Art* (1846), and the newspaper columns that reveal her to have been one of the most astute

literary critics of her day as well as a perceptive social critic.

Dickenson describes Fuller's life as a heroic quest plot, a concept that she says she derived from Carolyn Heilbrun's *Writing a Woman's Life* (1988)—the subtitle of her own book. Introduced to Latin epics at an early age, Fuller sought to live her life heroically. Her American contemporaries could not conceive of a woman living such a life. Consequently they cast her either as a fallen woman or as a True Woman; in either case, they missed the heroism of her role.

Dickenson's book is important as a means of understanding the continuity of women's concerns. Fuller's acceptance of responsibility for her family, although it interfered with her own self-development, Dickenson notes, can be understood in terms of the work of Nancy Chodorow and Carol Gilligan, whose studies of gender indicate that boys are raised to think in terms of individual rights whereas girls learn the "language of connection" from their mothers (pp. 72–73). Moreover, Dickenson says, Fuller sought to define the feminine as separate and positive rather than as simply the negative of the masculine, an idea that can be related to current feminist thought, both in psychology and literary theory.

Although Fuller emphasized individualism for women, and although she was more self-assertive than nineteenth-century American women were supposed to be, she did not live her life wholly as an individualist. Even when she was living in Transcendentalist territory, Dickenson notes, Fuller was living primarily for others. For years Fuller was supporting her widowed mother and her six siblings, one of whom was mentally disabled. She not only supported them financially but also tutored the younger children, made and mended their clothes, made soap, cooked, washed, ironed, and nursed the children when they were sick, often while she was teaching school twelve hours a day and trying to write. To leave out this part of Fuller's life, Dickenson says, "succumbs to a male ethic of what counts . . . and underrates her achievement" (p. 74). Thus, when Emerson contemptuously referred to Fuller's "mountainous me," he distorted the reality of her life. If Fuller's "me" seemed "mountainous" to Emerson, it was, as Dickenson points out, not because she was self-involved but because she had learned from her father to speak to men as equals and in their own language rather than in the deferential feminine mode (p. 59).

Much of the material in Dickenson's book is not new, and she quotes liberally from earlier biographers such as Paula Blanchard and Bell Gale Chevigny to make her points. Moreover, the year before her book appeared, the first volume of Charles Capper's comprehensive biography of Fuller was published (*Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life* [1992]). Dickenson's book is important, however, because it provides insights into Fuller's life and work along with a

perceptive gendered analysis of their significance for American thought.

JOYCE W. WARREN
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City University of New York

GEORGE MARTIN. *Verdi at the Golden Gate: Opera and San Francisco in the Gold Rush Years*. Foreword by LOTFI MANSOURI. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 321. \$30.00.

George Martin, renowned Verdi scholar and author of ten books on subjects ranging from the Italian Risorgimento to the career of Labor Secretary Frances Perkins, has written an engaging book with a misleading title. Giuseppe Verdi, Italy's operatic composer *extraordinaire* with an ear for political controversy and drama, never actually appeared in California's most famous city in the years following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill. Martin even documents San Franciscans' preference for both English ballad operas and the light melodic style of Donizetti (p. 84) over the declamatory style and serious political content of Verdi operas. How, then, can we argue, even metaphorically, for the significance of Verdi's presence "at the Golden Gate"?

It is the subtitle, "Opera and San Francisco in the Gold Rush Years," that tells the real story of Martin's contribution to cultural history in the West. This is a brief history of a city's madness for operatic performance, if not always for opera in its intended style, in a rough-and-tumble, lawless environment, where interest in art of any sort, according to Martin, "seems a miracle" (p. 11). But opera did appear in this frontier city, first in 1850 as an intermission between a drama and a farce (p. 18) and later in the decade in full-scale productions with European singers imported from the eastern states and South America.

For the reader interested in performances of all or part of Verdi's opera in the decade of the 1850s, the appendix offers details of the world, Western Hemisphere, United States, and San Francisco premieres, along with information about the performers in San Francisco. Future scholars not confined to a single city will want to analyze in greater detail the significance of operatic performances in Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Havana, a point that receives only brief attention in the context of the migration of performers along the west coast of the hemisphere.

Gender issues also receive somewhat short shrift in Martin's commitment to establishing a complete record of operatic performances in San Francisco. He shows that opera excerpts and full productions were staged amid the spitting, fighting, and the presence of ladies of disrepute in visible boxes that characterized "culture" in San Francisco at mid-century. Martin sees a connection between the sudden turns of fortune and the "exemplary virtue and hideous vice" of real-life San Francisco and the "extravagance and melodrama" of Verdi's music (p. 93). Martin seems to

be on the verge of challenging long-held assumptions about the importance of middle-class women with high aesthetic standards to the establishment of cultural patterns in our emerging cities. But this challenge is never quite developed, and it may be for future cultural historians to test the hypothesis that middle-class women were critical to the establishment of more permanent cultural institutions in the East but that the existence of "culture," even in diluted or farcical form, depended in other regions of the country on differing social, political, and economic realities.

Martin has written a monograph in the broad cultural tradition of Lawrence Levine's *Highbrow/Lowbrow*. In clear and engaging prose, he reveals significant details about opera production between 1850 and 1860, the difficulties faced by impresarios at a time of economic instability, audience and critical responses to operatic entertainment, and the lives of the singers and other performers who sought their fortunes in San Francisco. The questions that his narrative raises about the transmission of culture in various forms in the West and Latin America and the importance of women as purveyors of high culture provide fruitful areas for future inquiry. Verdi may never have appeared in person in San Francisco, but the performance of his music for American audiences points to an interesting and possibly unique cultural history at the Golden Gate.

BARBARA L. TISCHLER
Columbia University

WILLIAM DEVERELL. *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 278. \$30.00.

By the time California became the thirty-first state in 1850, the nation was thoroughly infected with "railroad fever." If anything, admission of California and continuing interest in "Oregon country" accelerated movement to expand the country's rail network. To effect that expansion, especially in the West where the paucity of population and tyranny of distance militated against profit based on operation, the federal government of necessity became a player. President Millard Fillmore signed the first railroad land grant in the very year of California's statehood. In 1860, platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties reflected the general sentiment that any railroad to California would have to be a cooperative venture using private capital and government support. The Pacific Railroad Act of 1862 provided as much. That legislation was modified, in part, to allow construction and operation by two companies: the Union Pacific from the Missouri River and the Central Pacific from California.

Any number of Californians aspired to dominate rail transport in that state but, as it turned out, the battle was won by Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker,

Collis P. Huntington, and Mark Hopkins: the "Big Four." Collectively these four men came to control not only the Central Pacific but also the company that became its parent, Southern Pacific (SP), a huge, crescent-shaped enterprise reaching from Portland through the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, Yuma, Tucson, San Antonio, and Houston to New Orleans, plus the westward leg of the Overland Route from San Francisco–Oakland and Sacramento to Ogden (connecting there with Union Pacific). With attendant branches and secondary main lines further expanding the scope of its operation, the Southern Pacific became the road Californians loved to hate, the "Octopus." Its power, at least in the minds of Californians then and even now, grew to mythological proportions. The response of Californians to SP's power and presence were of equally mythical proportions.

In this book, William Deverell chronicles the various forms of opposition to SP and seeks to determine whether "there actually was an all-powerful, monolithic railroad corporation or a cohesive railroad opposition" (p. 6). He also seeks to place the California experience in its broader, national context. To attempt this he conducts an exhaustive review of the secondary literature and an equally impressive examination of collections of rich primary holdings (lacking SP's corporate archive, not likely available to him). In the end, Deverell has fashioned an important study that elucidates well the response of Californians to the age of railways; he is less successful in placing the California story in broader context. His analysis of California Progressives and their relation to the railroad issue is thorough and even-handed, and his scrutiny of Frank Norris and that author's well-known *The Octopus: A Story of California* (1901), building and expanding on the earlier and splendid work of Richard J. Orsi, is very good. The work also is well written.

This study will have a wide audience among students of California history and among those interested in the history of the West and its railroads.

DON L. HOF SOMMER
St. Cloud State University

BETTY G. FARRELL. *Elite Families: Class and Power in Nineteenth-Century Boston*. (SUNY Series in the Sociology of Work.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 229. \$16.95.

In this lucid, gracefully argued book, Betty G. Farrell rescues the upper class from near historical oblivion and offers a portrait of Boston elites that is strikingly at odds with longstanding stereotypes. Hardly members of an anachronistic aristocracy who abandoned the rough-and-tumble business world for leisurely cultural pursuits, the descendants of the Boston Associates—the architects of the New England textile industry—continued to play important roles as eco-

nomics actors into the late nineteenth century and perhaps even the twentieth.

Seeking to "bring the family back to the center of macrosociological analysis" (p. 3), Farrell chooses to focus not on individuals or single firms but on kinship networks. In doing so, she challenges an interpretation that has captivated business historians as well as sociologists: that the rise of a modern corporate economy divested the family of its economic functions. This viewpoint, Farrell convincingly argues, has important implications for how we view class and power. Committed to the notion of "the family's inevitable eclipse" (p. 13), scholars have assumed either that power has become widely dispersed as family capitalism declined, or—as more radical theorists would have it—that little connection exists between old families and a modern power elite. But Farrell's painstaking reconstruction of Brahmin genealogies yields a different picture, a dense web of overlapping family alliances whose members collectively constructed and controlled much of Boston's early industrial and financial infrastructure. Such power did not diminish over time. By tracing intricate extended families that included nephews, brothers, sons-in-laws, and assorted cousins, as well as fathers and sons, Farrell demonstrates the continuing importance of descendants of the Lowells, Appletons, and Lawrences to the late-nineteenth-century economy. Although the nature of her evidence does not allow her to draw definitive conclusions, Farrell suggests that even for the twentieth century the notion that a managerial elite usurped power from "old" families has been overstated. Members of Boston's upper crust, she finds, wielded significant influence on the boards of modern corporate enterprises such as General Electric, American Telephone and Telegraph, and United Fruit.

Farrell also questions the validity of "separate spheres," a concept that until recently has dominated women's history. More able than most to live lives that closely approximated the tenets of domesticity, proper female Bostonians nevertheless performed family "work" (p. 77) by building and sustaining kinship networks, networks that helped to cement economic as well as social alliances. Marriage served a similar function. Farrell skillfully shows how the insularity of the Brahmins' social world effectively limited their range of potential marriage partners, maintaining class continuity but at the same time providing young women and men with an illusion of individual choice in an era that increasingly emphasized romantic love.

At times one wishes that Farrell had more fully explored the attitudes and motivations of her subjects; her emphasis on the upper class's drive to perpetuate itself presumes a self-consciousness that its members may not have possessed. And perhaps because her book focuses more on power than on "experience" (as does Stuart M. Blumin's superb study of the nineteenth-century middle class), Farrell

misses the opportunity to fully re-create the richness of the Brahmins' world—their rituals, their consciousness, the meanings they attached to the power that they possessed—despite sources that must be extraordinarily abundant. Nevertheless, this is a valuable book. By challenging conventional wisdom about proper Bostonians, Farrell raises important questions about the nature of class and power in a supposedly democratic society.

WENDY GAMBER
Indiana University,
Bloomington

GERALD G. EGGERT. *Harrisburg Industrializes: The Coming of Factories to an American Community*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 412. \$35.00.

Gerald G. Eggert's book joins a spate of community studies that have appeared in the last quarter century. Eggert, however, takes the larger view, places Harrisburg in the context of two other state capitals that developed industrial bases, Albany and Trenton, and concludes that the process and effects of industrialization were not as simple as historians once thought.

Originally founded by John Harris as a trading post at the confluence of the Susquehanna River and two Indian trails, Harrisburg was a small market town by the end of the American Revolution. The transportation competition among eastern states that prompted Pennsylvania's state works made Harrisburg a canal port in 1834. A decade later the Pennsylvania Railroad challenged the Alleghenies starting from Harrisburg and suddenly the town was a valuable piece of real estate.

Harrisburg was quick to capitalize on these developments. It chartered local banks, enjoyed a real-estate boom, attracted artisans, and elites with capital and entrepreneurial spirit prospered. In turn, these people attracted the masterful politico Simon Cameron into their circles.

Eggert traces the process through which the local, preindustrial worthies built Harrisburg's relatively few industries. Dominating the town's industrial skyline were the Pennsylvania Railroad with its shops, iron and steel businesses, a textile mill, and a few smaller concerns. These intruders slipped into Harrisburg almost unnoticed in the 1850s. Locally owned, they treated their workers fairly well, strikes were rare (the year 1877 even passed without bloodshed), profits were earned and spent in town, and the city remained off the immigrants' beaten path. Few newcomers from central and southern Europe found their way into Harrisburg's precincts. African Americans did, however, both before and after the Civil War.

Eggert observes that the city's industry was derivative, or "second-stage." Its firms were never on the cutting edge, were less ambitious, and were small in a world of giants. This "second-stage" development,

Eggert contends, was more common than supposed and was wrapped in a more humane integument. Harrisburg avoided severe racial and ethnic conflicts, its artisans were not forced into the factories, and the city retained much of its pre-industrial demographic flavor right through its deindustrialization that began about 1900.

Eggert has penned a thoughtful and careful work. The product of thorough research, this book rises above the parochial level of many community studies by speculating about the importance of what he found in the town by the Susquehanna. Eggert's volume is not the easiest of reads, but it is well worthwhile.

JAMES A. WARD
University of Tennessee,
Chattanooga

SPENCER KLAU. *Without Sin: The Life and Death of the Oneida Community*. New York: Penguin. 1993. Pp. xii, 337. \$25.00.

Historians will find Spencer Klaw's study of John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community both rewarding and frustrating. Klaw is a fine writer, and his book is an enjoyable, quick read. With access to primary sources unavailable to previous historians, Klaw's vivid account of Oneida leaves us admiring these nineteenth-century utopians.

This book was evidently targeted for a general audience where extensive scholarship and firm historical context are not critical. Klaw says that he has read widely in the literature on Noyes and Oneida; with some exceptions, however, he has not included these materials in his notes. This might be acceptable if an informed reader can detect where the research has silently shaped an author's interpretation; unfortunately, I could not always discern Klaw's invisible hand of scholarship at work either with the Noyes-Oneida material or with the basic literature on the wider culture. Therefore, a number of Klaw's statements on topics ranging from Noyes's religion to the roles of women are difficult to evaluate because they are often not rooted in a firm context.

Although women's roles were expanded at Oneida, Klaw indicates correctly that effective power still lay in the hands of men. When he makes comparative statements to indicate the relative freedom of Oneida's women, however, Klaw runs into trouble and undermines confidence in his assessments. For instance, he argues that gender lines were blurred at Oneida as women were encouraged to develop masculine assertiveness while other nineteenth-century women were expected to exhibit "helplessness and dependency" (p. 135). Moreover, Klaw claims that Oneida's women shared an emotional intimacy that women on the outside rarely experienced. Nowhere in assertions like these does one find Klaw's acquaintance with such seminal writers on women's roles and

women's intimacy as Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Nancy Cott, and Anne Firor Scott, among others.

Klaw is not consistent in his appraisal of Noyes's perfectionism. At times he respects it, at other times he is skeptical, even cynical. We see this in the book's structure. Not until well into his story does Klaw explicate Noyes's perfectionism. Snippets of it appear earlier, but this fragmentary approach separates the ideology from Oneida's controversial practices of male continence, complex marriage, and the stirpiculture experiment. Thus, for Klaw, Noyes's perfectionism was a thinly veiled rationalization for his excessive libido. He was "a man of powerful sexual drives," "a connoisseur of female sexuality" (p. 11), who was probably driven to introduce complex marriage "less by theological considerations than by his own experience of the awesome power of sex" (p. 58).

To appreciate the integrative role Noyes's perfectionism played for himself and his followers, Klaw would have been better served by a closer reading of Timothy B. Spears's discussion of passion and control in Noyes's theology and Michael Barkun's work on Noyes's perfectionism.

Klaw's book has flaws; nevertheless, it does provide a fuller picture and deeper appreciation of life at Oneida.

ROBERT DAVID THOMAS
University School
Cleveland, Ohio

CARLETON MABEE. *Sojourner Truth: Slave, Prophet, Legend*. Assisted by SUSAN MABEE NEWHOUSE. New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 293. \$35.00.

Sojourner Truth was a legend before her death in 1883. Originally named Isabella, the evangelist, abolitionist, and women's rights activist was swept up by the radical religious movements of the early nineteenth century while still a slave in New York. For the rest of her life she embraced political causes with passion and courage. As Carleton Mabée and Susan Mabée Newhouse state, Truth "rose magnificently above the limitations imposed on her in her time as a slave, an illiterate, a black, and a woman" (p. 246). In contrast to Frederick Douglass, who awed whites with his erudition and poise, Truth thrilled and amused her audiences by combining homespun wit with evangelical fervor.

Many events of Truth's life were exaggerated (occasionally by Truth herself), some even manufactured by her admirers and detractors. Harriet Beecher Stowe, for example, refashioned Truth into a sort of primitive child of God who sanctified the abolitionist cause with her innate sense of justice. Recognizing that Truth has become more icon than historical figure, Mabée and Newhouse attempt to correct the truths and half-truths repeated over the years about her life. For example, they point out that Truth gave birth to five rather than thirteen children, probably

worked only peripherally for the underground railroad, and supported the Fifteenth Amendment despite its exclusion of woman suffrage. The authors emphasize that despite Truth's enormous importance to political movements, she avoided membership in their organizations, preferring to work independently for her causes.

Perhaps the authors' most important correction is in regard to Truth's famous "Ar'n't I a Woman" speech of 1853. They emphasize that Frances D. Gage wrote her version of the speech (probably from memory) some twelve years after the speech was delivered and used it to remind people of the interconnectedness of blacks' and women's rights. Contemporary accounts of the speech reveal a less-forceful, less-poetic, text than that provided by Gage. Scholars who have long relied on Gage's version of the speech to demonstrate the racial contradictions of nineteenth-century "womanhood," as well as the peculiarly female experiences of slavery, can take heart, however: Sojourner Truth did deliver that speech, although with far less dramatic effect than Gage reported.

Although she served as a symbol of thwarted slave motherhood for abolitionists, in freedom Sojourner Truth lived apart from her own children during long periods of their lives. This fact seems to perplex the authors, although Truth's children seemed neither neglected nor abused. In the antebellum world of female domesticity and second-class citizenship for free blacks, the authors might have emphasized, there would have been no Sojourner Truth had the former slave Isabella not been an unorthodox woman as well as African American. Mabée and Newhouse also present Truth's economic dependence on white friends in old age as a contradiction to her fierce belief in individual independence. Dependence in old age seemed almost dictated, however, by Truth's lifelong commitment to public service despite being illiterate, black, and female. In effect, her co-reformers became her family.

Differences over emphases aside, Mabée and Newhouse have produced a richly detailed portrait of a complex, courageous woman who grasped the essential problems of her age and devoted her entire life to their resolution. "Her faith," they note, "was not ritualistic or doctrinaire, but focused on how to live" (p. 246). They succeed in making the pragmatic yet visionary Sojourner Truth even more interesting than the legendary one.

VICTORIA E. BYNUM
Southwest Texas State University

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR. *Black Belt Scalawag: Charles Hays and the Southern Republicans in the Era of Reconstruction*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 179. \$32.50.

Like many southern Republican leaders during Reconstruction, Charles Hays, the prominent Alabama

scalawag who served four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, left disappointingly little documentation regarding his motivation for certain actions or his relationships with the freedmen who repeatedly elected him to office. To compound the problem, Hays was not an activist in Congress; he rarely spoke and he frequently missed long stretches of roll calls. In spite of these limitations, William Warren Rogers, Jr., has produced a skillful reconstruction of Hays's public life.

Given his background, Hays was an improbable convert to Republicanism. A west-central Alabama planter with nearly 100 slaves on the eve of the Civil War, Hays was a Stephen Douglas Democrat and initially ambivalent about secession, but he served in the Confederate Army. As he struggled unsuccessfully to recoup his finances and property after 1865, he joined the Republican Party, a move his conservative critics immediately characterized as opportunistic, but Rogers argues that he "fundamentally accepted the new order envisioned by congressional Republicans" (p. 20). Although the author's suggestion that Hays became "a figure of messiah proportions" who "bestowed blacks with a sense of hope, self-respect, and confidence" needs greater documentation (p. 139), Hays's rhetoric and actions do indicate a sincere commitment to the freedmen.

Whatever his exact motivation, Hays helped Republicans frame a new constitution for Alabama in 1867, served in the state senate, and won the first of four elections to Congress in 1869 by skillfully "preaching the Republican gospel of equality and opportunity" to the fourth district's heavy black majority (p. 54). Although few Republican newspapers have survived, Rogers is able to detail the campaign turmoil Hays and other Republicans endured, ranging from constant conservative ostracism to Klan and White League violence that included threats on his life and the assassination of several supporters.

Rogers also captures the destructive factionalism that plagued Alabama Republicans, with Hays shifting between factions fighting over patronage and the use of military protection for Republican candidates and voters. Hays initially took a moderate stance in hopes of gaining white support and at least peaceful coexistence with conservative Democrats. He consistently favored amnesty for ex-Confederates and did a credible job of representing regional interests in lower tariffs, internal improvements, and currency expansion. And whereas he supported congressional enforcement legislation in 1870, he abstained from voting on the harsher Klan Act in 1871, apparently fearful of white resentment.

Renewed conservative intransigence on the race question after 1872 and his own struggle for political survival, however, forced Hays to a more radical position, including support of an extension of the Klan Act, additional enforcement legislation, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Like many other scalawags caught between their southern heritage and their

support of the Republicans' proposed new order, Hays failed to find any viable middle ground in southern politics. Tied to an ever-dwindling number of Radical carpetbaggers and blacks and haunted by financial insecurity, Hays endured to the end of his final term in 1877 before succumbing to "political weariness" and the apparent onset of Bright's disease. He died intestate at age forty-five in 1879, his last two years "clouded in obscurity" (p. 131).

Despite some gaps due to a paucity of personal papers, this slim volume adds significantly to our understanding of the scalawags and is a welcome contribution to the literature on southern Republicanism.

TERRY L. SEIP

University of Southern California

HOWARD L. SACKS and JUDITH ROSE SACKS. *Way Up North in Dixie: A Black Family's Claim to the Confederate Anthem*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1993. Pp. xi, 259. \$24.95.

Howard L. Sacks and Judith Rose Sacks have written a flawed but evocative account of an African-American family in Knox County, Ohio, during the second half of the nineteenth century. Ostensibly a case for the African-American origins of "Dixie," the white South's racially charged regional "anthem," the book is significant chiefly for its portrayal of life in the rural North during a tumultuous period in the history of American race relations and its account of the interplay of African-American and Anglo-American voices in American cultural forms.

From the 1850s to the end of the century, the Snowden Family Band, comprised of children of former Maryland slaves Ellen Cooper and Thomas Snowden, was among the more popular attractions in central Ohio, its music bridging racial divides that have often seemed impassable. The authors, drawing on a small cache of family papers, show how black and white musicians listened to each other, taught each other, and exchanged songs freely: the Snowdens' repertoire included everything from traditional spirituals to Stephen Foster songs to such sentimental favorites as "Home, Sweet Home."

As the Sackses demonstrate, influences on the Snowdens were as diverse as their repertoire. A fascinating scrapbook kept by Sophia Snowden indicates the force of sentimental culture. It was filled with clippings of poetry, pictures, and stories, which she personalized by writing the names of friends in appropriate places. Scrapbook items and other clippings also show how important the life of the black community was to the Snowdens, as they themselves took part in efforts to fight against racial discrimination.

At the same time, the Snowdens did much to introduce elements of African-American culture into a supposedly "white" milieu. As master musicians, they drew on African-based instruments and styles.

They helped diffuse those styles into Anglo-American practice through a biracial network of oral tradition. Interestingly, they seem to have enhanced their musical influence through intimate ties with their white neighbors: one Snowden, Ben, developed a close enough relationship with a young white woman that a proposal of marriage seemed in the offing, until his mother intervened.

Chronicling the maddeningly inconsistent race relations of the latter nineteenth century, the Sackses have joined other recent scholars in stressing the interdependence of black and white cultural forms. As to "Dixie" itself, Dan Emmett, blackface minstrel, Unionist, and self-proclaimed composer of the song, was a Knox County neighbor of the Snowdens; community lore has long asserted he learned it from them. Evidence the Sackses offer indicates that he could have; their case is far from compelling that he did. But the more general point is the more important, anyway, and the process of cultural interchange the Sackses have delineated is one of which all historians of race in America need to be aware.

DICKSON D. BRUCE, JR.
University of California,
Irvine

JANET E. STEELE. *The Sun Shines for All: Journalism and Ideology in the Life of Charles A. Dana*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 212. \$29.95.

This is a vividly written, very informative biography of Charles Dana. Although I do not accept important parts of the interpretive frame, I find much to commend in this book. Janet E. Steele has recast Dana's career as the editor of the New York *Sun* in terms of mid-nineteenth-century journalistic ideology. She engagingly weaves together political history and the history of journalism, tracing Dana from his unsettled New Hampshire youth, through his stay at Harvard and Brook Farm, his entry into the rough world of New York journalism, and his editorship of the *Sun* from 1867 until his death in 1897.

Steele adeptly connects Dana's outlook to a producer ideology. The *Sun* continually portrayed the "industrious" classes as central to civilization. And she convincingly argues that the declining popularity of the *Sun* in the 1880s, especially vis-à-vis Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World*, represented the rising popularity of a consumer ethic that struggled to replace Dana's producerism.

If Steele's analysis of journalistic ideology is persuasive, her class analysis is less successful. Steele argues, building on Daniel Schiller's work on *The Police Gazette* prior to the Civil War (*Objectivity and the News* [1981]), that the *Sun*'s audience was working class and not middle class, at least through the mid-1880s. The evidence presented is thin and anecdotal. Such a sharp division between two classes, whatever usefulness it might or might not have for the 1850s, is not supple enough for the postbellum years. Steele does

not distinguish the cultured, educated middle class from a more entrepreneurial middle class. She considers Henry Ward Beecher a "highbrow," when the real highbrows like E. L. Godkin thought Beecher a disgusting "middling" *arriviste*. Steele also does not address the emergence of a distinguishable lower middle class after the war.

A host of historians—Cindy Aron, Margery Davies, Jürgen Kocka, Stuart Blumin, Altina Waller—have noted the complexity of the "middle class" after the war, a complexity making a simple opposition of working class and middle class quite problematic. Steele also does not consider the possibility that more than one class read the paper, that Dana's own claim that the *Sun* shines for "all" should be neither taken literally nor dismissed casually. By claiming that the *Sun* appealed to working-class producers, Steele successfully explains Dana's support for labor, but her sense that a single and unified "middle class" was hostile to the *Sun* through the mid-1880s makes her discussion of Dana's paeans to capitalism and rather conventional Democratic sympathies harder to explain.

Despite my reservations, this is a book that should appear in paperback. The saga of Dana is very well told, and Steele's discussion of producerism as it applies to journalistic practice in the mid-nineteenth century is simply superb. This short book is a model of good writing. The prose is vivid and concise and the arguments are clear. Steele has managed to write a book that faculty and undergraduates can both learn from.

KENNETH CMIEL
University of Iowa

ROBERT STANLEY. *Dimensions of Law in the Service of Order: Origins of the Federal Income Tax*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 331. \$45.00.

Robert Stanley offers a stimulating, if at points provoking, revisionist interpretation of the federal income tax and its place in federal economic policy from 1861 through 1913 and beyond. He challenges Progressive and pluralist readings of federal income taxation, especially the view that the levy was a reform measure that placed federal revenue collection on a more equitable basis.

Stanley views the federal income tax as a result not of pressure on government, whether by the masses, an elite, or interest groups, but of what he terms "centrism"—political officials acting as relatively autonomous trustees on behalf of the most powerful segments of society through the use of multiple dimensions of law" (p. ix). Committed to "statist capitalism" and to the use of law to maintain the nation's unequal "structure of wealth and opportunity" (p. viii), centrist lawmakers employed income tax measures, especially during periods of national crisis, such as the Civil War and the economic depressions of 1893 and 1907, "to constrain significant change in

a rapidly developing society" (p. ix) by rhetorically or symbolically promising a measure of progressive taxation, even as the allocative workings of the protective tariff and internal taxes were regressive. One may be more impressed than Stanley by differences of degree among cohorts of lawmakers who debated proposed federal income taxes over half a century, yet still find persuasive his contention that alternative tax proposals fell within narrow ranges and that those adopted provided for large exemptions (hence small numbers of taxpayers) and low rates (thus small revenues).

The income tax cases (1895) and their aftermath and the genesis and adoption in 1913 of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution earn a chapter each. In the *Pollock* cases the Supreme Court majority sought not to protect "the howling few in the taxed class" (p. 155), whose counsel directly attacked progressive taxation, but to curb congressionally defined centrism by enhancing the roles of the federal judiciary and state governments. Amending the Constitution restored congressional power with regard to income taxation with minimum conflict. The process, initiated by Congress during an economic crisis, itself revealed consensus in that forty-two of forty-eight state legislatures ratified the amendment, almost all overwhelmingly.

This study disappoints as well as stimulates. Stanley's prose is dense, often distracting. Assorted minor slips detract from a number of passages. Coverage sometimes promises more than it delivers: references to the relationship between centrism and political institutions, such as "the party organization, the caucus, and the committee system" (p. 12), do not satisfactorily explicate these connections. Discussion of the admission of western states may mislead, that of the alleged post-Reconstruction readmission to Congress of southern states errs. Stanley's own presentation suggests that during the 1890s congressional interest in the income tax antedated the Depression of 1893. Lawmakers' manuscripts and archival texts of petitions to Congress might have been exploited with profit. These caveats notwithstanding, this interpretive volume should be read and pondered.

SAMUEL T. McSEVENEY
Vanderbilt University

JEFFREY OSTLER. *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892*. (Rural America.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. xii, 256. \$29.95.

This book is a strong addition to scholarship on the Populists. It addresses the role of state political organization in determining the outcome of third-party formation. Focusing on Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas as contiguous agricultural areas, Jeffrey Ostler demonstrates that political boundaries, rather than economic hardship, decisively affected the fate of populism. The political system in each state—party competition in Iowa, Republican political dominance

in the other states—during the 1880s shaped the course of the Farmers' Alliance; where the major parties were responsive to agrarian demands, the Alliance worked within the existing system (Iowa), and where Republicans were intransigent and the Democratic Party was weak, political independence followed (Kansas and Nebraska). Ostler effectively supports the preliminary stages of his thesis. Based on such indexes of hardship as the effect of deflation on farm commodity prices, the increase of tenancy (and the demand for cash rents), the ratio of farm debt to property value, the schedule of intrastate railroad rates (which may have actually placed Iowa at a disadvantage), and the magnitude of indebtedness, he shows that economic conditions did not materially differ through the region. The adverse conditions common to Populist and non-Populist areas therefore compel attention to "state-specific political factors" (p. 24) in explaining voting behavior.

Ostler makes his case for Iowa through command over the historical materials. Party competition was assisted through previous antimonopoly agitation. By 1884, through Democratic-Greenback fusion, the Democrats were forced to recognize the importance of state railroad regulation. The Republican Party, saddled with the divisive issue of prohibition, also adopted antimonopolism under the pressure of insurgency. Albert R. Anderson's defeat of William P. Hepburn in the congressional campaign of 1886 revealed the strength of antirailroad sentiment; and the fight by Republican governor William Larrabee to secure an elected railroad commission convinced the leaders of the Iowa Farmers' Alliance (IFA) that nonpartisanship was preferable to independent political action in achieving the order's goals. Subsequently, the IFA embarked on a strategy to prevent support for a third party.

Despite some factionalism, Kansas and Nebraska had one-party political configurations in the mid-1880s, with conservatives (who protected railroad interests) firmly in control. In both states legislative inaction during the late 1880s stimulated the greater activation of an already mobilizing Farmers' Alliance that emphasized cooperative activities, and this led to the formation of third parties. Yet Ostler's analysis falters when treating the positive dimensions of his thesis. The richness of his historical account of Iowa politics is not duplicated for Kansas and, especially, Nebraska. Sketches of several Alliance leaders and general remarks about a "movement culture" fail to reveal the specific political dynamics of third-party formation. Moreover, his emphasis on the leaders' adherence to conspiracy theory contradicts his findings of social progressiveness. The book, nevertheless, encourages scholarly interest about the significance of political structure on the state level.

NORMAN POLLACK
Michigan State University

MARIAN J. MORTON. *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland, 1855–1990*. (Women and Health.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 183. \$39.50.

In this book, Marian J. Morton provides short case histories of a public hospital and four private, sectarian maternity homes in Cleveland to illustrate and analyze the evolution of American social policy and institutional practice toward unwed mothers. Beginning with the late-nineteenth-century removal of unwed mothers (along with children) from almshouses, Morton sketches a social-welfare history in which women, pregnant and giving birth out of wedlock, have consistently been the most stigmatized and least cared for of the nation's dependent populations. Public support, when it has been granted, has been both stingy and politically vulnerable. Private support, although traditionally more available, has carried with it a demand for penitence and moral rejuvenation.

Denied a place in public institutions and granted minimal, if any, outdoor relief, unwed mothers became the responsibility of private charities, which created maternity homes that took in pregnant-out-of-wedlock women, assisted them in giving birth, and provided them and their infants with temporary refuge. Focusing on the institutional development, practices, and policies of four such homes in Cleveland, Morton argues that their sectarian commitment to the moral regeneration of unwed mothers persisted through much of the twentieth century, even when the practices it promoted became increasingly at odds with what was accepted practice in general social work. For instance, long after other areas of social work had embraced placing illegitimate children up for adoption and providing unwed mothers with counseling in birth control, maternity homes resisted both on the principle that mothering and learning sexual abstinence aided redemption. Similarly, because their primary goal was spiritual reclamation, maternity homes remained committed to lengthy institutionalization after deinstitutionalization came to characterize the treatment of other dependent groups. The care and treatment of unwed mothers in Cleveland was also persistently racist through most of the twentieth century. Only one of the homes Morton describes would accept women of color and all operated on assumptions concerning the sexual permissiveness of African Americans.

One of Morton's goals in writing what is essentially local history is to reveal the "concrete and practical meanings of trends that remain abstractions at the national level" (p. 122). In this, however, she is only partially successful, in large part because the brevity of her book—126 pages—prevents her from providing anything more than thumbnail sketches of the five institutions she has chosen to study or from developing in depth the themes she articulates in her introduction and reiterates in her conclusion. In-

deed, her claim that her book mines the intersection between gender and public policy finds little support in the text.

In short, this work is provocative and worth reading. But those looking for a definitive study of the institutional treatment of unwed mothers will have to look elsewhere.

RICHARD A. MECKEL
Brown University

REGINA G. KUNZEL. *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890–1945*. (Yale Historical Publications.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 264. \$27.50.

Regina G. Kunzel reminds us that women disagree—even white, middle-class women; even white, well-meaning middle-class women, and especially the pious women who administered maternity homes for unwed mothers in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the professional social workers who sought to redefine unwed motherhood and control the homes in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Histories of professionalization usually stress competition between men and women, but here the protracted, painful, and lengthy competition was between two groups of women: on the one hand, social workers, and on the other hand, the "evangelicals," specifically the employees of the National Florence Crittenton Mission and the officers of the Salvation Army. (Kunzel does not discuss the nuns who ran dozens of Catholic maternity homes.)

Social workers tried to legitimize their new professionalism by disassociating themselves from their not-far-distant roots in female benevolence. Their chief strategy was to "defeminize" their language, substituting the "scientific" vocabulary of casework for the gendered language of the evangelicals. To the churchwomen unwed mothers were "fallen women," and to the social workers they were "problem girls." Kunzel notes that the earlier interpretation was actually more tolerant and hopeful: "fallen" women could be redeemed through religious conversion, but a "feeble-minded" or "sexually delinquent" girl might be beyond repair.

The other actors in this drama were the unwed mothers themselves. Using case records and log-books, Kunzel reconstructs their "secret sisterhood" within the maternity homes where the young women shared forbidden information about sex and birth control, helped each other evade chores or run away, and furthered their own agendas: shelter and medical care for themselves and their infants.

Kunzel's close textual analysis of the "stories" or "scripts" or "discourses" of these three groups of women creates a richly textured narrative, but it also encourages her to understate significant historical realities. As she concedes, although social workers eventually controlled the "discourse of illegitimacy,"

they could not control the maternity homes, which seldom hired social workers, or the unwed mothers, who ignored them. Moreover, it made little practical difference to these mothers whether they were being "redeemed" by evangelicals or "treated" by social workers since homes' practices changed little. This focus on the ongoing conversation between women also ignores factors external to it, most significantly the enormous impact of the Great Depression, which dramatized the prohibitive costs of all institutions, including maternity homes. These costs shortened confinements in homes and changed their clientele from working-class white to middle-class white women. Maternity homes' endorsement of the adoption of illegitimate children in the 1940s responded to these economic and demographic realities, not to social workers' words of advice.

The social workers' victory was not only hollow but also short-lived. By the late 1940s, men challenged women's authority to define illegitimacy. Male psychiatrists interpreted white illegitimacy as personal neurosis and male social welfare experts interpreted black illegitimacy as social pathology. Nevertheless, Kunzel's valuable book emphasizes the rich variety of ways in which women, middle class and working class, religious and secular, chaste or sexually active, tried to make sense of themselves and their lives.

MARIAN J. MORTON
John Carroll University

MARGARET C. JONES. *Heretics and Hellraisers: Women Contributors to The Masses, 1911-1917*. (American Studies Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1993. Pp. x, 227.

Although this book purports to rescue the women of *The Masses* from undeserved obscurity, what it in fact rescues is their published work and not the women themselves. This thoroughly researched volume offers a detailed analysis of individual contributions of women whose art or writing was published in this socialist literary and political magazine that under Max Eastman's editorship addressed issues as diverse as syndicalism, Freudian psychoanalysis, modern dance, free love, and birth control, and Margaret C. Jones has supplied her readers with a useful biographical guide to the individual contributors, complete with suggestions for further reading. The women of *The Masses* offer posterity far more than access to a long-neglected paradigm "of a feminist radicalism, a class-conscious feminism" (p. x), as Jones suggests. They offer living examples of the struggles such women faced to integrate their personal lives and their political concerns, to create a haven in their Greenwich Village community and in female friendship networks that would imbue them with the strength to be feminist pioneers in a wider world that scorned their efforts.

The neglect of *The Masses* women by early chroniclers of the magazine has been redressed in part not

only by the work of Judith Schwarz on Heterodoxy, a Village luncheon club for unorthodox women with which many of *The Masses* women were associated (*Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy* [1982]); by Rebecca Zurier's study of the artists' contributions (*Art for the Masses* [1988]); and by recurrent references in Nancy Cott's *The Grounding of American Feminism* (1987), which Jones cites, but also by the sterling biographies of Mabel Dodge Luhan by Lois Rudnick (*Mabel Dodge Luhan: New Woman, New Worlds* [1984]), Elizabeth Gurley Flynn by Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall (*Words on Fire* [1987]), and Mary Heaton Vorse by Dee Garrison (*Mary Heaton Vorse: The Life of an American Insurgent* [1989]). The new womanhood in Greenwich Village, including the essential role played by sexual liberation in its political contribution, has been examined far more probingly in essays by Blanche Wiesen Cook (in Rick Beard and Leslie Cohen Berlowitz, eds., *Greenwich Village: Culture and Counterculture* [1993]) and by Lois Rudnick and Ellen Kay Trimmerger (in Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick, eds., *1915, The Cultural Moment* [1991]). Whereas Jones focuses her attention nearly exclusively on the class-conscious aspect of *The Masses* women's feminism, Rudnick provided a much more finely nuanced portrayal of the second generation of New Women of which they were an essential part: "For them, heterosexual intimacy and sexual freedom were central to redefining a world in which both women and men could have love and meaningful work while helping to shape a more humane social and economic system" (1915, p. 71).

Jones's book is driven by the author's note cards. Each chapter focuses on a single theme like patriarchy or ethnicity, without understanding that the challenge that these women faced was trying to integrate the political issues that they faced and their own lives. The best evidence of this compartmentalization is the lack of transition between Jones's accounts of each contributor's work. And Jones's tendency to confine herself to *analyse de texte* means that she often misses the autobiographical or cultural context in which a work was created. Thus, Jones analyzes Vorse's story "Milorad" strictly in terms of her opposition to war, whereas Vorse's biographer Garrison noted that the story "was more than a powerful message to her readers about the obscenity of war. It was also an attempt to assuage her guilt about the two children who Miss Selway insisted had been abandoned in Provincetown" (*Mary Heaton Vorse*, p. 134). It is a pity that *The Masses* women's vibrant and complex lives have been reduced to their politics and their appearance in print.

LESLIE FISHBEIN
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New Brunswick

KATHERINE JELLISON. *Entitled to Power: Farm Women and Technology, 1913-1963*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 217. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$13.95.

In this rich and subtle study of midwestern farm women's status and work from the Progressive Era to the early 1960s, Katherine Jellison argues that farm women resisted a series of attempts by government agencies, reformers, and corporations to transform them from farm producers to full-time homemakers. Jellison employs sources ranging from popular farm periodicals, government reports, and sociological studies to oral histories and advertising aimed at farm women. Counting numbers of telephones and automobiles, households with and without indoor plumbing, and a host of other technological innovations, she paints a detailed portrait of the changing material world farm women inhabited. She emphasizes the ways in which her female subjects managed to shape their experiences and claim a measure of power, despite persistent patriarchal control of farm life.

Jellison engages a number of issues familiar to historians of rural women, including the debate on the extent to which farm women have performed "outdoor" work. She joins those scholars who have demonstrated that rural women have taken on a variety of tasks outside the farmhouse, from milking and poultry work to driving tractors, running combines, picking crops, and driving to town. Jellison questions the facile notion that doing men's work was liberating for farm women. She notes that after World War II farm women stopped raising their own chickens and vegetables, jobs they had done without male supervision. Instead, they did more work in the fields and spent more time under men's surveillance.

Jellison does fine work delineating the history of her women subjects' relationship to technology. She disaggregates devices most historians have lumped together as "consumer goods" or "domestic technology," demonstrating that farm women had good reasons for seeking to acquire telephones, radios, and automobiles. The fact that farm women contested families' decisions to invest in technology that saved men's labor first becomes a powerful element in Jellison's description of tensions in rural patriarchy. Careful to describe the devices women used as "equipment," Jellison reminds her readers that the people she writes about used technology in a knowledgeable fashion rather than as vacuous followers of advertising or government prescriptions.

Always keeping in focus the larger social, economic, political, and cultural contexts of midwestern farm women's lives, Jellison is also remarkably good at hearing a multitude of small voices. She makes good use of race and class as categories of analysis, although most of her subjects appear to have been European American. The reproduction of now-classic Farm Security Administration photographs from the 1930s, along with revealing advertisements and government posters, underlines visually the world she represents and analyzes.

While I am not sure Jellison's distinction between housewife and producer is as clear as she suggests, I am convinced by her argument that farm women

knew, and did not always accept, the new female role experts and entrepreneurs sought to impose on them. This book should be read by historians of women, technology, agriculture, labor, and the American West. There is also much of interest here for environmental historians.

VIRGINIA SCHARFF
University of New Mexico

ORLAN J. SVINGEN. *The Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, 1877-1900*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1993. Pp. xiii, 197. \$22.50.

In the wake of the Custer debacle and Sioux War of 1876, the federal government secured the surrender of the Northern Cheyennes and, excluding a few hundred who were allowed to stay and serve as army scouts at Fort Keogh near Miles City, Montana, removed the majority of the tribe to the Southern Cheyenne reservation at the Darlington Agency in Indian country. But the spectacular flight of bands led by Dull Knife and Little Wolf from Darlington northward across western Kansas and Nebraska in 1878 ultimately resulted, by the early 1880s, in the return to South Dakota and then Montana of all but about a few hundred Northern Cheyennes who chose to remain with their relatives in future Oklahoma.

By 1884, when Orlan J. Svingen's administrative history of reservation expansion properly begins, the Northern Cheyenne leadership gave notice that they were determined to defend traditional communal interests and to challenge local cattlemen's hostility and land hunger by accepting army, presidential, and eastern reformist support as a means of justifying and expanding the minute Tongue River reservation established by President Chester A. Arthur's executive order of 1884. This was followed by the Interior Department's withdrawal of any further white land entries in the vicinity of the reservation in 1886, and then by a second executive order that confirmed an even greater reservation in 1900. Thus, at a time when many other tribes were falling under the allotment hammer, the Northern Cheyennes were able to stall land individualization and possible tribal dissolution until they could validate, consolidate, and even enlarge their reservation base.

Nascent tribal solidarity, of course, was not enough to accomplish this. Based on exhaustive research into archival records, newspapers, legal documents, and private manuscript collections, Svingen carefully analyzes the impact of vacillating white attitudes toward Montana Indians at the turn of the century, fluctuations in the cattle economy of the northern plains that played into the hands of the Northern Cheyenne cause, the reasonable and occasional statesmanlike responses of a handful of military officials and Indian Office functionaries, the forthright responses of the Montana courts (for example, in the *Little Whirlwind* and *Spotted Hawk* cases of 1899), and especially the role of eastern reformers in defending and promot-

ing the integrity of the Northern Cheyenne reservation. Obviously undaunted by glib assertions of the "New Western History" regarding blanket and unconscionable exploitation of Indians in the American West, Svingen has demonstrated that alternative responses in frontier Montana did prevail. Racism, of course, was not contained, and certainly the lot of the Northern Cheyennes in the twentieth century was anything but ideal. But to attribute this to the reservation experience between 1884 and 1900 is contrary to the facts.

WILLIAM E. UNRAU
Wichita State University

RICHARD J. PERRY. *Apache Reservation: Indigenous Peoples and the American State*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 260. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$15.95.

Anthropologists have a long tradition of writing history. In this instance, Richard J. Perry undertakes the enormous task of analyzing the historical workings of the reservation system, using the San Carlos Apache as a case study. The results are mixed at best. A specialist on Athapaskan migrations, Perry details Apache origins, summarizes their relationship with the Spanish and Mexicans, then focuses on the origins of the American reservation experience, applying some broad ideas to the contemporary Apache situation. What emerges is a rambling account of the evils of American Indian policy based on a selective use of sources.

From a historian's perspective this book will be found wanting. Perry is obviously unfamiliar with many elements of both national and local history. Factual errors abound. For example, we are incorrectly informed that Pancho Villa raided Globe, Arizona (p. 2); that General Carleton set a "no prisoners" policy (p. 5); and that Ezra Hayt was Indian Commissioner in 1929 when he actually served in 1877-80 (p. 5). Additionally, Perry's accounts of the historical development of reservations ignore many of the most useful and recent historical studies, including the works of Francis Paul Prucha and Robert M. Utley. He also passes over some of the more important works on Apache history, such as Edwin Sweeney's biography of Cochise (*Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief* [1991]), in favor of older and less-reliable works.

Perry's interpretation revolves around a Marxist theme that American financial interests (especially copper mining) drove the reservation system in Arizona. Although there is some truth in his observations, the end result is an unbalanced and vague story of evil white men robbing, cheating, and terrorizing a totally innocent people. Some interesting statements appear. For example, in spite of the well-established fact that the frontier army often worked hard for peace, Perry implies that the army actually sought to prolong the fighting in Arizona to spur the economy (p. 116). Unfortunately, the entire book reads this

way, with everything set in hues of good and bad. The best part of the book comes in Perry's knowledge of the current situation at San Carlos. Here he illustrates some of the major difficulties facing the Apaches. This is useful and interesting information.

ROBERT A. TRENNERT
Arizona State University

VIRGINIA LANTZ DENTON. *Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1993. Pp. xiv, 264. \$34.95.

Despite the implications of the title, and despite originally being prepared as a doctoral dissertation in education, this book is not a monograph that focuses tightly on Booker T. Washington's work in adult education. It is, rather, a biography that pays particular attention to the personal experiences that influenced Washington's approach to education. Virginia Lantz Denton tells how Washington's early vision of adult education was formed during his youth on a slave farm in Hale's Ford, Virginia, and in domestic service in Malden, West Virginia. She shows how these ideas were reinforced and refined when Washington was a student at Hampton Institute, and how they were implemented at Tuskegee Institute, the school that Washington established in central Alabama. The author also assesses how the Tuskegee idea was spread through Washington's work in fund raising, public relations, and race leadership. The longest chapter in the book describes Washington's programs for adult education, but this is only one of the book's eight chapters.

The biographical format involves some risk, since it invites comparisons with Washington's classic autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), and with Louis R. Harlan's prize-winning biography, *Booker T. Washington* (1972, 1983). Nevertheless, it is a sound approach because Washington was a practical man whose work as an educator was shaped by personal experience rather than by reading or deep reflection. An inferior alternative approach, traces of which have unfortunately survived the editing process, would involve comparisons of Washington's pedagogy with that of theoreticians of adult education.

Denton has made a prophet of Andrew Carnegie, who once said that historians would remember two Washingtons, one white and one black, both fathers to their people. Denton regards Booker T. Washington as a black leader *par excellence*. She defends him against the criticism leveled by W. E. B. Du Bois. She criticizes Harlan for giving short shrift to Washington's educational work, for devoting too much space to the infighting among black leaders, and for placing a Du Boisian gloss on that factionalism. She goes beyond August Meier, who noted that even when Washington appeared to minimize civil rights, the principal of Tuskegee Institute was secretly fighting against disfranchisement and other forms of discrimination (*Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* [1963]).

Denton maintains that there was nothing secret about this, that anyone who listened or read carefully should have known all along that Washington was using tact and education to achieve equal rights for African Americans.

I believe Denton has gone too far in defending Washington, and there are some additional problems with the book. Yet, even if Washington was not preeminent over all others in his assessment of American racial problems, and even if he did use improper tactics in trying to squelch some of his black critics, Washington said and did much that is still relevant. The year 1995 will mark the one hundredth anniversary of the Atlanta Exposition Speech that brought Washington to wide national attention. This book commemorates the centennial.

RAYMOND WOLTERS
University of Delaware

JACQUELINE GOGGIN. *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 217. \$24.95.

A biography of Carter G. Woodson (1875–1950), who founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 and, a year later, the *Journal of Negro History*, which he edited for thirty-five years, is long overdue. Woodson, “the first and only black of slave parentage to earn a Ph.D. in history,” was a trailblazer whose lifelong concern with the promotion of African-American history has caused his admirers to dub him “the Father of black history.” This honorific title is an acknowledgment of his effective efforts in establishing one of the most important twentieth-century revisionist schools of southern and African-American history and in promoting Black History Week programs that evolved into the now familiar annual Black History Month observances in February.

Jacqueline Goggin traces Woodson’s family history, his early life, education, and career in broad strokes that supply the basic information, much of which is long familiar to specialists. The sketchy treatment of Woodson’s personal life and feelings throughout the book reflects, as Goggin states in her preface, the absence of any significant body of primary sources that provide direct information or insights on his personal life, or his uncensored thoughts about friends, enemies, struggles, hopes, and disappointments. Goggin found no diaries, journals, or private correspondence that provided a clear picture of the intimate and interior life of this forceful, driven, highly focused man whose financial and professional rewards were so few and so hard won.

Consequently, in spite of Goggin’s skillful presentation of all the known facts, the personal identity of Woodson and the means whereby he sustained himself in the face of daunting odds—so important to a complete understanding of the man—remain myster-

ies. Woodson never married, there is no evidence of any brief or sustained sexual relationship, and the circle of friends was small and essentially professional. If Goggin’s account, which she describes as “an intellectual biography,” is all there is to know, Woodson was an ascetic whose most productive years were devoted to the historical profession and his race through research, writing, and the promotion of greater knowledge and understanding of African-American history. Yet, even accepting this interpretation, a complete picture of his personality and internal drives remains crucial to a full understanding of the man. Goggin’s study does not meet this need.

After graduation from Kentucky’s Berea College in 1903, Woodson taught for four years in the Philippines. Following a tour of Africa, Asia, and Europe, he studied briefly at the University of Paris before matriculating at the University of Chicago in 1907, from which he received the M.A. in European history and Romance languages and literature in 1908. Four years later he earned a Ph.D. in history from Harvard University, an educational experience so painful that he never ceased to recall it with bitterness. Years later, he asserted that his teachers at Harvard “miseducated” him, an experience from which it took him “twenty years to recover.” From this point on, his life was a campaign to undo the “miseducation of the Negro.”

During his early professional career, Woodson combined work as a historian with teaching and educational administration in the public school system of the District of Columbia, Howard University, and the West Virginia Collegiate Institute. Goggin does not note that in 1914 Woodson, then a District public school teacher, joined the American Negro Academy (ANA), an organization that included many prominent African-American intellectuals. Woodson may well have hoped that the Academy would fund or sponsor the learned society he established a year later. This did not happen, but many members of the Academy were among the earliest active supporters of the ASNLH and among the earliest contributors to the *Journal of Negro History*.

Exploring the impact of Woodson’s involvement in the ANA might also have helped Goggin better understand the sources of his intellectual radicalism. Some Academy members were Marxists or Garveyites who may well have influenced the ASNLH founder’s thinking. Perhaps Woodson spoke for them, as well as himself, when, following an address in 1919 to the Academy by A. Philip Randolph, who predicted that the “Labor party” would determine the “future history of the world,” Woodson responded, “Mr. Randolph is a prophet.” Whatever the content of Woodson’s political beliefs, from 1922 until his death all of his energies were focused on sustaining and strengthening the ASNLH, promoting knowledge of African-American history among the black masses as an instrument for their intellectual and political liberation, and challenging racist, distorted, and inaccurate

treatment of the African-American past by white historians.

Goggin's discussions of Woodson's lonely and difficult struggle to launch the association and his many years of constant, and often unsuccessful, negotiations, manipulations, and demands for support from white philanthropists and philanthropic agencies are well done. They document in the clearest terms the contempt, condescension, and hostility of the philanthropic establishment, along with the majority of white historians, toward Woodson and any other African-American scholar who deviated from what they judged to be acceptable approaches to the study of race in the United States. One of the most visible prices Woodson paid for surviving this treatment was a steady growth in his open bitterness, hostility, and suspicion toward all who seemed to challenge him or waver in their support of the ASNLH. Perhaps this helps explain why, despite his association with many talented historians, he was never able to train a successor and alienated numerous younger scholars who revered him and valued the work of his organization.

This valuable study adds to the growing number of scholarly biographies of black American intellectuals and leaders of the twentieth century whose publication is giving much-needed depth and breadth to the study of African-American history.

ALFRED A. MOSS, JR.
University of Maryland,
College Park

KENNETH ROBERT JANKEN. *Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 319. \$35.00.

Rayford W. Logan was one of a handful of professionally trained African-American historians who labored during the segregation era toward the inclusion of blacks in American history and American society. Kenneth Robert Janken's well-written biography, based on Logan's works, letters, diaries, and autobiography, vividly brings back to life the struggles of the Talented Tenth in the early twentieth century for recognition and inclusion. Blessed by light skin but not by elite status, Logan made his way through M Street High School in Washington, Williams College, and eventually to a Harvard doctorate. Meanwhile, he made side journeys as an officer in France during World War I, and for six years he was an expatriate and Pan-African activist. In the mid-1920s he settled on a career as a historian teaching at a succession of black universities, ending up at Howard University, but he never abandoned his efforts for black cultural assimilation and equal rights.

The reader is struck by the broad range of Logan's scholarly interests and the polemical purpose and tone of most of his writings. He wrote books on the League of Nations mandates, Haitian-American dip-

lomatic relations, southern attitudes toward Negro suffrage, and the history of Howard University, as well as several general books on African-American history. Here are fascinating behind-the-scenes anecdotes about Logan's struggle with the University of North Carolina Press over the candid demand for social equality in the book he edited on *What the Negro Wants* (1945), and his other difficulties with publishers and foundations.

Much of Logan's scholarly writing is now dated by its overreliance on newspaper sources. Yet through Jankens's book we now learn about Logan's persistent, and sometimes successful, direct efforts for civil rights, from an early voting rights drive to leadership in the March on Washington movement and promotion of universal human rights through the United Nations. In Logan's own lifetime others generally took the credit for his work and kept him down on the lower rungs of leadership. His elitism put him out of step with the civil rights movement of the 1960s, for which he had helped prepare the way. This was one of many ironies of Logan's life on the edge of the color line.

LOUIS R. HARLAN
University of Maryland,
College Park

E. F. RIVINUS and E. M. YOUSSEF. *Spencer Baird of the Smithsonian*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1992. Pp. x, 228. \$29.95.

Without quibbling over their claim that Spencer Fullerton Baird was "a great American whose memory deserves far better recognition from his countrymen than it has received to date" (p. 190), we can agree with E. F. Rivinus and E. M. Youssef that the creator of the United States National Museum (now the National Museum of Natural History) was an influential figure in American science from 1850 until 1887 and that his career will repay much further study. William H. Dall's loving biography from 1915 gave us selected correspondence plus the recollections of Baird's daughter, while Dean C. Allard's dissertation (reprinted in 1978) was limited to Baird's Fish Commission activities. Rivinus and Youssef are frankly sympathetic biographers distressed at the "fadeout of Baird's image into the mists of historical oblivion" (p. 5), but they do try not to whitewash his personality. Because his long workdays consisted largely of writing letters, memoranda, and reports, most of which survive in the Smithsonian Archives, the authors can let us in on the minutiae of his daily life.

Rich source material cannot guarantee a compelling biography when the protagonist was a man whose letters kept to "cold, dry, dull business," as one correspondent complained (p. 171), and whose character, as a close associate noted, was especially marked by "aversion to personal controversy" (p. 115). The nearest thing to drama in Baird's career was the story that he built up the great national

collection covertly, in defiance of his boss's instructions, but the authors scotch this little myth (p. 79). The essence of Baird's bureaucratic success is better captured in the incident they give to illustrate his wisdom in the ways of Washington. In reply to someone wondering why salmon eggs should be sent to places where the fish were unlikely to survive, Baird wrote, "It makes no difference . . . The object is to introduce them into as many states as possible and have credit with Congress accordingly. If they are there, they are there, and we can so swear, and that is the end of it" (p. 114).

So much of Baird's attention was devoted to the frequent illness of his wife that the authors decided to call in medical opinion to diagnose Mary Churchill Baird. Endometriosis and drug toxicity can apparently explain most of her symptoms, but room remains for factors like loneliness and low self-esteem.

Whether or not Baird's self-contained nature really did injure his wife, his cold-blooded disinterest in evolution certainly makes him exasperating to historians of biological thought. He "never openly took a position regarding Darwinism" (p. 107). Yet the facts of natural history display such a "deep organic bond" that a "naturalist must feel little curiosity, who is not led to inquire what this bond is" (Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species* [1859], p. 350). Such curiosity as Baird felt was suppressed under an empiricism so severe that his legacy, the "Baird School of Naturalists," was described as "strikingly characterized by peculiar exactness in dealing with facts" (p. 186). Mark V. Barrow, Jr.'s dissertation (1992) pointed out that Baird's measurements of dead birds go to hundredths of an inch, which is more like delusion than precision. An evaluation of Baird's place in systematic biology, which Rivinus and Youssef do not attempt, is still needed, and it will be a challenging job.

MARY P. WINSOR

University of Toronto

JANE AIKIN ROSENBERG. *The Nation's Great Library: Herbert Putnam and the Library of Congress, 1899-1939*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 235. \$39.95.

George Herbert Putnam's friends and family must have been stunned when he announced, after graduating magna cum laude from Harvard and successfully completing a year's work at the Columbia University Law School, that he intended to accept the position as Librarian of the Minneapolis Athenaeum in 1884. Putnam started at the top in library work and his boundless energy, keen intellect, and superb administrative skills soon catapulted him to the forefront of the emerging library profession in America. In 1887, he became director of the new Minneapolis Public Library, and in 1895, at the age of thirty-three, director of the nation's premier public library in Boston. It was from his office in the new Boston Public Library building on Copley Square that Put-

nam soon established himself as the country's leading librarian and found himself, quite effortlessly, in line to head the Library of Congress when, in 1899, it moved into its magnificent new building in Washington.

Putnam assumed the leadership of the nation's greatest library at a crucial moment in its history. For the Library of Congress was then, and is today, unique in its size and the complexity of its mission and variety of its constituencies. It is important to remember, as Jane Aikin Rosenberg clearly demonstrates, that the Library of Congress is first and foremost the Library of Congress: a legislative reference library for the U.S. Congress, and as such owes its first allegiance to those who fund the institution. Then, of course, the breadth and depth of the collections held by the Library of Congress have made it central to humanistic scholarship, especially historical scholarship in the United States, and historians quickly came to claim the Library as their own. Finally, librarians have always viewed the Library of Congress as the librarian's library and have looked to Washington for innovation and leadership in the continuing effort to foster the nation's library system. This "tripartite mission" has generated enormous tensions as these three major constituencies jockey for special attention from the Library.

Rosenberg nicely summarizes Putnam's masterful management of this volatile environment in his steady, and remarkably successful, attempt to establish the Library of Congress as central to the information needs of its three powerful constituencies. When Putnam stepped down in 1939 he had pushed the Library of Congress to the forefront of the world's great libraries and made it the national library in everything but name. Rosenberg emphasizes the role of the library profession in influencing the direction of the Library during Putnam's tenure and thus contributes significantly to our understanding of the emergence of professional librarianship in America. But in doing so she tends to underestimate the greater influence of Congress and the historical profession in structuring the Library's programs. Nevertheless, historiographers should find this book of interest, for written between the lines is an important chapter in the evolution of historical scholarship in the United States in the first third of the twentieth century.

MICHAEL H. HARRIS

University of Kentucky

HUGH HAWKINS. *Banding Together: The Rise of National Associations in American Higher Education, 1887-1950*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 295. \$39.95.

There have been first-rate histories of higher education published in the last three decades, including Hugh Hawkins's own definitive *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889* and *Between Har-*

vard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot. They describe, one would have thought, all facets of the landscape of higher education. Now Hawkins reaches further than he ever has to illuminate a new part of that landscape. The emergence of "associationalism" is a decisive moment in the history of higher education in the United States.

American college and university leaders sought to construct their institutions as autonomous enterprises. They held institutional autonomy sacred and were quick to protest any infringement on their autonomy. Academics were and still are dismayed by controls exerted from philanthropic foundations, state legislatures, court actions, federal regulations, and any "outside" pressures or interest groups, not to mention parents, alumni, and trustees. And most Americans, lay persons as well as academics, think that higher education in the United States is neither centralized nor highly systematized. Few know that to gain the benefits of coordination and cooperation in the pursuit of shared interests and to ward off the looming threat of encroachment from the federal government, the academic establishment chose to sacrifice a good measure of institutional autonomy. Hawkins argues that near the turn of the century American college and university leaders themselves launched a program of coordination through national associations of institutions. Membership in an association was not legally mandated, yet there was strong incentive to join. Those colleges and universities that chose to stay apart risked losing academic credibility, students, and financial support.

The phenomenon of "associationalism," Hawkins's term for the underlying social philosophy of higher education leaders, was motivated by a recognition of a new fact of institutional life during the Progressive era: on the national scene the use, accumulation, and preservation of power. College and university presidents and deans, through the principal associations Hawkins discusses, were determined to become serious players in this larger national game, but not simply as one "power" among others or as a mundane "lobby." Instead they wanted to be morally superior to the others; they were noncoercive "voluntary" associations, whose altruistic intentions, even as they set norms and penalized offenders, were unquestionable.

Even before the outbreak of World War I, association leaders realized that Washington, D.C., was going to be the center of higher education. Association leaders were ecstatic as they contemplated financial support flowing to their constituent member institutions. Unfortunately, control might follow funding, but it should be "voluntary" control, that is, control by the associations. Washington "was entreated to give but not to govern" (p. xii). The association leaders were shrewd. The associations might act as an ordinary special interest group, but they claimed to be performing a benevolent social service. And, as occasion required, the associations could speak with

one voice, for example, on national standards or accreditation. Or, on occasion, the associations could make a virtue of diversity. But here was the rub. The enormous diversity of the institutions and interests represented by the associations, or even by any one association, made banding together frequently contentious, frustrating, sometimes even impossible. It contributed to the delay of two of the most significant and progressive developments regarding American higher education in this century: the GI Bill and the radically egalitarian Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education. Ironically, trying to escape the embrace of the federal government, the associations became captive of the Carnegie and Rockefeller philanthropies.

Hawkins faced two problems in writing his book. One was literary: how, in Hayden White's words, to translate "knowing," that is, how to convert the prodigious amount of research he conducted on these complex associations, together with the relevant secondary works, into "telling," or a compelling narrative form. Second, there was the problem of how to evaluate the influence of the associations. Hawkins solves the first problem with admirable inventiveness. The book's nine chapters are arranged topically, like separate "scenes," and within every scene his attention is turned to each association. Between scenes, as a relief from the necessary but near overwhelming blizzard of acronyms (the work is embellished by an edifying "apology for acronyms"), Hawkins provides six "interludes," detailed portrayals of one annual convention of each association, seriatim, at ten-year intervals, each enlivened by apt, humorous, and timeless quotes from the participants.

Hawkins does not handle the second problem as deftly. At the end, Hawkins lets the associations go too gently into the historical light. The associations looked after the interests of their own member institutions, citing "salary scales, balance sheets and publicity," but still, he concludes, "the fact they cared about education often led them beyond considerations of profit and power and career success, to look for ways to enlarge humane possibilities through teaching and learning" (p. 221). I think this a lenient final grade. There is no grand vision of the purpose of higher education in association deliberations: no talk of a "temple of learning" or of a "community of scholars"; few "apostles of culture" speak up. The associational ethos became dominated by bureaucratic rather than by educational concerns. The influence of the associations is much more problematic or contestable. In fact, Hawkins originally seems to have had a more critical stance in mind. I think his evaluation of the associations at about the mid-point of his study must be factored into his final appraisal. It is handed out in the context of a discussion of the American Council on Education's leadership in the quest for a system of national standards for American higher education via accreditation: "It began with naively numerical criteria. It gave leverage to rigid

officials and not just enlightened ones. Its development by a multiplicity of regional, institutional and professional associations brought public confusion and administrative exhaustion. It reduced institutional variety, embarrassing the idiosyncratic, undervaluing local tradition, and discouraging experimental innovation" (p. 95). Historians of higher education will have an opportunity to evaluate the associations for themselves, since this book will have to be read by all historians interested in the history of higher education in the United States. It is an indispensable study of the politics of American higher education and of the secularization of the academy in this century.

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WILLIAM LEACH. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Pantheon. 1993. Pp. xvii, 510. \$30.00.

The rise of consumerism in early twentieth-century America, it is commonly agreed, wrought a major change in values and behavior. William Leach sets for himself the task of tracing the actual forms and patterns of cultural change within a rigorously constructed context of institutional change. In the author's words, he "focuses on mail order houses, on chain stores and dry goods houses, on hotels and restaurants, and especially on department stores" (p. 8). Leach wants his readers to know intimately the persons responsible for the department store world of the early twentieth century, their methods, motives, values, beliefs, and fantasies about themselves, and the new empire of commodities they founded. Merchants and their minions people the book and lend it a dimension of drama infrequent in cultural histories. The cast is huge and varied, including owners and managers, artists of display and illusion, cultural brokers, publicists, economists, bankers, professors, government bureaucrats, and churchmen. Leach has gathered material and biographical evidence from virtually every realm of public life in these years (roughly 1890 to 1930) to document a cultural shift of monumental proportions. In no other recent work on the rise of commercial culture do we find anything like the array of data regarding how the change came about, how it looked, and how it felt to its advocates and critics alike.

In telling the story of how a consumerist mentality captured the nation, how citizens come to be understood as customers and the enjoyment of goods as a source of identity (with the stratification implied by both), Leach describes a transformed civil landscape. The earliest signs of a new world of goods-based pleasure is the appearance as early as the 1890s of a new theater in shop-windows, new splashes of color and light, the pictorialization of pleasure-giving goods. "A new national dream life" (p. 107) appeared

on outside and inside spaces of department stores. Leach portrays a new regime of materialized capitalism, its near-irresistible enticements, its implied laws of gender and class distinction. And he shows brilliantly how the new culture projected itself both on and into the central public spaces of the society. The way commercial culture has reshaped urban space along with ideals of urbanity is one of the book's major themes. Dreiserian relish of detail and Veblenian acidity of observation enliven the book and make vivid the author's simultaneous empathy toward the lure of shop windows and fashion shows and his principled contempt for its civil and moral effects.

The thread that unifies the story of colored lights and new systems of credit, of merchandising and theories of "mind cure," of the founding of business schools and the tales of L. Frank Baum, is the underlying theory of the self emerging within consumerism. Leach is most acute in gauging the effects of the separation of consumption from production underlying the consumerist revolution. Making commodities seem independent of labor, consumerism produced its formative illusion that "in the world of goods at least, men and women could find transformation, liberation, a paradise free from pain and suffering, a new eternity in time" (p. 149). The conception of "the desiring self," the alignment of the enjoyment of purchased goods with freedom and self-definition, Leach agrees with other critics, amounts to a scandalous affront to democratic ideas of self-expression and civic responsibility. His discussion of the influence of Epicureanism within the department store world is especially apt and illuminating.

Leach argues that consumerism emerged from the inner logic of a system more successful in producing boundless quantities of goods than in imagining ideas of use and need, of the function of goods in a good life. Consumerism conquered everything in its path, he argues, because of the "failure" of several cultural traditions, Protestantism especially, in providing sustained criticism. If the book can be faulted on any count it is perhaps in its not pursuing this point further, not carrying its insight about the compliance of ministers, professors, writers, and labor leaders into a more sustained examination of the several cultural traditions implicated in the easy victories of consumerism. That path, of course, would lead eventually to the old refrain, "why no socialism in the United States?" Leach holds that immense issue to the side, as he must in order to keep his central argument in focus. His speculations, however, do instill the subliminal point, that a history of consumer culture in the United States must at some juncture confront the paucity of opposition as a major component of consumerism's success. With its extraordinarily rich panorama of persons, things, and events, and its continual flow of pertinent commentary and provocative speculation, this volume deepens our understanding of the cultural effects of consumer society,

how they came about, and what degradations they imply for civil life.

ALAN TRACHTENBERG
Yale University

JOHN D. FAIRFIELD. *The Mysteries of the Great City: The Politics of Urban Design, 1877–1937*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 320. \$58.50.

This study of urban planning ideas is framed by the great railroad strike of 1877 and the publication of *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy* sixty years later. In seven chapters John D. Fairfield examines two major (although sometimes overlapping) strains of thought about urban planning. The first he terms the idealistic republicanism of Frederick Law Olmsted and Henry George in the late nineteenth century, which attempted to reconcile country and city and to promote social justice. The second, represented by later generations of “realists” such as Frederic C. Howe, Daniel H. Burnham, and a host of Progressive reformers, as well as two principal figures in the Chicago school of sociology, Robert E. Park and Louis Wirth, during the 1920s and 1930s, emphasized professional expertise and in varying degrees saw the conflicts and diversity of the city as a series of “problems to be managed rather than resolved” (pp. 5–6).

Like Stanley Schultz and David Hammack, Fairfield argues “that the American city was in important ways ‘planned’ before the rise of professional city planning” (p. 3). And yet, as his analysis of the development of transit lines demonstrates, for all the debate over ownership and financing there was little public discussion of transportation as a means of structuring future growth, which is an essential component of planning. During the early twentieth century, planners embraced zoning as the most important contribution of their profession and abandoned such long-standing reformist concerns as better housing and efforts to redress economic inequality. As Fairfield rightly observes, zoning emerged as an essentially conservative mechanism for protecting the value of property, and in forging a “close partnership with the dominant economic interests” (p. 134) planners became increasingly antidemocratic.

Coincident with this trend was the emergence of the Chicago school of sociology, which exerted a powerful influence on planning. Investigations of crowds, crime, and race by Park and his graduate students provided an intellectual framework for managing the demographic and social diversity of the city. But the union of sociological and planning theory in quest of social control, which, despite previous claims, the author describes as the “origins of urban planning” (p. 208), was deeply flawed because it ignored the economic and political forces that shaped urban life. Ironically, that was the thrust of *Our Cities*, the report of the National Resources

Planning Board’s committee on urbanism, which was chaired by Louis Wirth, and which Fairfield considers a reassertion of the romantic tradition and a road not taken. More influential was Wirth’s “Urbanism as a Way of Life,” published the following year, which emphasized sociological understandings of urban development rather than the economic and political dimensions he had analyzed in *Our Cities*.

Although the author’s heart clearly lies with the republican tradition, that aspect of his argument is least developed and based almost entirely on secondary works. His analysis of the realists, and especially the trend toward professionalization, is more persuasive and more thoroughly researched. Still, the assertion that the “most important result of the collaboration of the Chicago sociologists and city planners” (p. 211) was Clarence Perry’s neighborhood plan—a far less visionary and influential effort to reconcile the automobile and a coherent community than the design of Radburn, New Jersey—leaves the reader wondering what was the ultimate legacy of Fairfield’s planners.

DAVID SCHUYLER
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CLIFTON HOOD. *722 Miles: The Building of the Subways and How They Transformed New York*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1993. Pp. 335. \$25.00.

Natural advantages, the opening of the Erie Canal, the introduction of a regularly scheduled packet service, and the development of other aggressive business strategies made New York the nation’s leading city by the Civil War. New York was poised for greatness, but far-sighted entrepreneurs realized that the absence of a modern transit network was, perhaps, the leading obstacle to taking the next step. As late as 1900, large sections of Manhattan were still undeveloped. The lack of tunnels and bridges isolated the city’s other boroughs from Lower Manhattan.

Clifton Hood reveals that the city possessed an elaborate network of trolleys and elevated trains, yet almost all interested parties agreed that subways were the key to providing a modern, integrated transit system. The problem was raising capital. Sophisticated financiers warned that investors would not support a fully private venture, but they feared the influences of Tammany Hall in a city-managed operation. The outcome was a curious hodgepodge of municipal ownership and private construction and operation.

The task of building the subway was daunting, due largely to Manhattan’s irregular terrain, challenging varieties of subterranean rock formations and other obstacles, and difficulties of tunneling under rivers with comparatively primitive technology. When the Interborough Rapid Transit subway opened in 1904, however, New Yorkers went “subway mad,” and the cars were soon crowded with patrons. Hood captures

the rapid emergence of a distinct subway culture, as the device was celebrated in song lyrics, poetry, fiction, vaudeville, and movies. He also documents the subway's role in decentralizing metropolitan development; land developers and real-estate interests maneuvered aggressively to attract service. Hood describes in detail the emergence of a tenant-owned apartment complex in Jackson Heights, Queens, after World War I as typical of subway-generated development throughout the city's outlying boroughs.

The author is clearly an experienced strap-hanger, whose affection for subways is obvious. Yet he forthrightly recounts the dark side of local subway history. For many years the city's business elites dominated the system, focusing it more on immediate profits than the interest of commuters. They consistently opposed expansion until profits were virtually guaranteed; consequently, riding eventually became an unpleasant daily reality. Intransigent private interests eventually generated so much public antipathy that, following World War I, public officials exerted greater influence over the expanding system. Strap-hangers were addicted to the nickel fare, and mayors refused to challenge it. Mayor John F. Hylan virtually built a career around retaining the nickel fare, although Hood suggests he was basically short-sighted and ineffective. Despite his reputation as perhaps the best mayor New York ever had, Fiorello LaGuardia was equally blind to the realities of subway financing, refusing to raise the fare. Mayor William O'Dwyer finally bit the bullet in 1948, raising the fare to a dime. Ten increases between 1953 and 1990 were far too late to save a dying system. Consolidation of competing systems under the New York City Transit Authority in 1953 was no panacea, but only "set the stage for the severe physical decline of the 1960s and 1970s" (p. 259).

Hood's superb work synthesizes a number of earlier studies and adds valuable insights. He has ably framed his study around subway conflicts, which generally "involved issues of political culture rather than economic institutions" (pp. 14–15). In several places Hood's presentation would have benefited from the addition of street and topographical maps and diagrams; inclusion of financial tables would have been similarly helpful. Yet Hood tells an interesting story in crisp, jargon-free prose. I have but two words of advice for this gifted fellow scholar: keep writing.

MARK S. FOSTER
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BERNICE KERT. *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller: The Woman in the Family*. New York: Random House. 1993. Pp. xv, 537. \$30.00.

Visitors to Colonial Williamsburg will recognize the name of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (1874–1948) from the Folk Art center that bears her name. Art historians may know that she helped establish New York's

Museum of Modern Art (MOMA). As this first full-length biography proves, however, the second daughter of Rhode Island's Senator Nelson Aldrich was a far more complex person than the art patron wife of a very wealthy man. She was a strong and independent woman who supported reforms aiding women and helped her husband understand the impact of big business on American society, particularly in the case of the Ludlow, Colorado, strike in 1913–14. At the same time, she decided not to contribute to a fund to support striking miners' families in West Virginia because that did not have "the entire approval" of her husband (p. 203). With such examples, Bernice Kert successfully argues that, through Abby, "the character of the Rockefeller family, as established by Laura Spelman Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller, Sr., was irrevocably transformed" (p. 4).

Rockefeller was influenced by her proud New England family lineage, paternal political power, enormous wealth constrained by a husband's firm grip on the purse strings, complex family relationships, and a sense of identity constantly seeking outlets for creativity and philanthropy. She searched for causes to espouse and traveled around the world while valiantly maintaining a marriage to a man she clearly loved but who did not always share her interests. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for instance, never understood Abby's commitment to modern art. Even he, however, was not a free agent in spending his vast wealth or directing the actions of Standard Oil.

One of Kert's goals is to help the reader understand Abby and John D., Jr.'s mental, emotional, and physical health. Neither Kert nor I are psychologists, and it would be interesting to know how a psychologist would evaluate the author's perspective that Abby Rockefeller was the stabilizing center of a maelstrom of demands from in-laws, relatives, husband, and children. She warned her husband that she would leave him if he ever hit her, but Kert portrays John D., Jr., as a shy and reserved man who could barely function without his wife by his side and who had trouble determining his role in life.

This biography is based on the voluminous records of the Rockefeller Archive Center, as well as the archives of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Museum of Modern Art, and Rhode Island Historical Society. Numerous photographs from the Rockefeller Archive Center and a family tree enrich the text. Kert also quotes children, grandchildren, and associates, interweaving their comments in a style more commonly found among journalists than historians. For example, Kert introduces a three-page discussion of Rockefeller's impact on the staff of the MOMA with "All the men and women who worked around the museum in the early years have stories to tell about Abby" (p. 319) and then tells the stories. The bibliography focuses on art history and Rockefeller sources, not historians' monographs and articles.

A fiction writer and biographer, Kert writes for the general public, not academic historians who may want

more detail in some places and could be satisfied with less elsewhere. Rockefeller family philanthropies and projects merit few detailed explanations, and Kert dismisses Aldrich's involvement in the election of Benjamin Harrison as a "moot question," while acknowledging that "he could not have been entirely innocent" (p. 35). In contrast, she details the colonial history of Mount Desert, the Rockefeller's island retreat and gives the prices of goods at local stores. Throughout, however, a drama unfolds, and the reader is sad when it ends.

BARBARA J. HOWE
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DANIEL W. BJORK. *B. F. Skinner: A Life*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xiv, 298. \$25.00.

Viewed from almost any angle, B. F. Skinner looms as one of the more significant figures in twentieth-century American professional and public life. Within academic and applied psychology his animal-based, antimentalistic, radical behaviorism deeply influenced theory as well as research and therapeutic practice for more than two decades. In 1970, *American Psychologist* acknowledged his prominence by declaring him the second most important psychologist of the twentieth century, surpassed only by Sigmund Freud. Skinner also was widely known for his well-publicized experiment raising his daughter in a glass-fronted, climatically regulated "aircrib" (the "baby in the box") and his pioneering efforts to develop teaching machines. In addition, his major literary efforts—*Walden Two* (1948), a utopian novel about a world engineered according to behavioral principles, and *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971), a polemical philosophical treatise challenging cherished American notions of individual autonomy and freedom of action—generated widespread comment and provoked furious attacks from intellectuals as various as Joseph Wood Krutch, Ayn Rand, and Noam Chomsky.

A figure of Skinner's stature clearly deserves a major biography. Unfortunately, Daniel W. Bjork's study does not merit that description. Instead it is an engaging but highly selective synopsis that skips along quickly and leaves the reader almost as often baffled as enlightened about Skinner's achievements, motives, and inconsistencies. Bjork's overview would be more welcome if Skinner had not himself published three substantial volumes of well-written autobiography and if he, members of his family, and long-time associates had not made copious written materials and extensive personal reflections available to the biographer. Bjork even had access to what he calls Skinner's "basement archive," a collection of private papers stored in the house in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where Skinner lived until his death in 1990. Bjork could surely have integrated this material with other archival resources and the published record to produce a richer and more consistent biography than he offers here.

The most successful parts of the book are the first two chapters, which deal with Skinner's boyhood in Susquehanna, Pennsylvania, and college years in Clinton, New York. In these sections Bjork paints a vivid portrait of the young man, his ambitions, sensitivities, and character formation. But once Bjork gets to Skinner's crucial post-college "Dark Year" in chapter 3, his biography begins to falter. He recounts Skinner's frustrating and unsuccessful efforts to become a writer yet fails to provide any clear insight into his seemingly sudden decision to become a behavioral psychologist instead. Bjork makes several indecisive attempts at explanation, drops what seem to be possibly promising psychodynamic hints about Skinner's aversion to empathy, declines to pursue these leads further, and then hesitates to integrate his discussion, leaving pieces of it in the notes and other pieces, disjointedly, in the text. Skinner's autobiographical version of his turn to psychology is a bit more coherent and no less insightful than Bjork's.

Bjork's discussion of Skinner's career as a graduate student and rising young psychologist is only marginally more satisfying. He reviews Skinner's rapid success at Harvard and the intellectual influences shaping his early behaviorism, reconstructs the invention of the experimental apparatus later universally known as the "Skinner Box," and sketches Skinner's tangles as a brash young man with senior psychologist Edwin G. Boring. But even here Bjork is not completely successful in re-creating the rich and heady Harvard intellectual atmosphere in which Skinner rapidly matured, the full set of issues and challenges preoccupying psychologists in the early 1930s, or the complexities and subtleties of Skinner's own scientific and philosophical development. On these issues the autobiography is, again, easily as illuminating.

Skinner's triumphs at the height of his career—in Minnesota, Indiana, and once more at Harvard—are also less than satisfactorily treated. Although Bjork provides good accounts of the aircrib, teaching machine, and *Walden Two*, he conveys little sense of Skinner's career as a leading mid-century psychologist. He fails, for example, to identify Skinner's relationship to the major personalities, methodological issues, and conceptual debates in the field as it grew rapidly in both academic and clinical settings. He barely mentions Freudian, Gestaltist, and other "mentalistic" psychologies, competing schools of behaviorists, or upstart cognitive psychology, which by the 1960s were already beginning to displace behaviorism as psychology's scientific center, even in Skinner's own department. Finally, the last two chapters are peculiarly flawed, and Bjork's biography degenerates in places to naive apology for Skinner and testy rejoinder to his critics. Moreover, in a generally interesting discussion of the profoundly adverse reactions to *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, Bjork engages in a surprisingly *ad hominem* assault on Chomsky, the most trenchant and formidable of Skinner's many critics. Surely it would have served his biography

better, been more consistent with the goals of historical writing, and come closer to the spirit of Skinnerian psychology if Bjork had concluded his book with cooler objectivity and closer attention to dispassionately observed behavior.

THEODORE M. BROWN
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WILLIAM URICCHIO and ROBERTA E. PEARSON. *Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 252. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

"Historicizing" is one of the hot buzzwords sweeping contemporary film studies. For years, cinema scholars relied on myriad theoretical approaches to unravel the multiple meanings of film and the various ways in which audiences may have understood them. But theory alone, its practitioners discovered, would not allow them to understand the actions of real men and women. Recent works by Charles Musser, Eileen Bowser, Richard Koszarski, Miriam Hansen, and Douglas Gomery reflect a renewed concern for analyzing film, filmgoers, and the film industry within their larger historical context. In their excellent book, William Uricchio and Roberta E. Pearson merge theoretical insights with concrete historical circumstances to explain the "strategies that the film industry employed in attempting to reposition itself in American society as a mass entertainment acceptable to all social formations rather than a cheap amusement" (p. 41).

Concentrating on the years between 1907 and 1917, the authors open with the familiar story of an emerging movie industry under assault from a dominant class divided over the best ways to deal with the dangers of the new medium: some advocated stringent state regulation of film while others hoped to uplift movies and use their potential power to educate audiences. Uricchio and Pearson take this well-known story to a far more sophisticated level by showing how the Vitagraph Company of America, "the largest film studio of the pre-Hollywood era and the most prolific producer of 'high-art' subjects," used quality films drawn from familiar literary, biblical, and historical texts to parry industry critics and build a genuine mass audience that crossed class and ethnic lines (p. 3).

Challenging the recent work of Lawrence Levine, Uricchio and Pearson argue that Shakespeare, Dante, and other seemingly highbrow authors continued to permeate all parts of American culture in the early twentieth century. The authors skillfully use the concept of intertextuality to explain how Vitagraph chose authors and figures—Shakespeare, Dante, George Washington, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, and Moses—who were familiar and readily accessible to mass audiences. What made a movie a quality film, they explain, was not just its subject matter but the way it "directly invoke[d] *specific* texts—a famous painting, a

well-known Broadway production, a particular biography—in ways that others films generally do not" (p. 53). Vitagraph productions never treated Shakespeare, Dante, or the Bible as sacred texts, but focused on famous scenes, speeches, and images known to audiences through school texts, dime museums, wax works, local theaters, popular paintings, and even amusement park rides that bore such grand names as Dante's Inferno. Thus, far from being rarefied symbols of high culture, Vitagraph's quality films appealed to highbrow and lowbrow alike; they were "acceptable to the medium's opponents but melodramatic enough for nickelodeon audiences" (p. 108).

Uricchio and Pearson are to be applauded for the considerable historical research that informs their work. The one shortcoming of the book, which the authors frankly acknowledge, is they never really tell us how successful quality films were in elevating the character of the film industry; neither do they explain how audiences responded to these films. Nevertheless, historians (especially of popular culture) will be well served by studying the three key chapters in which the authors provide a convincing analysis of—as well as useful methodology for studying—the intertextual pervasiveness of certain literary, historical, and biblical subjects.

STEVEN J. ROSS
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JAMES S. MOY. *Marginal Sights: Staging the Chinese in America*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1993. Pp. 158. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$12.95.

More than half of today's immigrants to the United States are Asians, but their forebears who came to America in the nineteenth century were among the most misunderstood and mistreated ethnic groups, often becoming the victims of institutionalized racism. While quietly clinging to their indigenous cultures, they also hoped to be accepted by the mainstream Anglo-American society. Unfortunately, the misunderstandings and misconceptions, the stereotyping and scapegoating of Asians continued throughout the modern decades. A major contributing factor to this persistent prejudice, according to James S. Moy, is the "fetishization" and "commodification of representations" of Asian characters by American playwrights, photographers, film makers, cartoonists, and the like. These image makers helped create the myths and engender fears about Asians that had, and continue to have, a far-reaching yet disparaging effect on popular conceptions of these people. Reading this slim but eloquent volume, one can clearly trace the origins of stereotypes about Asian Americans. It is indeed a welcome and significant edition to the repertoire of Asian-American scholarship.

Moy presents ten typical readings of Chinese in America in order to bitterly denounce what he calls the disfiguring of Asian virtuosity by American writers

and artists. He views Henry Grimm's *The Chinese Must Go* (1879) as a "farce," and regards Eugene O'Neill's *Marco Millions* (1927) as facile and "imaginary," totally ignorant of the real China it purported to depict. He maintains that Arnold Genthe's more than two hundred photographs of San Francisco's Chinatown, 1895–1906, were nothing but "fetishes, or souvenirs of a ghetto," taken for the sole purpose of selling them to wealthy patrons. He then relentlessly impugns such popular movie caricatures as Charlie Chan and Fu Manchu. Exotic and comic though they were, these crude images nevertheless redounded to the humiliation and submission of a marginal and foreign racial group. Finally, Moy deplors the fact that American theaters and films invariably portrayed Asian women as either wanton slaves or prostitutes who were readily available for sex.

The author seems to believe that it is impossible for any marginalized group in America to gain control of its representations, because "Anglo-America patronizes products that affirm the position of the dominant culture" (p. 141). Such a pessimistic view may neglect the fact that the Asians in America have come a long way since 1965. It is true that at the end of World War II even a prominent Chinese mathematician could not buy a house near the Berkeley campus, but who could have predicted that only a few decades later, the chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley would be Chinese? Certainly, Anna May Wong (1907–61), the American-born Chinese actress who played in *Shanghai Express*, *Daughter of the Dragon*, and *Old San Francisco*, among others, would smile at the sight of Connie Chung sitting behind the anchor's desk for CBS's popular evening news. And with the purchase of several prominent Hollywood studios by Sony and Matsushita, the power of images has been effectively shifted toward those averse to any stereotypical representation of Asians in films. One, then, can expect that a more realistic portrayal of Asian humanity and individuality will prevail in the future, and that Asians will finally find their true place in the mosaic of American images. Yet Moy's study, a carefully crafted, highly provocative, and emotionally charged book, should remain a powerful reminder of how and what the American popular stage and screens did to distort the images of the Asians in general and the Chinese in particular.

SHIH-SHAN HENRY TSAI
University of Arkansas

NAZLI KIBRIA. *Family Tightrope: The Changing Lives of Vietnamese Americans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 184. \$24.95.

This well-researched and gracefully written "participant-observer" study makes a significant contribution to knowledge about the impact of immigration and Americanization on family life. An in-depth exploration of twelve working-class Vietnamese immigrant households in Philadelphia, Nazli Kibria's study is

part of a growing literature debunking the "model minority" myth about Asian Americans. The households described in the book are not the stereotypically close, trouble-free families devotedly—and successfully—pooling their resources to guarantee social mobility. Rather, they are troubled households of changing composition (including kin and non-kin), in which the adults struggle to support themselves through a changing "patchwork" of part-time and full-time jobs; "loans" of food, money, cars, and other resources from relatives and friends; and various government programs. Neither are these families devotedly grooming the next generation for Harvard, Berkeley, or MIT. Rather, parents whose traditional sources of discipline (beating children and controlling economic resources) are no longer available try, often unsuccessfully, to maintain control over children increasingly influenced by what the parents see as a dangerously permissive American culture.

Kibria convincingly identifies a number of sources of tension, some within the family, others originating in the wider society. These include gender imbalance (a predominance of males), changing sex roles (a decline in the status and power of men relative to that of women), changing age roles (a relative increase of the power of the young), a weak ethnic community (few ethnic institutions and leaders), and a weak urban economy unable to provide steady, well-paid jobs.

Although based on a study of only twelve households, the book provides many insights that are broadly useful. One insight is that immigrant cultures are not monolithic. Kibria notes, for example, that traditional Vietnamese culture offered at least two different models of the family, and that the needs of immigrant life led individuals to organize their American families through the more flexible of the two models. A second insight is that "Americanization" is often met with ambivalence rather than being accepted or rejected outright. This is illustrated in Kibria's excellent discussion of the attitude of Vietnamese women toward less-restrictive, American gender roles. Although American individualism and the (relative) freedom for women had some appeal, most women did not want to abandon the more restrictive, more communal traditional family structure because of the wider range of economic resources it made available to them. These and other insights make this study valuable for historians, social workers, educators, and others interested in issues of cultural adaptation and family life.

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Buffalo

WILLIAM L. O'NEILL. *A Democracy at War: America's Fight at Home and Abroad in World War II*. New York: Free Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 480. \$24.95.

Those cassandras who constantly complain of the wretchedness of modern historical prose should read this book. William L. O'Neill has a distinct and splendid historical style. Over the past few years he has published a series of volumes dealing with recent American history. *Coming Apart* (1971) examined the 1960s; *American High* (1986) looked at the 1950s. Now he focuses on America during World War II. In these volumes O'Neill writes with wit and clarity. His books all share a positive tone about the Americans who shaped our history during this period. It is not that O'Neill applauds all aspects of the culture; far from it. But in the end we put down his books with a sense of satisfaction that, despite all his faults, Uncle Sam is a pretty decent fellow.

His treatment of America at war continues this tradition. His general theme is that, despite the inherent problems of mobilizing a democracy, this country succeeded in winning a world war and creating a peace that promised a better world. The tone of triumph is muted by considerable attention to the failures of democracy in the war. In particular, O'Neill offers a biting indictment of the relocation of Japanese Americans, race relations, and mobilization at home. On the military scene he is scathing on the shoddy armaments provided the G.I., as well as of the political rivalries in the Pacific that led to a two-pronged assault that lengthened the war and cost more lives. In particular he faults the navy for insisting on bloody amphibious attacks on coral islands that served no serious purpose. But in the end a Whiggish tone emerges. The author applauds the wartime generation for its strong family values and for its willingness to accept responsibility.

The book is written in a style and manner intended to appeal to the general reader. Although O'Neill uses many fine secondary works, he eschews archival material and provides no bibliography. Citations are infrequent and too often point to *Life* magazine as the authoritative source on the American experience.

Despite these restraints his treatment of the home front is first rate. He offers new and colorful treatment of such topics as immigration policy, women and the war, films and other entertainments, minorities, and labor relations. His chapter on "everyday life" is a minor masterpiece in which he repeatedly captures a new trend in a pithy phrase.

The problems of mobilization receive lengthy treatment. Although O'Neill rightly criticizes Congress for much of this mess, which created a crisis for Dwight Eisenhower in late 1944, he seems unaware that the War Department itself had to accept much of the blame. Franklin Roosevelt and Henry Stimson did approve the use of the draft to break strikes. The War Department rather than Congress was responsible for the physical standards that led to high rejection rates and the refusal to accept older men. The American people consistently refused to give priority in deferments to war workers over fathers.

On military matters, O'Neill seems less sure. Al-

though he provides a fine overview of America's contribution, some of his interpretations seem questionable. For example, he concludes that the Tripartite Pact proved the ambition of world domination by the Axis, that Joseph Stalin accepted Operation Torch "in lieu of a Second Front" (p. 168), and that Stalin can be called the "greatest bungler in the Grand Alliance" (p. 198). His condemnation of the mid-Pacific advance is too harsh and neglects the issue of perceived vulnerability of carriers to land-based airpower. His comparison of German division strength with Allied divisions is misleading because by 1944 Adolf Hitler had deliberately maintained divisions even at half strength.

Despite these issues, O'Neill has produced another masterful survey that will undoubtedly find its way into the syllabi of many college courses.

GEORGE Q. FLYNN
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LILLIAN HODDESON, PAUL W. HENRIKSEN, ROGER A. MEADE, and CATHERINE WESTFALL. *Critical Assembly: A Technical History of Los Alamos during the Oppenheimer Years, 1943-1945*. Assisted by GORDON BAYM, RICHARD HEWLETT, ALISON KERR, ROBERT PENNEMAN, LESLIE REDMAN, and ROBERT SEIDEL. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 509. \$39.94.

Several years in the planning and a decade in the execution, this volume emerges as an indispensable book, although flawed and more likely to be consulted than read. The basic story is by now familiar: the secret hilltop laboratory in New Mexico, the constellation of brilliant scientists racing against time to develop an unprecedented weapon, the mid-1944 crisis and laboratory reorganization, the spectacular success that ushered in a new era. But earlier accounts largely passed over the technical heart of what Los Alamos achieved, with one important exception: the official history by David Hawkins, "Manhattan District History, Project Y, the Los Alamos Project," vol. 1, "Inception until August 1945," completed in 1946 and issued as Los Alamos report LAMS-2532 in 1961.

Hawkins provided the springboard for Lillian Hoddeson and her collaborators. Five decades have passed, and they can fill in the references, names, and some of the background he omitted. They can also attempt, not so successfully, to tell a more integrated and chronologically structured story than his division-by-division analysis. Like Hawkins, Hoddeson's team relied chiefly on Los Alamos archives, supplemented by interviews. Classified sources, although used extensively, could not be cited, and the entire manuscript underwent a security review that required, according to the authors, only minor technical deletions.

Each of the book's twenty chapters begins with a summary and note identifying its author(s) and other contributors. Responsibility among the four main authors is also explicit: Hoddeson examines implosion; Paul W. Henriksen covers the laboratory as

institution and the town of Los Alamos, the Trinity test, and bomb delivery; Roger A. Meade explains the gun program; and Catherine Westfall details the laboratory's prehistory, chemistry, metallurgy, and nuclear physics. Unfamiliar to historians, this careful assignment of credit and responsibility may reflect the growing trend in multiauthored scientific writing. Explicitly assigned responsibility invites individual criticism, but limited space precludes dealing with four authors, not to speak of the six contributors named on the title page and another four recognized only in the chapter headnotes. Suffice to say that Hoddeson wisely took implosion, the core of the story, for herself; her chapters are by far the book's strongest, with the others rarely rising above stringing together facts and events in roughly chronological order.

The book offers a promising thesis. The so-called critical assembly of scientists, engineers, and military personnel at Los Alamos blended their separate traditions to create a new mission-oriented, multidisciplinary approach to large-scale research. Science and engineering merged in systematic trial and error responsive to deadlines. Less persuasive is an uneven explication of the thesis. On the plus side is the first real attention to what a military setting meant for the kind of work done at Los Alamos. Too often, however, the narrative bogs down in long lists of committee members or bald chronicle without much context or explanation. Indeed, little of the science, and less of the engineering, is explained in any way apt to inform the general reader or even the academic nonscientist. The book also suffers from deplorable indexes and far too many typographical errors and small mistakes in both text and notes.

BARTON C. HACKER

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ROGER L. GEIGER. *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 411. \$65.00.

Roger L. Geiger interprets the evolution of the "federal grant university" as the dominant institution that brought international prestige to American higher education in the decades following World War II. This work is a superb sequel to Laurence Veysey's *The Emergence of the American University* (1965), and to Geiger's own earlier book dealing with the major universities from 1900 to 1940, *To Advance Knowledge* (1986). In addition to bringing the chronology of the research university up to date, Geiger provides a model for writing organizational history that blends general themes with specific case studies.

Most intriguing is Geiger's choice of cases. Profiles of such established institutions as Harvard, Yale, Berkeley, Cal Tech, MIT, and Stanford are balanced with fresh accounts of UCLA, the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Arizona, and the Georgia

Institute of Technology, the new aspirants to the circle of first-rate research universities. The institutional profiles gain significance by presenting them within the context of changing government policies and philanthropic initiatives.

Geiger analyzes academic ambition and institutional positioning that flourished in an era of unprecedented research support from both federal agencies and private foundations. After 1945 the leadership norm seemed to be cool detachment whereby a campus president matched external funding sources with prospects for success in carefully selected fields. The key was to pursue outside funds to build "steeple of excellence" while purging the campus of lackluster programs. Despite the prospect of abundant resources, the formula did not always work well and sometimes led to outright failures. For example, at the University of Pittsburgh in the 1960s presidential hubris characterized a venture to shed the university's mission as an urban commuter institution. Campus construction and a proliferation of new doctoral programs intended to elevate Pitt into the top echelon of universities were counter productive as they alienated alumni, incurred massive budget deficits, and signaled an overreaching agenda that eventually collapsed.

Equally chilling are Geiger's accounts that show that modern presidents displayed streaks of vengeance directed at units within their own institutions. A. Whitney Griswold at Yale, for example, simply shut down a number of Yale's highly regarded research institutes that he personally did not favor; when his abrupt decisions met with disapproval from respected academic groups, he then refined his style without changing his attitude, and proceeded to devote conscious effort to eliminating some departments "through slow strangulation" (p. 89). Elsewhere, academic fortunes had equally unexpected albeit more pleasant results. Stanford's honesty in reporting its relative weakness in the social sciences so impressed officials at the Ford Foundation that they awarded Stanford sustained major funding that it had neither sought nor expected.

Such examples only hint at the rich details Geiger has fit into his interpretive framework. The result is a complex, lively view of varied academic strategies advanced by a new generation of university presidents as each devised some recipe of "big science" usually mixed with graduate professional schools of law and medicine in hopes of raising reputation and resources during an era when the getting was good.

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CARL ABBOTT. *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West*. (The Modern American West.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 244. \$29.95.

Carl Abbott's new book is a pioneering attempt to place the development of post-World War II western cities into the context of America's urban progress. The crux of Abbott's urban West are the seventy metropolitan areas, as defined by the 1990 census, west of the ninety-sixth meridian. In addition, he correctly indicates that other cities, notably Kansas City and Minneapolis-St. Paul, have hinterlands that stretch westward through the Great Plains. Abbott does not deal exclusively with Denver, Dallas-Fort Worth, Los Angeles, and other very large western cities. He recognizes that smaller places, including Fargo, Billings, and Casper, all contribute to the shaping of an evolving western urban system.

Abbott, a thoughtful student of the twentieth-century American city, stresses the unfairness of testing western cities against idealized versions of New York and Paris. "Compared to the eastern half of the United States, Western cities have had the physical and institutional space to allow the full development and expression of new urban trends," Abbott writes, "Elbow room has provided the opportunity to create entirely new communities and to realize extreme patterns of dispersal and decentralization" (p. xxii). Westerners borrowed from and expanded on eastern traditions. In a positive sense, they rapidly responded to and went beyond the new directions of the southern "sunbelt." In a negative way, they accepted undesirable forms of social segregation. For good or bad, Abbott concludes, western cities remained pacesetters.

By 1990 about 80 percent of the inhabitants of nineteen western states lived in metropolitan areas. Despite the beauty of purple mountains and alabaster plains, the streets of San Diego and Tulsa more properly represented a new kind of civilization. Recently, an increasingly internationalized environment has developed, related to a boom in foreign trade, Latin American and Asian immigration, and the impact of Asiatic wars. Demographic changes provided a graphic example. In 1950 no western metropolitan area held more Asian immigrants than people born in either Mexico or Canada. In 1980 Asians surpassed Mexicans and Canadians in no less than thirty-five places, among them Topeka and Omaha. War activities served as the basis of African-American migration to the Far West. Atomic bomb facilities, gigantic ship-building yards, and "Silicon Valley" in San Jose illustrated new industrial trends. Smaller places, such as Bismarck and Amarillo, acquired huge hinterlands seemingly out of proportion to their size. Los Angeles epitomized a new kind of sprawling, predominately suburban city, held together by expressways and automobiles. Housing, in particular variations of the California bungalow, helped define architectural trends, contrasting with dwellings in closely packed eastern areas.

Civic promotion dominated local western politics. Especially in the San Francisco Bay Area, protest movements outside the mainstream kept alive a spirit

of frontier individualism. Abbot concludes that western cities have promoted individualism at the same time they have developed many community solutions to metropolitan growth.

This study, meticulously researched in traditional primary and secondary materials, makes an important contribution to the study of western urbanization.

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CHRISTOPHER J. CASTANEDA and JOSEPH A. PRATT.
From Texas to the East: A Strategic History of Texas Eastern Corporation. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 296. \$35.00.

The historical work of Arthur M. Johnson, John L. Loos, and M. Elizabeth Sanders on the domestic natural gas industry has provided solid ground for the topic, but an extended scholarly history of a major gas transmission company has been lacking until now. This volume by Christopher J. Castaneda and Joseph A. Pratt is a highly useful case study of Texas Eastern, from its founding after World War II until its acquisition by Panhandle Eastern Corporation in 1989.

The authors set out to accomplish two tasks: to describe the operation of "political entrepreneurship" and to explain how competitive and strategic choices were made in a highly regulated industry. Their first objective is realized, particularly in their accounts of the acquisition of Big Inch and Little Inch pipelines from the government and in the company's unsuccessful battle with railroads over the creation of a coal slurry pipeline. Later, to facilitate a grandiose thirty-two-block urban development scheme, Texas Eastern persuaded the Houston City Council to give "air rights" over city streets to the owners of adjacent property. After they chronicle this episode, the authors add wryly: "The city government was quite sympathetic to George Brown's real estate project" (p. 186).

The authors are less successful in accomplishing their other objective. The company diversified into domestic oil and gas production but discovered after the Phillips Case that this approach no longer worked with relation to interstate gas, which came under the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. Thereafter, the company diversified successfully into North Sea oil, but less successfully into propane, oil field services, and Houston real estate. It is difficult to determine the overall effect of these efforts, however, because the authors provide little data relating to financial performance.

In the end, it is easier to explain many of these projects by referring to George R. Brown, a co-founder with his brother Herman of both Texas Eastern and Brown & Root, a major construction company. From the firm's founding until his death at the beginning of 1983, George Brown was chairman of the board and later of the executive committee.

His love of vast, adventurous projects, which the authors acknowledge, explains more of the firm's activities than strategic planning. The talented executives at Texas Eastern seem to be largely occupied by realizing Brown's vision of the company, of the industry, and of Houston.

It is also likely that Brown's central role in the economic and political life of Houston made him more than ordinarily responsive to currents in the business community. Thus, he took Texas Eastern into intra-industrial diversification just when other cash-rich petroleum companies were doing so in his community and elsewhere. He was also caught up in the local mania to make Houston the city of the twenty-first century, with his plan for Houston Center.

The history of Texas Eastern is, therefore, more the story of George Brown's entrepreneurial activity than it is of strategic planning. Castaneda and Pratt provide an interesting sketch of a firm that did not begin to make a real transition from entrepreneurial to managerial control until it hired Dennis R. Hendrix, who had executive experience with Panhandle Eastern, CSX, and other corporations that were managerial and "strategic." In three years, he divested Texas Eastern of unprofitable subsidiaries with increasing reconcentration on gas transmission. In the process, he made it a tempting target for the acquisition that occurred in 1989. Although this is not what the authors set out to describe, it is ample justification for their efforts. If they can be faulted, it is for trying to fit Texas Eastern into the conceptual world of Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., although their history shows that it was a significant exception to his theories.

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CARL HUSEMOLLER NIGHTINGALE. *On the Edge: A History of Poor Black Children and Their American Dreams*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xv, 254. \$24.00.

Resurrecting an ethnographic and participant-observer approach, Carl Husemoller Nightingale joins the debate on the contemporary inner city, race, and poverty with this exploration of modern Philadelphia. The book outlines the "historical tragedy" that befell urban blacks after World War II, a tragedy reflected in hundreds of case records provided by four social welfare agencies active in the 1950s and 1960s and the author's own observations (beginning in the summer of 1987) of four extended families.

The social changes Nightingale describes are "historically unprecedented and exceptional" and include not only the "virtual disappearance of marriage as an institution among poor black people" (p. 16) but also the stressful transformation of relations between adult men and women and, especially, those between fathers and their children. A surge of fatal violence compounded and, in part, grew out of these changes.

Although commentators across the political spectrum would find little to argue with in this capsule commentary, including the assertion of historical discontinuity, Nightingale strikes out in new directions. It is the burden of his analysis to demonstrate that the young people he has studied, far from being alienated from American society, are instead the "most American of children" (p. 165). Explicitly taking on conservative "underclass" theorists, the author rejects notions of "cultural alienation" and asserts that American patterns of child-rearing and longstanding traditions of violence and racism have combined with the corporate-driven marketing of an abundant material culture and new forms of mass communication to produce a secularized culture of aggression in poverty-crushed inner cities. The combination of economic and social exclusion with cultural *inclusion* has produced a deadly mix at the point at which American hope and reality collide. Although presenting a grim portrait, the author ends on a hopeful note, suggesting that concerted efforts at employment and the propagation of an ethnically diverse "national culture of commitment and community" (p. 191) offer a way out of our present dilemma.

The evidence with regard to a few of the facets of Nightingale's argument—such as historical child-rearing practices and the impact of television, movies, other forms of popular culture, and consumerism—may be thin and somewhat speculative. And some might suggest that a revisitation of the H. Rap Brown thesis ("Violence is as American as cherry pie") as well as the author's prescriptions do little to light a new path.

Such criticisms, however, should not detract from the numerous contributions made by this book. First, Nightingale's welcome insistence on the organic unity of American society injects a note of realism into a debate that has too often segregated the races analytically as neatly as it has been done geographically. Second, Nightingale's reassertion of the importance of race and de facto segregation should compel a reexamination of the psycho-social dimensions of a problem hardly resolved by Jim Crow's demise. Third, the author's nuanced and subtle treatment of poor black families undermines structurally determined and monocausal interpretations of its transformation while successfully escorting readers through an often arcane literature. Finally, his isolation of a cyclical dynamic that focuses not on poverty but on the perpetuation of a racism that feeds off the historically conditioned self-portraits of young blacks is an insight at once brutal and unnerving.

ARNOLD R. HIRSCH
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CHARLES T. BANNER-HALEY. *The Fruits of Integration: Black Middle-Class Ideology and Culture, 1960–1990*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1994. Pp. xxvi, 232. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$16.95.

Conceived as a contribution to "the ongoing discussion of where America is going" (p. xi), this interesting but sometimes exasperating book explores aspects of the contemporary ideology and culture of African Americans whom the author, Charles T. Banner-Haley, identifies as the black middle class. Careful to place within historical perspective the diverse ideas emanating from this class during the last three decades, this work emphasizes the persistence of themes and tensions first articulated by W. E. B. Du Bois in explaining the double consciousness of African Americans. Convinced that the fruits of the civil rights revolution and the federal initiatives that accompanied it were at once sweet and bitter, Banner-Haley argues that the contemporary black middle class has tasted both. Wedded to liberal capitalism despite its inherent inequalities, this class figured prominently in the civil rights revolution and had its ranks expanded as a result, only to find itself in the post-revolution era alienated from the larger black community and mired in an identity crisis.

Because the contemporary black middle class is burdened by "an uneasy tension between enjoying the fruits of integration, on the one hand, and retaining one's racial identity and resisting assimilation, on the other" (p. 169), Banner-Haley maintains, it often exhibits a confusion of purpose and vision. Such confusion is hardly surprising, since the middle class, as defined here, is so broad and includes so many cultural, political, and economic subgroups. Although the author claims to subscribe to Edward Pessen's definition of class, the black middle class of this study more nearly conforms to the economic definition in Bart Landry's *New Black Middle Class* (1987) and appears to embrace virtually all African Americans above the lowest economic stratum.

To document the tension and diversity characteristic of the middle class, Banner-Haley draws on the rhetoric and writings of individuals across the ideological spectrum, including civil rights activists, intellectuals, literati, musicians, and movie and television stars. He views black neoconservatives, such as Thomas Sowell and Glenn Loury, for example, as "a significant part of the fruits of integration" (p. 80). Regardless of their ideological stance, he concludes, members of the black middle class are moving toward "integrative cultural diversity," a phrase used throughout this volume. It apparently refers to the inclusion of African Americans in the national culture with their racial identity intact. The author argues that the middle class has enjoyed "the greatest fruit of integration" (p. 80) in the cultural realm, especially literature, music, film, and television, which indicates "an ideological shift toward an inversion of the integrationist ethic" (p. 164). His analyses of developments in these areas, especially music, underscore his point that "Afro-America [is] a widely diverse, sometimes volatile, sometimes confused but always creative nation within a nation, striving to create a new vision of America" (p. 173).

This book will undoubtedly elicit a wide range of responses, but to read it is to be reminded of the rich diversity of African-American culture and of its presence in and contribution to American identity.

WILLARD B. GATEWOOD
University of Arkansas

JAMES R. RALPH, JR. *Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago, and the Civil Rights Movement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 338. \$27.95.

This book is a well-researched, thoughtful, and detailed account of the attempt of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to move their southern-based civil rights movement into the urban North. From January 1966 until May 1967 King and the SCLC worked in Chicago to confront the city's northern brand of ghetto racism, using many of the same tactics that had been employed so successfully in Selma and Birmingham to overcome the South's system of legal racism. The Chicago contest was the greatest of the non-southern civil rights struggles. It pitted King and the SCLC, at the peak of their moral, political, and financial strength, against a vast, complex, and many-sided city presided over by Mayor Richard Daley, one of the last and most powerful of the old-line city bosses.

The story has great dramatic potential: the clash of the titans in the city of the big shoulders. Fortunately, James R. Ralph, Jr., is too well informed and too good a social historian to fall into this tempting trap. Ralph's detailed analysis of the seventeen-month campaign in Chicago examines how King and a host of other important civil rights leaders sought to transform their old southern-based campaign for legal and political equality into the vastly more complex northern arena of de facto segregation and ghetto racism. This type of racism, woven inextricably into the fabric of the city's entire economy and social life, was deplored by many white Chicagoans, including Mayor Daley. Chicago was a city that short-changed its African-American residents in many different ways, but the patterns and mechanisms were often much more subtle and diffused than they were in Selma or Birmingham.

Compared to the enormous effort by King, the SCLC, and a number of sympathetic white Chicagoans, the results of the campaign were fairly modest. The picture that unfolds in Ralph's detailed chronicle of the Chicago campaign is a fascinating and sad story of the failure of the SCLC to fully grasp how different Chicago was from the southern cities they knew; and also how different Chicago's one million African-American residents were from their southern counterparts. Many of Chicago's African-American leaders gave only lukewarm support to King and a number quietly opposed him as an outside interloper. Even more serious, argues Ralph, was the SCLC's decision to launch a broad attack on the entire

racial-economic system of the city; the rallying cry being to "end slums" (p. 51). The economic issues that lay at the heart of Chicago's poverty-stricken and dispirited black ghettos were certainly to an important degree the result of direct economic discrimination, but they also stemmed from a host of educational, structural, cultural, and financial issues that could not even be readily understood, much less acted on. When the SCLC narrowed its focus to open housing, the issue quickly became enmeshed in larger social, economic, and cultural arguments that lacked the moral clarity of the South's Jim Crow laws or the denial of the right to vote. King's great achievement was the elimination of legal segregation. When he turned to de facto segregation, open housing, jobs, and poverty in a huge city like Chicago, his movement stumbled in the socioeconomic labyrinth they had entered. Ralph's excellent study of the manner in which King, Daley, and a wide variety of Chicago's men and women interacted to address the racial components of these very intricate issues makes a fine contribution to the history of the civil rights movement and to the incredibly complex saga of American race relations.

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD
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DAVID H. WELBORN. *Regulation in the White House: The Johnson Presidency*. (An Administrative History of the Johnson Presidency Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1993. Pp. x, 354. \$45.00.

Twentieth-century U.S. history has produced a number of formidable political figures, but none has been so identified with the exercise of power as Lyndon B. Johnson. After leaving the White House, Johnson observed proudly that he had used every ounce of presidential power available to him. The so-called "Johnson treatment" appeared to be only the most visible manifestation of a powerful urge to dominate others and produce results. Johnson's admirers extolled him as a workaholic master of the governmental process, and his detractors inverted the image to see a hyperactive wheeler-dealer; power was central to both conceptions. David M. Welborn provides yet another take on Johnson's exercise of power in a detailed examination of LBJ's performance as manager of the regulatory state.

Welborn brings a political scientist's perspective to the study of federal regulation during the Johnson years, and he accordingly emphasizes structure and process more than a historian might. The regulatory system he analyzes connects the White House to the independent regulatory commissions (such as the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Trade Commission) and to those executive agencies charged with regulatory responsibilities (such as the departments of Justice and Agriculture). In his discussion of substantive policy issues, the author gives

special attention to antitrust and to the administration's regulatory innovations, which included both foreshadowings of deregulation and the development of "new" social regulation that addressed environmental concerns and consumer issues.

Although the new regulation owed much to congressional champions such as Edmund Muskie and consumer gadflies such as Ralph Nader, Welborn locates a distinctly Johnsonian policy agenda in its emergence. On the whole, however, Johnson was largely indifferent to routine regulatory matters. Those that touched on macroeconomic concerns, especially economic stability, sometimes elicited strong presidential interest and intervention, but LBJ's regulatory style remained essentially *ad hoc* and desultory.

In the spirit of his discipline, Welborn concludes by elaborating a model that seeks to isolate the factors that determined presidential involvement in regulatory activity: duty, political compulsion, and the need to resolve disagreements elsewhere in the system. The greater the combined weight of these factors in any instance, the greater the likelihood of Johnson's involvement. Not surprisingly, duty and compulsion were determinative. In other words, what counted was "what the president was required to handle and what seemed politically necessary to handle" (p. 266).

Historians will likely be less impressed with Welborn's explanatory model than with his wide-ranging archival research and his subtle overall portrait of Johnson's shrewd, adept, sophisticated, and reticent use of power. As a regulator, Johnson wielded his power sparingly and with considerable discretion, and Welborn concludes that the administration "was much more relaxed and less convoluted and compulsive in regulation than it is depicted to have been in other areas" (p. 275). Welborn's assessment is thus at odds with conventional wisdom, but it is one that biographers and historians of the Johnson presidency will in the future have to take into account.

ROBERT M. COLLINS
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Columbia

ROBERT D. KAPLAN. *The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite*. New York: Free Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 333. \$24.95.

If we accept Robert D. Kaplan's interpretation, an "Ugly American" is not one who cares too little about a foreign culture, but rather too much. Kaplan attributes many failures of U.S. policy in the Middle East to Arabists, those "men and women . . . who read and speak Arabic and who have passed many years of their professional lives, with their families, in the Arab world" (p. 7). These American missionaries and educators, and later on diplomats, suffered from "localitis." More comfortable with Arabs than with fellow Americans, they lost sight of the interests of

their own nation, adopting unrealistic views of the world around them.

In an interesting narrative, Kaplan traces the roots of this phenomenon to the mid-nineteenth-century missionaries, who made Beirut (and the American University they founded there) their home away from home. "Arab nationalism grew up out of this university" (p. 37), and because it has proven perverse, argues Kaplan, the missionaries and their descendants are to blame. The missionaries passed on their affection for the Arabs to their children and to diplomats whom they trained in Beirut, and so the virus spread and strengthened from generation to generation. Infatuated with the people and the place, they saw only good where evil abounded. Such misunderstanding culminated tragically in the "debacle" of Iraq in 1990, when U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie, a noted Arabist, let herself believe she could somehow influence Saddam Hussein's behavior for the better.

Kaplan's argument rests on the belief that Arabists have been "the secret drivers of American Middle East policy since the end of World War II" (p. 9). The evidence is not convincing. Middle East policy making has centered in Washington, not in the field, and in the White House at that, where there have been precious few Arabists.

Kaplan rails against an idealism that has always been a feature of U.S. foreign policy. Like other realists, I suspect, he would be happier if this competing world view simply disappeared. But that would be a tragedy, for it helps define what it means to be an American.

Another issue concerns Arabist views toward Israel. Over the years their criticisms have been sharp. For some Israel represented a defeat for Arab nationalism, a foreign intrusion onto Arab land. For others (such as Loy Henderson, an important American diplomat with little previous experience in the region), support for Israel would undermine U.S. security by driving the Arabs into the arms of the Soviets. On this issue both varieties of Arabists joined forces. They were unable to dissuade President Harry S. Truman in 1948 from recognizing Israel, and they were bitter. Kaplan makes a good point when he argues that many Arabists accepted stereotypes about Israelis that they would never tolerate about Arabs. He says that the time has come to bury the hatchet, and he is right. Unfortunately, Kaplan contributes little to the healing process, for he comes uncomfortably close to endorsing the old canard that links Arabists with anti-Semitism. Repeatedly he insinuates "a pattern of possible prejudice" (p. 89). Such statements only stimulate antagonisms.

Overall, Kaplan presents so many negative images of the Arab Middle East that the reader will find little there to admire or respect. All of which makes Arabists appear even more foolish and naive.

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BRENDA GAYLE PLUMMER. *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1992. Pp. 303. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.50.

It is not easy to encompass two hundred years of U.S. relations with Haiti in several hundred pages, but Brenda Gayle Plummer manages it, incorporating as well much background material that she sees as relevant to the story. The dominant theme of her book is racism, which shaded the relationship since the late eighteenth century. In addition, she considers images, perceptions, ethnocentrism, and the comparative size and geographical proximity of the two nations as significant factors in shaping their relationship. And she regretfully concludes that "western liberalism gradually replaced the republican community [of Haitians] with the marketplace as the basic social system" (p. 7).

The Haitian-U.S. relationship was burdened with suspicion and distrust from the beginning. The Haitians in revolt adopted antislavery and anti-imperialist guidelines. And U.S. merchant and agricultural elites, which were disturbed at the radicalism of the French Revolution, were also wary of the potential for French and Haitian radicalism to enter the U.S. South through its numerous ports. Because foreign policy is rooted in domestic policy, Plummer's broad international approach to Haitian-U.S. relations transcends bilateralism and incorporates not only domestic background information from Haiti and the United States but also material from the whole Caribbean, especially Santo Domingo and Cuba, and from France. Recalling U.S. domestic division over slavery and the place of freedmen in society facilitates understanding the ambivalent, patriarchal U.S. policy toward Haiti in the nineteenth century. Haitian intellectuals responded to U.S. treatment, but racism made it easy for Western scholars to largely ignore the Haitian writings on expansion, on Haiti's relationship to the West, and on the best routes for Haitian development.

It was hardly accidental that the U.S. government began to occupy and invade parts of the Caribbean in the first two decades of the twentieth century as it undertook to dig a ditch across the isthmian territory that it had ripped from Colombian possession. Haitians had expected to reap profits from any interoceanic transit, but the U.S. government was unwilling to entrust national well-being to Haitian politicians, so instead U.S. Marines occupied the island, slaughtered large numbers of Haitians, and the national businesses slowly fell under foreign sway. If Haiti were to profit from the canal, it would be foreign investors in Haiti who gained most.

About 1916, Assistant Secretary of State Francis M. Huntington Wilson reminded his colleagues that idealism was an aspect of democratic appearance (to win support at home), but reality at home and abroad was expansion to sustain accumulation of wealth and power and to secure adequate growth to satisfy the

material expectations of middle-class and working-class people. One problem was the occasional need to allow (or more rarely use) brutal action to stifle swelling dissatisfaction and disorder on the periphery. Plummer describes some of this brutality during the U.S. occupation and suppression of dissent in Haiti in the period from 1915 to 1920. In such intrusions of U.S. alien power, the worst elements and characteristics of Haiti (or other host societies) were promoted because the U.S. government sought order and stability, not a humane, democratic, or just society. At stake were order and stability—under the rubric of national security—in the Caribbean and Central America as the U.S. canal in Panama neared completion. U.S. officials accepted the unsavory conduct of its forces and Haitian compradors in Haiti because police power promised stability in contrast to the uncertainty of health and education policies and programs to trickle down.

Plummer's book is diverse; various chapters highlight subthemes and variations of themes. This book will not replace Rayford Logan's *Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776–1891* (1941), a detailed study of nineteenth-century relations. Plummer's volume, however, is richer in interpretation and new insights, and takes a broader cultural approach to the relationship, and it also devotes much attention to the twentieth century. She has laid out various paths for scholars to follow. Even if some prove to be false leads, the prospect is bright for many rewarding forays.

THOMAS SCHOONOVER
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ALLAN R. MILLETT. *In Many a Strife: General Gerald C. Thomas and the U.S. Marine Corps, 1917–1956*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1993. Pp. xxiv, 456. \$39.95.

Gerald C. Thomas enlisted in the Marine Corps as a private in May 1917. He survived the fighting on the western front to receive a commission toward the end of World War I and, because he found military life appealing, remained in the service at war's end. During the interwar period he received a fairly typical mix of shore, shipboard, overseas, and school assignments, and in the process acquired a solid professional education, a soon-to-be important patron, Alexander Vandegrift, and an equally important friend, Lemuel Shepard. Although not a leader in the efforts to develop amphibious doctrine and equipment, Thomas understood the importance of these reforms and early mastered the techniques of planning amphibious operations. During the Guadalcanal campaign in World War II, he served first as operations officer and then chief of staff to Vandegrift in the 1st Marine Division. Thomas accompanied the older officer to Washington to serve as director of Marine Corps operations when Vandegrift became commandant of the Corps. During the postwar unification

controversy, Thomas marshaled the Marine Corps response from behind the scenes. He subsequently commanded the 1st Marine Division during the second year of the Korean War, became assistant commandant of the Corps under Shepard, served as commandant of the Marine Corps Schools at Quantico, and came out of retirement to direct the National Security Council's net assessment under President Dwight Eisenhower.

Allan R. Millett has written what is certain to be the definitive biography of Gerald Thomas, a "life-and-times" study on a grand scale. Millett focuses on the texture of Thomas's career, his intellectual development, and the friendships, enmities, and cliques that aided or retarded his advancement. Very little of Thomas's personality and only the bald facts of his personal life come through. Thomas is very much subsumed by the institution of which he is a member. The result is a biography from the inside looking out rather than—as Hans Schmidt's study of Smedley Butler (*Maverick Marine* [1987])—from the outside looking in. The text is suffused with Thomas's—and Millett's—affection for the Corps.

Such a perspective lends both strengths and weaknesses to the biography. Drawing on his own experiences as a Marine, Millett limns a sensitive and understanding account of Thomas's experiences as an enlisted man in boot camp and the killing fields of Belleau Wood and Soissons. Millett's description of the subtle interaction between Vandegrift and Thomas on Guadalcanal is one of the best available discussions of the role of a chief of staff in combat. The account of the service politics that led to the relief of Clovis Byers during the Korean War is equally sophisticated. On the down side, Millett's acceptance of a Marine Corps perspective on all issues obscures the fact that other interpretations of controversial matters—such as unification—are possible. This volume, nevertheless, can only solidify Millett's reputation as one of the leading military historians.

EDGAR F. RAINES, JR.
U.S. Army Center of Military History

H. W. BRANDS. *The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 243. \$25.00.

Victories are like lunches: there is no such thing as a free one. In his sixth book in as many years, H. W. Brands has attempted a calculation of what it cost the United States to win the Cold War. His answer, not surprisingly, is quite a lot.

Brands rejects the claim, still bandied about by a few historians, that the Soviet "threat" was never much more than a myth put forward by the American military-industrial complex to justify its own expansionist designs. Joseph Stalin was not Adolf Hitler, but Soviet expansionism did threaten the postwar balance of power in Europe. The United States, Brands thinks, did the right thing in seeking to contain it.

Where he sees American leaders as having erred is in their *portrayal* of Stalin as Hitler, a tactic they used to overcome domestic and international resistance to containment. Having seen how well the analogy worked, Washington officials then extended it so widely as to convince themselves that there were little Hitlers—which is to say unappeasably malevolent influences—behind every bush and under every bed. The result was a long and lamentable series of excesses, ranging from McCarthyism through a massive accumulation of unusable weaponry, association with Third World dictators, FBI and CIA abuses, a disastrous war in Vietnam, and ultimately a perversion of the ideals for which the nation was supposed to stand.

Brands is careful not to fall into American exceptionalism in making this argument: the Soviet Union's record, he acknowledges, was in many ways even worse. But he does see a kind of symmetry at work here: the United States, like the Stalinist system George F. Kennan described in his "X" article of 1947, came to depend on the existence of a credible external adversary. The Cold War so simplified difficult issues, foreign and domestic, that when opportunities to end that contest arose, as with detente during the 1970s, "Americans loved the Cold War too much to let it go" (p. 163). The United States may therefore have prolonged the great confrontation, even if it did not start it.

But Brands is generalizing here about an international system on the basis of how only one of its units behaved. He says less than he might about the extent to which the Soviet leadership's dependence on an outside adversary may also have stretched out the Cold War. The fact that Brands, like many others, gives Mikhail Gorbachev credit for depriving the United States of an adversary suggests that Gorbachev's predecessors may have needed one too.

The story Brands tells, like his slightly one-sided methodology, will come as no surprise to other Cold War historians. But Brands is aiming here at a wider audience, and his book should work well for that purpose. He writes briskly and colorfully, with only occasional entanglement in extravagant metaphor: he refers at one point, breathtakingly, to the "peculiarly Democratic disease of creeping communophobia" (p. 83). Brands raises serious questions about the extent to which the Cold War became, for Americans, an end in itself; that argument, in turn, helps to account for post-Cold War disarray we have seen in George Bush's and Bill Clinton's foreign policies. And it certainly never hurts, even when the menu is a familiar one, to keep track of what the lunch, sooner or later, is going to cost.

JOHN LEWIS GADDIS
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FEDERICO ROMERO. *The United States and the European Trade Union Movement, 1944–1951*. Translated by

HARVEY FERGUSON II. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 292. \$39.95.

Numerous diplomatic historians have addressed the history of relations between the United States and its Western European allies in the early Cold War years, but rarely in the innovative manner Federico Romero employs in this book. His study traces the evolution of U.S. policy, formulated in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and in part with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), toward Western European labor and its representative organizations. By importing American-style collective bargaining and economies of scale from which the lower classes could also benefit, the Americans believed they could eliminate communist-inspired class struggle and attain political stability in Europe. To that end, the Americans spent considerable amounts of money in Western Europe, but with mixed results, Romero argues. The effects of American policy are carefully gauged in an in-depth case study of Italian trade unions. Because the book supposedly covers the whole Western European trade union movement, it may appear awkward to include only one such case study. But for most contemporary historians the documentary evidence is quantitatively overwhelming, and we are all compelled to pick and choose. My only regret is that Romero could not add more such well-argued case studies. Italy's case, although by no means typical, is very illuminating.

Romero amply demonstrates that schemes hatched in America for the remaking of Western European industrial relations were quite abstract or based solely on the American experience. They could not be applied successfully in a country such as Italy where political culture was not only different but also deeply rooted in Italy's own industrial development. If American-style cooperation between business and labor could not supplant traditionally conflicting class relations in Italy, Romero demonstrates it was because Italian industry had always thrived on low labor costs and reaping profits from exports. Empowering Italian workers with higher wages, as the American unions favored, would have meant raising costs beyond the Italian business community's ability to compete abroad in the immediate post-World War II period. Moreover, the Americans supported a conservative government, whose political health was based on middle-class support, which in turn meant maintaining the traditional division of social classes as it was. Thus, the Harry S. Truman administration and the AFL sacrificed their advocacy of reform in Italy for the containment of communism that Italian conservative cabinets assured. America appears far less mighty and far more constrained by its own Cold War rhetoric, even in relatively weak Italy, than many revisionist Cold War historians have assumed. Yet in Romero's work there is a tinge of revisionism: the Truman administration, with the willing assistance of the AFL, managed to precipitate and deepen the split within

European labor ranks that finally destroyed the center-left, antifascist labor alliance that had emerged from the war. Some Americans, then, did play an inauspicious role in terms of East-West relations, but they were representatives of American labor, not of the allegedly exploitative big business. This is ironic, and Romero highlights the paradox it produced; AFL-sponsored creation of "free" (noncommunist) trade unions in Italy did not help woo Italian labor to a pro-American stance. Instead, the "free" trade unionists appeared to betray the interests of a very low paid labor force by supporting a conservative government that undertook no initiatives to improve workers' standards of living.

This book is thoroughly researched in archives both in the United States and Italy, something that relatively few Cold War diplomatic historians actually have done. It is must reading for all who seek a more sophisticated understanding of how countries interact, each under the influence of its own political culture.

CHIARELLA ESPOSITO
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HOWARD B. SCHAFER. *Chester Bowles: New Dealer in the Cold War*. (An Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Book.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 387. \$29.95.

Rarely has an ambassadorial appointment been more inspired than when President Harry S. Truman sent Chester Bowles to India in 1951. During the next two years Bowles added luster to a career already marked by success as an advertising executive, head of the Office of Price Administration, and governor of Connecticut. As a highly visible ambassador, Bowles established a remarkable rapport with India's often prickly Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, developed a sympathetic understanding of India's economic problems and its policy of nonalignment, and became a vigorous advocate of India's importance to the United States in the Cold War. Bowles, who was just fifty-two when his ambassadorship ended, seemed destined for greater prominence, perhaps as secretary of state, which was his ultimate ambition. Yet the first India ambassadorship proved to be the highlight of his diplomatic career, for thereafter Bowles was repeatedly frustrated in his efforts to influence U.S. foreign policy.

Howard B. Schaffer, who served on the New Delhi embassy staff during Bowles's second term as ambassador in the 1960s and was later U.S. ambassador to Bangladesh, has written a sympathetic and insightful account of Bowles's public life. Schaffer's respect for Bowles does not blind him to Bowles's flaws and misjudgments.

Returning home in 1953, Bowles wrote and lectured tirelessly about the need for the United States to give greater emphasis to economic development and to identify more fully with the peoples of the

Third World. His search for a political base was undermined by bitter infighting within the Connecticut Democratic Party and by his own miscalculations. Having missed opportunities to run for governor and senator, he finally did return to public life in 1958 when he was elected to the House of Representatives.

Ironically, Bowles's greatest frustration came when Democrats recaptured the White House. In his quest for Bowles's support during the struggle for the Democratic Party nomination, John F. Kennedy dangled the secretary of state position. The relationship with the Kennedys, however, was always strained by mutual distrust and by Bowles's diffidence. Passed over in favor of Dean Rusk, Bowles became under secretary of state, but he quickly fell from favor for evidently leaking to the media his reservations about the ill-fated Bay of Pigs operation. The "Thanksgiving massacre" shunted him to the sidelines as Kennedy's "special representative and adviser" on Third World matters. That ill-defined position lasted for little more than a year before Kennedy prevailed on him to return to New Delhi. Bowles's diplomatic career thus ended where it had begun so gloriously. The second ambassadorial term, which lasted from 1963 to 1969, was less successful than the first. Although still popular with Indians, Bowles returned with his career in decline and at a time when India was becoming less important to the United States.

Bowles's greatest shortcoming was that he was too much the "idea man." Kennedy and Rusk were justifiably upset that as under secretary, he failed to manage the State Department. Bowles thrived on writing memos, but often his plans were so elaborate as to be impractical in dealing with immediate policy problems. Bowles's "localitis" also made him far too predictable in his uncritical support of India, which one State Department official called "Chet's fatal flaw." Consequently, his superiors in Washington paid less and less attention to the lengthy missives from New Delhi.

Bowles, who died in 1986, was thus a tragic figure. Schaffer deserves high praise for this carefully crafted and thoughtful portrait of Bowles.

GARY R. HESS
Bowling Green State University

FREDERICK W. MARKS III. *Power and Peace: The Diplomacy of John Foster Dulles*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1993. Pp. xiv, 266. \$49.95.

In his introduction, Frederick W. Marks III explains that he wrote this book to "redress a long-standing imbalance" (p. xi). John Foster Dulles, he writes, has never received the proper recognition for his foreign policy accomplishments as secretary of state (1953–59). Unfortunately, in his effort to prove his point Marks weakens his case by not allowing Dulles a single policy error.

This study is organized thematically, which requires

the reader to have more than a passing knowledge of U.S. foreign relations in the 1950s. Events do not appear in any chronological fashion but are used to illustrate the conclusions of the seven chapters, which have titles such as "The Man and the Myth" and "The Mind of the Secretary."

In his effort to revise Dulles's position in history, Marks necessarily reinterprets the views of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the events of the Cold War, and the decisions that followed. Although he concedes that Eisenhower brought unusual expertise to his position, Marks's neglect of his contributions clearly indicates his belief that Dulles was the major player. Dulles and Eisenhower worked well together, he states, but he completely reinterprets their relationship. It is "erroneous" to assume that Dulles "outdid Eisenhower in hawkishness" (p. 25). Instead, Dulles was often a restraining influence. It may well be true that Dulles was far less willing to consider nuclear solutions and that Eisenhower was more aggressive in his encouragement of the tactical use of military force, but Marks stretches the point too far when he delves into the Suez crisis and Vietnam. Eager to disprove Dulles's hawkish reputation, he emphasizes that it was Dulles who opposed U.S. intervention in Dien Bien Phu.

Marks seems determined to absolve Dulles of responsibility for the covert actions in Guatemala and Iran. The latter was a British action, the former was an indigenous coup with only the peripheral help of the CIA rather than an action precipitated by the CIA.

Although much of the evidence in the book illustrates Dulles's obsession with the Soviet Union and international communism, Marks insists that Dulles was a man of liberal views and possessed an understanding of the distinction between communists and others of the Left. Far from being a rigid man, he enjoyed the pleasures in life and had a keen sense of humor. He was not an alarmist. His rhetoric was largely designed to appease the rabid Right of his own party and to provide the fear that was the "cement" holding together the Western alliance (p. 49).

This volume is the product of prodigious research. The sixty-nine pages of notes represent collections in four countries, yet, ironically, the very abundance of these notes make the task of attribution almost impossible. Also, his use of sources is highly idiosyncratic. Marks relies heavily on oral history transcripts and memoirs. He cites British records but not those of the United States and uses information gleaned from monographs when original documents are readily accessible, leading him in at least one instance to incorrect information.

Unfortunately, Marks does not redress the imbalance and lead to a reevaluation of Dulles, because his book itself is so imbalanced. Dulles had successes, but he also had failures that, in spite of all his efforts, Marks cannot justifiably turn into successes. Scholars

will have to wait a little longer for the definitive book on Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

ANNA KASTEN NELSON
American University

DAVID M. BARRETT. *Uncertain Warriors: Lyndon Johnson and His Vietnam Advisers*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. xii, 279. \$35.00.

How could an American president as shrewd as Lyndon Johnson, surrounded by equally shrewd advisers, have made such bad decisions on the Vietnam War? Many have concluded that the president's advisory system was to blame, and most find Johnson himself responsible for fashioning a system that was designed to foreclose debate, limit policy options, and reinforce his hawkish preferences. Former advisers, confidantes, and scholars—James David Barber, John P. Burke and Fred I. Greenstein, and especially Larry Berman—have argued that Johnson deliberately insulated himself from critical views of the war. He ignored, patronized, or domesticated dissenters. Secretive and suspicious, LBJ created an inner circle of hawkish true believers, and thus assured himself that he would be told what he wanted to hear.

David M. Barrett consigns this popular interpretation to the realm of myth, or very nearly so. Barrett argues that Johnson was in fact open to a variety of views on the war. In extended examinations of three case studies—the decision to increase significantly the number of U.S. combat troops in Vietnam in July 1965, discussions of yet another troop increase in March 1967, and the administration's response to the Tet Offensive during early 1968—Barrett finds the president buffeted by opinions that he himself solicited. The true believers were there, of course, urging Johnson to "take the war to the north," as Abe Fortas put it. But so were others, more doubtful of American chances for success in Vietnam. Robert McNamara soured on the war during 1967, and Dean Rusk quietly guided the president toward a decision to stop bombing most of North Vietnam in 1968. Johnson also listened to skeptics who stood outside the formal policy-making circle, including Clark Clifford and Senator Richard Russell. Even Norman Cousins, a sharp critic of the war, got nearly two hours of the president's time in the midst of the crisis following Tet.

How have most scholars missed this? First, they have been less thorough than Barrett, who has made good use of the Russell Papers and the meeting notes of LBJ's deputy press secretary, Tom Johnson. Second, others have claimed that the president's feverish secrecy was designed to terrorize his advisers and keep policy options to a minimum. Instead, Barrett contends, secrecy paradoxically allowed Johnson to consult widely and weigh options freely by preserving the confidentiality of those whose ideas he might ultimately reject. Finally, most scholars have assumed

that a rational and open advisory system could not have produced such a terrible policy. Barrett agrees that a terrible policy it was, but he places the blame for it elsewhere, on LBJ's—and nearly everyone else's—Cold War world view.

Barrett exaggerates his case a bit. He assumes that access to the president amounted to influence, which is naive. Barrett also underestimates LBJ's willingness to rig the decision-making process to produce desired outcomes. During the July 1965 discussions of troop increases, for example, Johnson at one point posed for his advisers three alternatives: "bug out;" maintain current commitment levels and "lose slowly;" or add 100,000 men. Guess which choice was made?

On the whole, however, Barrett successfully undermines the standard view of Johnson's decision-making process. His book is an important reinterpretation of how the American war in Vietnam escalated. Persuasively argued and clearly written, the study will reshape the ongoing debate over what went wrong during the critical years 1965–68. It may also change our view of Johnson. The president was no Caligula, as Barrett puts it. From the first he was troubled by the war; he told his aide Bill Moyers, "I feel like a hitchhiker in a Texas hail storm—I can't run, I can't hide, and I can't make it stop." By 1968 he was in agony, torn by the conflicting advice he had so willingly sought.

ANDREW J. ROTTER
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LUCIEN S. VANDENBROUCKE. *Perilous Options: Special Operations as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 257. \$35.00.

A former foreign service officer trained in history as well as political science, Lucien S. Vandenbroucke defines special operations as "[s]mall-scale, clandestine, covert or overt operations of an unorthodox and frequently high-risk nature, undertaken to achieve significant political or military objectives in support of foreign policy objectives." Frequently executed by highly skilled personnel who must overcome inherent time and resource constraints, they are characterized by "either simplicity or complexity," by "subtlety and imagination," and by the "discriminate use of violence" (p. 184 n. 3). In the post-Cold War environment, U.S. policy makers will no doubt be sorely tempted to use such unconventional ventures in an effort to find quick fixes for intractable problems. They should read this book.

Vandenbroucke examines four cases: John F. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs fiasco; the raid on Sontay, which Richard Nixon approved to rescue prisoners of war in North Vietnam; Gerald Ford's effort to free the U.S.S. *Mayaguez* and its crew held by Cambodia; and Jimmy Carter's abortive mission to liberate the hostages in Iran. Each mission to one degree or another came to grief, and Vandenbroucke identifies com-

mon explanations for the outcomes. These include faulty intelligence, poor interagency and interservice cooperation and coordination, a decision-making system plagued by flawed advice and wishful thinking, and micromanagement by both civilian and military leaders far removed from the theater of operations. Vandenbroucke prescribes procedures to ameliorate these difficulties, but he is not sanguine about the prospects for eradicating them.

It is difficult to argue with Vandenbroucke's judgments. Furthermore, his book makes for good reading and entertaining lectures. I nevertheless found it substantively and conceptually problematic. Some of the shortcomings are, lamentably, beyond the author's control. There is simply too little documentary evidence available on the Sontay, *Mayaguez*, and Iran operations. Vandenbroucke relentlessly acquired what he could, but he still had to rely extensively on oral testimony, which in cases such as these must be viewed with even greater suspicion than is routine for historians.

The Bay of Pigs, for which documentation is far superior, receives the most comprehensive treatment and generates the greatest number of lessons. This strength, however, represents the book's fundamental weakness. Vandenbroucke's definition of special operations notwithstanding, I remain unconvinced that the Bay of Pigs is comparable to the other three cases. On the one hand, its success depended largely on political and psychological warfare, a criteria Vandenbroucke avers disqualified the earlier project in Guatemala from inclusion. On the other hand, its military dimensions, as made clear by the rout of 2506 Brigade, were counterproductively conventional. Moreover, the composition and training of the invading strike force, its tactical mission to establish three beachheads, and Washington's strategic objective of overthrowing Fidel Castro's regime, distinguish the character of Operation Zapata from the *Mayaguez*, Sontay, and Iran raids. Vandenbroucke further obscures this issue by irregularly modifying "special operations" with "strategic."

I also wish Vandenbroucke had provided a more comparative perspective. Did these operations run amok because of something unique to the United States? Or were the odds against success just too great? This is a suggestive study, but asking broader questions would have made it more compelling.

RICHARD H. IMMERMANN
Temple University

CANADA

GARTH STEVENSON. *Ex Uno Plures: Federal-Provincial Relations in Canada, 1867–1896*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 401. \$44.95.

Written by a political scientist, this book is what it says it is. Political science, indeed, suggests both the book's limits and its considerable strengths. Analysis

rather than dialectic is what Garth Stevenson aims at; the texture of the past and the passions, prejudices, and predilections of the women and men who made it cuts across his grain. As Stevenson puts it in the preface, "The historical literature, while it casts light on many of the conflicts between the dominion and particular provinces, failed to consider in a satisfactory way the mutual impact of issues and institutions, on the ways in which conflicts were dealt with and resolved" (p. ix).

The book's subject is one that most historians of Canada know fairly well. It is a summing up, a current view of the subject, not stunningly original except in direction and purpose. For historians, the first half of the book gives a sense of *déjà vu*, not helped by there being no bibliography. The preface is undated. Only the notes suggest what Stevenson has been up to. The research, however, in primary sources especially, has been effective and far-ranging.

The provenance of the book is Stevenson's fascination with political and constitutional practice rather than political theory, the darling of younger political scientists. The first four chapters work through dominion-provincial relations, province by province, systematically and not unfairly. Although the book's method makes for occasional threshing of fairly well-worn straw, the argument is clear-headed and sensible. American historians who do not know Canadian history well should find the narrative refreshing. Although of necessity it is partly bereft of its full historical and thus human context, it is saved from being arid by a nice mastery of language and flashes of humor.

Having begun with a new look at old issues, the book gets better as it goes. Chapters 7 to 13, on the inner functioning of federal-provincial relations, issues, processes, and institutions, are thoughtful and rewarding: the lieutenant governor as a federal officer; federal disallowance of provincial legislation, something both Alexander Hamilton and James Madison brought to Philadelphia in 1787 but which got left behind on the floor; a sensible and fair-minded chapter on constitutional interpretations both in Canada and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. As a biographer of Sir John Thompson, a Canadian minister of justice (1885–94) and prime minister (1892–94), I was delighted and chagrined to find in this last chapter an apt and forthright condemnation of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1886 by Thompson in a letter to the governor general (p. 297). My research had missed it; Stevenson's had not.

In a work so comprehensive, Stevenson has remarkable surefootedness. It is singularly free of errors. One would, however, be remiss in not pointing out that Alexander Galt, the principal representative of Anglophone Quebec, is underestimated, both as the financier of confederation and its guarantor for Anglo-Quebeckers against the perennial threat of a provincial French-Canadian majority (p. 7). One

should add, too, that although the British North America Act of 1867 that set up the Dominion of Canada as a federal state did not actually establish a Supreme Court, it nevertheless provided for one in Section 101 (p. 231). In the famous case of *Barrett v. Winnipeg* (p. 154), it might have been pointed out that the Supreme Court of Canada supported the Canadian government's reading of the case, a decision dramatically overturned in 1892 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London.

One final, minor comment: Stevenson remarks, almost as *obiter dicta*, that the Canadian postal service in this period "does not seem to have been much slower . . . than it is today" (p. 189). In fact it was often much faster. In the 1870s the prime minister, Alexander Mackenzie, could write a letter from Ottawa to Toronto on a Friday morning and expect a reply by Saturday evening. With two or three deliveries a day, mail was fast and efficient and was expected to be so.

This book is well worth having; it is a *vade mecum* that outsiders, unfamiliar with the jungle of federal-provincial relations, should find extremely useful. Insiders, however knowledgeable, can also use the succinct briefing given by this Baedeker guide to Canadian constitutional life and practice.

P. B. WAITE

Dalhousie University

BARRY FERGUSON. *Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O. D. Skelton, W. C. Clark, and W. A. Mackintosh, 1890–1925*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 303. \$44.95.

In the history of the relations between the government and the university in Canada, the department of political economy of Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, occupies an honored place. In this important study Barry Ferguson shows why. The four men whose thought and careers Ferguson examines were scholars and public servants. The senior member of the group was Adam Shortt. Appointed to Queen's in 1886, he resigned in 1908 from what was still a small Presbyterian college—the church tie was severed in 1912—in order to join the Civil Service Commission in Ottawa. Shortt left behind his protégé, Oscar Douglas Skelton. The central figure in this book, Skelton in turn left for Ottawa in 1925 to become undersecretary of state for external affairs, a position he held until his death in 1941. William Clifford Clark taught at Queen's from 1916 to 1923 and from 1930 to 1932, when he went to Ottawa to become deputy minister of finance. Finally, William Archibald Mackintosh joined Queen's in 1919 and spent most of his working life there, eventually serving as principal for ten years after 1951. He worked in Ottawa in a variety of capacities from 1936 to 1946, but the lure of academe was stronger for him than for the other three.

All four were committed liberal democrats. Most of the book consists of a thorough and informative examination of the concept of liberal democracy and of the ways in which these men, particularly Shortt and Skelton, interpreted it. Ferguson devotes a chapter to each of a range of subjects: "industrialism, democracy, and the promise of political economy," imperialism and nationalism, capitalism and socialism, the reform of government, the 1914–18 war, fiscal policy in a liberal democracy, the agrarian "revolt" and its implications, and "an agenda for post-war Canada." Each repays careful reading.

Ferguson places his chapters within the context of a critical discussion of "the new political economy" and "the new Liberalism," whose cause the Queensians did much to advance. Both trends sought to use state intervention to enhance the operation of capitalism while expanding the scope of political democracy. Skelton's prize-winning study *Socialism: A Critical Analysis* (1911) recognized the sources of socialism's appeal but rejected it as economically unsound. Unreformed capitalism would not do either, however. As well, it was essential to reduce the influence of powerful business enterprises on government policy. Ferguson does not exaggerate the influence of Shortt and his intellectual heirs. He makes a good case, however, that they made an important and often neglected contribution not only to the disciplines of economics and economic history but also to the theory and practice of political reform.

Ferguson's prose is pedestrian, even clumsy; he overuses both long sentences and the passive voice. He consistently misspells R. M. MacIver's name. In one endnote (p. 256) Ferguson lists Vincent Bladen as teaching at Queen's—the body of the text correctly locates him in Toronto—and through a misreading of Bladen's memoirs gets his salary wrong. More serious is Ferguson's unexplained decision to end his study effectively in 1925, the year Skelton left Queen's. As a result key works escape discussion, notably Macintosh's *The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations* (1939) and his "White Paper on Employment and Income" (1945). The latter was, among other things, a mature expression of the new Liberalism into which Ferguson offers so much useful insight. This is a valuable book that could have been even better.

MICHEL HORN
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JAMES NAYLOR. *The New Democracy: Challenging the Social Order in Industrial Ontario, 1914–1925*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1991. Pp. x, 336. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

The labor revolt of 1919 in Canada, once considered a regional phenomenon associated with Wobblies, western miners, and the Winnipeg General Strike, is

now known to have been more widespread. If the forms that this working-class mobilization took varied across occupational and geographical sectors, the uprising was both more diverse and more dispersed than some "western-exceptionalist" historians have been prepared to recognize. Winnipeg, while the site of the most protracted battle, was less the restricted focus of class struggle than an example to be emulated. "We will give them a little Winnipegitis," declared one labor militant as calls for a general strike echoed in Toronto union halls in May 1919 (p. 270).

James Naylor details the explosion of Ontario working-class resentment, organization, militancy, and political action that grew out of the World War I years, culminated in the record strike levels of 1919–20, and drifted with the repression and derailments of the 1920s. His book is a three-part examination of how the working-class struggle broke through the boundaries of craft unionism, consolidated a laborist political consensus that both nurtured and demanded a "new democracy," and faltered in the face of a capitalist reaction that included the carrots of welfare capitalism and industrial councils and the stick of an open-shop drive led by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

With the economy nose-diving in a postwar recession, strikes were increasingly unsuccessful, wage cuts were endemic, and labor's power was eroding. Politically, a euphoric victory in 1919 saw the United Farmers of Ontario elect forty-five provincial members of parliament and the Independent Labor Party eleven city-based representatives of the working class. This resulted in a populist alliance that soon fractured on the new farmer-led government's failures to protect the most fundamental of working-class interests: the wage. Labor's potential parliamentary power was soon overtaken by an implosion of acrimonious factionalism. Working-class newspapers such as the *Industrial Banner*, which had been sustained since the 1890s, ceased publication; the radical consensus broke down as pockets of militancy resurfaced in a clarified, but narrower, attachment to communism; and conservative trade-union leaders, their true political colors now more politically palpable, launched an assault on their radical counterparts that found easy favor with employers and elements of the state.

A short-lived Hamilton-based newspaper that encompassed the possibility and power of the working-class radicalism associated with 1919, appropriately named *New Democracy*, underwent a literal baptism by ideological fire. Innocuously renamed the *Canadian Labor World* in 1923, the paper buried the Ontario labor revolt in the editor's rhetorical avalanche of religiously inspired anti-Bolshevism: "There is really no such thing as a 'new' democracy. Christ gave us the real democracy . . . What was meant by 'New Democracy' as it originally stood at the head of this publication when the 'Reds' owned and controlled it, was the

destruction by force of the present ideals of civilization" (p. 252). As employers reaped the benefits of the new material and ideological climate of the early 1920s, workers and the hope of democracy suffered considerable losses. Women, for whom the new democracy opened doors of possibility (and about whom Naylor offers an innovative chapter), were shunted back into the traditional confinements of the home. Immigrants faced the onslaught of a reinvigorated nativism. And radicals were relentlessly painted into a "red" corner of marginality.

In many ways historians have let the editor of the *Canadian Labor World* have the last word too easily. Ontario, with its craft-union-based labor movement prior to the establishment of mass-production unionism in the 1930s and 1940s, is usually understood as a bastion of conservatism. Naylor reminds us that it was not always so. The labor revolt of 1919 rocked industrial cities in the manufacturing heartland of the country, just as it shattered the enforced peace of class relations in the wake of the defeat of dreams of One Big Union, although it did so in different ways. If Naylor too often restrains himself interpretively, truncating a host of conceptual issues and side-stepping possible avenues of analysis in a comfortable accumulation of empirical detail, his book provides us with a valuable point of departure from which the politics of class in Canada can be reassessed.

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J. L. GRANATSTEIN. *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War*. Toronto: Stoddart. 1993. Pp. xiv, 370. \$35.00.

J. L. Granatstein has written two sets of collective biographies about public servants, the first civilian and the second military; this makes him unique among Canadian historians. *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins 1935-1957* (1982), received with uniform praise when it came out, sets the scene for his new book.

Of the Canadian World War II generals in this book, one, A. G. L. McNaughton, is already the subject of a three-volume biography, and there is a recent one-volume biography of Guy Simonds. Georges Vanier, who eventually became governor general of Canada, is the subject of a full-length biography as well. There is a comparative study of Harry Foster and the German Kurt Meyer, and a ghostwritten autobiography of Chris Vokes. Others—E. L. M. Burns, Maurice Pope, and George Kitching—have published memoirs. H. B. Crerar, Charles Foulkes, Bert Hoffmeister, Bruce Matthews, Ken Stuart, and Victor Odlum had been neglected, to the detriment of the historical record, until Granatstein turned his attention to them.

Why Granatstein wrote this book is as interesting as

what he has written in it. The mandarins were a group of intellectual stars with enormous influence on all aspects of Canadian life. In a distinctly unmilitary country with a tiny armed forces—the permanent militia in 1939 numbered about 4,000—the generals came from a far smaller and more blinkered segment of society. There were, as Granatstein says, some great men among the generals he writes about, but they never formed an elite and seldom, except in wartime, exerted a fundamental influence on policy in either domestic or international affairs. Since *The Ottawa Men*, however, he has turned with increasing regularity to military subjects. The introduction to the new book refers with affection to friends and mentors working in or close to military history and to formative experiences in two of Canada's military colleges. Granatstein served for a period in the army's historical section and was an admirer of Colonel C. P. Stacey, the official army historian. "The dawn may be delayed," he writes, "but it comes at last." The result, and the ultimate justification for the book, is authentic prosopography.

This book deals with two generals who rose to command the First Canadian Army, three who achieved corps command in battle, seven who commanded divisions, and some interesting "political" generals. Illuminating chapters on the old prewar army and on the absence from significant commands of francophone Canadians form useful introductory and concluding comments on the Canadian military hierarchy. A number of generals not afforded detailed treatment are mentioned along the way. A surprising choice for this approach is the young and highly successful regular Dan Spry.

Granatstein does not enter into detailed discussions of doctrine and tactics, tending to accept what specialists in the field have concluded. This leaves room for others to challenge his assessment of generalship. The strength of this book lies in its portrayal of character and its comments on policy. There is a subtle departure from C. P. Stacey's pro-McNaughton line in the official history of Canadian war policy, *Arms, Men and Governments* (1970). Against McNaughton's advice, Ottawa split the Canadian Army in 1943 by asking Whitehall to include the First Canadian Infantry Division in the invasion of Sicily. Stacey ascribed this opposition to a national vision; Granatstein, looking through the eyes of McNaughton's contemporaries, sees it more as an increasingly idiosyncratic and almost paranoid vision.

As always in Granatstein's books, the prose is thoroughly readable, the judgments clear and often pithy, and the use of sources a model of thorough as well as innovative research methods. He uses oral history cautiously, but to excellent advantage, and has mined an impressive range of archives on both sides of the Atlantic.

W. A. B. DOUGLAS
Carleton University

LATIN AMERICA

FRANCISCO MARTÍN HERNÁNDEZ. *Don Vasco de Quiroga (Protector de los indios)*. (Bibliotheca salmanticensis, number 154.) Salamanca, Spain: Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, Caja Salamanca y Soria. 1993. Pp. 339.

On a recent visit to a hospital I carried a copy of this work to read during my free moments. A hospital employee, apparently a recent immigrant from Mexico, saw the cover and, smiling, said "Tata Vasco" ("Daddy" Vasco). It was a small tribute to the enduring memory of one of the most remarkable men in colonial Mexican history. Vasco de Quiroga (?–1565) was a man with a legal background who in 1530 was appointed a judge of the second *audiencia*, or ruling law court, of New Spain. The purpose of the *audiencia* was to establish stable, honest government and to see to the good of the natives. Quiroga, a person of deep religious devotion, quickly showed himself a partisan of the Indians and in 1532, while still an *oidor* and layman, founded the first hospital of Santa Fe. Inspired in part by Thomas More's *Utopia*, it was a combination of hospital, hospice, and communal settlement for the indigenous peoples. In 1533–34, while on a formal *visita* to Michoacán, he founded a second one. While still a layman he was appointed first bishop of the newly established diocese of Michoacán in 1536. As bishop he founded the Colegio de San Nicolás for the training of clergy and began the building of a sumptuous cathedral in Pátzcuaro. His solicitude for the natives earned him the nickname of Tata Vasco, by which he is still known among the peoples of the region.

Francisco Martín Hernández is a well-known Spanish historian who has made valuable contributions to our knowledge of Spanish seminaries and clerical education and is the author of numerous histories. He was inspired to write this biography by a visit to Michoacán. The resulting work is a survey of the bishop's life and work and contains all the necessary information for such a survey. Unfortunately, the author's lack of background in Mexican history works to his disadvantage. Although a large number of recent works are listed in the bibliography, those cited in the notes date from a much earlier period. The author does not use a wide variety of sources and neglects the currents and social forces that formed the background to Quiroga's work. Hernández refers to the controversies over Quiroga's paternalism and the possible adverse effects of the hospitals on the natives and their cultures, but he does not enter into any extended consideration of the question. The book is repetitious and uncritical, with a tone that is reverential, even hagiographic. The bishop's reputation is never allowed to be tarnished. Like a doctoral dissertation, there are extensive quotations from different works, sometimes given uncritically. I did not think that in a contemporary history I would see Quiroga praised for being an "old Christian" or

called "a mere layman." As an introduction to Quiroga's life, this book is suitable for the Spanish readership for which it is apparently intended, but it is not recommended for those seeking a more scholarly or balanced account.

STAFFORD POOLE, C.M.

Vincentian Studies Institute

KEVIN GOSNER. *Soldiers of the Virgin: The Moral Economy of a Colonial Maya Rebellion*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 227. \$29.95.

Kevin Gosner's book concerns a major Indian insurrection in colonial-era Chiapas, the Tzeltal revolt of 1712–13. For several months thousands of Mayas, confident that God and King were dead, rallied around the Virgin Mary and battled to rid the land of Spaniards. Spanish troops crushed the revolt.

To explain why the Mayas rebelled Gosner explores the relationship between material conditions and armed rebellion as well as indigenous notions of power, justice, equity, the sacred, and group identity, and the structure of Tzeltal communities. He argues that, because Mayas found increasing church levies the greatest threat to livelihood and autonomy, their violent break with Spanish rule began in defense of a new cult (pp. 68, 105).

There exists an eighteenth-century chronicle of the revolt (Francisco Ximénez's *Historia de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Predicadores* [vol. 3, 1931 ed.]), and several scholarly articles in English and Spanish. Gosner goes beyond these sources and draws on thousands of pages of contemporary documents, although Eveline Dürr (*Der Aufstand der Tzeltal* [1991]) uses many of the same documents in a treatment of the revolt much superior to Gosner's. Gosner devotes only forty pages to the revolt itself, and that narrative is gravely flawed by the misreading of primary sources, faulty quotations, and an erroneous and sometimes contradictory chronology.

Gosner makes basic mistakes in reading his sources. For example, he reports that rebels executed a Spanish priest who insisted on saying mass in the shrine of the rebel Virgin (p. 134). Yet two of Gosner's three sources say he was shot for *refusing* to say mass. (The third source is silent on motives.) Gosner reports that rebels left the corpse of a murdered priest at the foot of an orange tree (p. 135), although his source states that the dead priest was hanged by his feet from the tree. Gosner reports that Juan López led a group of rebels protesting the inequitable distribution of booty (p. 138), yet the source he cites indicates that López was the target of those complaints. Residents of Cancuc killed the brother (Domingo) of a major cult leader (Sebastián). Gosner states that the incident took place in the early weeks of the rebellion after Domingo joined his brother in Cancuc and that the killing reflected the limited influence of Sebastián (p. 140). But Dürr reported that Sebastián had already

withdrawn from Cancuc in late September and that it was only in the final weeks of the rebellion that he sent his brother to Cancuc, where he was soon killed for abuses of power (Dürr, p. 161). Gosner's source supports Dürr's account, stating that Sebastián sent his brother to Cancuc to function there "with all his authority." According to Gosner, rebels were assured after their shrine center fell that the Virgin would protect them for at least three more years and give victory in five (p. 149), although Gosner's source says something rather different.

Faulty quotations are too numerous (see pp. 69, 117, 118, 123, 127). Gosner, for example, quotes Ximénez as having penned: "In our pueblo, at midnight, we saw beneath the heavens many brilliant lights [*resplandores*] over a certain place on the edge of town. And going there to look, we found a shrine [*ermita*]" (p. 123). Ximénez wrote, "In our pueblo, at midnight, we saw descend from the heavens many brilliant lights [*resplandores*] over a certain place on the edge of town, and having gone to look, we found a Cross that descended from the heavens, thus we built a shrine [*hermita*]" (Ximénez, p. 269).

Gosner's chronological distortions are significant. Before Spaniards learned of the apparition at Cancuc, they learned of miracles in two other villages. Gosner dates the discovery of these other miracles both to March 1712 (the correct date) and to (presumably March) 1711 (pp. 118, 121, 125). In mention of their relation to the apparition of the Virgin Mary in Cancuc, Gosner goes with the incorrect date of 1711, and he can then imply that the Spaniard's suppressed the Santa Marta cult, arrested its leaders, and tried, convicted, and punished them before the Cancuc-centered movement got underway. "Deprived of its sacred image and its mayordomos, and having failed to win the approval of the bishop, the cult [at Santa Marta] ended with little fanfare. There was no talk of rebellion" (p. 121). The proceedings against those involved in the Santa Marta cult did not conclude until after the Tzeltal revolt, and when the Spaniards moved against Santa Marta the rebellion was only several weeks away.

Dürr has criticized Gosner's chronology of the Spanish counterattack against Cancuc's armies, and it seems she has good grounds. According to Gosner, Spanish commander Segovia led a major force out of Ciudad Real around September 19, 1712; another Spanish force attacked Chenalhó in late September; Segovia attacked Oxchuc on September 23, 1712; and Segovia, after taking and burning Oxchuc, returned to Ciudad Real (pp. 137–38). Then commences what Gosner calls the October hiatus (pp. 138, 146). Dürr noted that Gosner has misdated the events of the Spanish counterattack, dating each a month too early, and that there was no October hiatus (Dürr, p. 203). Gosner's source supports Dürr, as Ximénez indicated Segovia departed Ciudad Real around the middle of October (Ximénez, p. 295) or, more precisely, on October 20, 1712 (Ximénez, p. 297).

Spanish women captured in early rebel raids were taken promptly to Cancuc and eventually forced to marry Indian men. Gosner implies that the forced marriages took place shortly after the women arrived in Cancuc in mid-August 1712 (p. 133). Dürr argued that the marriages took place two months later, shortly before the fall of Cancuc (pp. 213–14). Fifteen of the testimonies of female Spanish captives are published. Only one of them—the one Gosner quotes (pp. 133–34)—could be read as implying that the marriages occurred early. The others, if they provide any relevant information, indicate that the marriages took place between early September and early December. There are other points at which the chronologies of Gosner and Dürr diverge, although limited space prohibits further comment.

For students of the Maya, of rural movements in Latin America, and of religious movements more generally, a thorough, book-length study of the Tzeltal revolt is most welcome. Careful treatment of contradictory primary materials, sound judgment in either resolving contradictions or in representing them in the historical narrative (as confusion and wild rumor—for example, the Virgin's handmaiden had feet like a duck—were part of the structure of the event itself), and accurate reporting of the content of sources are always essential in such an endeavor. In each of these aspects Gosner's work is wanting. The kind of causal and cultural analysis of the revolt that Gosner promises also requires a richness of detail and complexity of narrative that is lacking in this work.

The best English-language treatment of the Tzeltal revolt remains a chapter in Victoria Bricker's *The Indian Christ, the Indian King* (1981), and the best comprehensive study is Dürr's volume.

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SUSAN DEANS-SMITH. *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 362.

This well-researched, graciously written book by Susan Deans-Smith describes and analyzes the Mexican viceregal tobacco monopoly (*estanco*) in late-eighteenth-century New Spain (1765–1810). Very much a multidimensional study, it provides a broad overview of the institutional structure of the monopoly and its bureaucracy; a mass of quantitative data on the costs, profits, wages, revenues, workers, and workplace attributes of the Mexican tobacco *estancos*; descriptions of leaf production in the provinces and the credit mechanisms used to support tobacco farmers; and a detailed discussion of workers and labor conditions in the manufactories. A brief postscript describes the fate of the tobacco monopoly from 1810 to 1856.

In her study, Deans-Smith encompasses all seven viceregal manufactories at Mexico City, Guadalupe, Querétaro, Guadalajara, Puebla, Oaxaca, and

Orizaba, but she quite properly focuses on Mexico City, where the tobacco monopoly employed 55 percent of that city's workers engaged in industrial labor, with only 13 percent in textile workshops (*obrajes*). In 1796–97, for example, about nine thousand workers labored in the *estanco* in the viceregal capital, almost six times as many workers who toiled in the Guadalajara manufactory. Profits from the royal tobacco monopoly were enormous, sometimes higher than 50 percent, although in the first decade of the nineteenth century the increasing costs of paper, transport, and wages gradually lowered profit margins into the 30 percent range. With a network of over two thousand state tobacco shops (*estanquillos*) established throughout the viceroyalty by 1800 and an amazing per capita expenditure on tobacco in Mexico at 1.3 pesos, the monopoly—not surprisingly—became a major source of revenue for the state to be remitted to Spain, Havana, or Louisiana or to supplement the royal treasury in Mexico. Whether tobacco growers profited also from the establishment of the monopoly is not clear, but Deans-Smith argues effectively that establishment of the *estanco* reinforced the powerful merchant-planter class that provided credit to many small tobacco producers.

The most compelling portion of this book is the author's discussion of working conditions in the manufactories, particularly in Mexico City, where she establishes eleven worker categories, ranging from the supervisory staff (.5 percent of monopoly employees) to the manual cigarette rollers (81 percent). These tobacco workers toiled in hot, crowded conditions where tobacco dust carried the risk of neural disorders, epidemics often raged unchecked, and fire constantly threatened. In 1807, however, a newly constructed manufactory, better lit and ventilated and more spacious, alleviated some of these problems. In 1795 women made up 54 percent of the work force in Mexican *estancos*, a proportion that rose to 72 percent by 1809. Tobacco workers, the author shows, protected and promoted their own interests and helped shape their own working conditions, primarily by negotiation. (There were only two walkouts and one strike in fifty years.) The *concordancia*, a combination workers' benevolent society and union financed by weekly contributions from tobacco workers, was particularly effective in challenging unfair dismissals, unrealizable piecework rates, low wages, and bad working conditions. Not surprisingly, the state tobacco monopoly virtually collapsed during the wars of independence and in the post-independence era to 1856 never regained its former profitability for the state.

Based on intensive research in both Mexico and Spain, this book clearly demonstrates the value of examining materials in both Europe and Hispanic America and has given the author a wide range of vantage points to view the tobacco monopoly: she understands its workings from both local and imperial perspectives. Overall, this richly textured study

provides many penetrating insights into the economy and society of late-eighteenth-century New Spain and into Bourbon reforms and state-building in that epoch.

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DANIEL NUGENT. *Spent Cartridges of Revolution: An Anthropological History of Namiquipa, Chihuahua*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 225. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$15.95.

Mexican history is being rewritten by historians, anthropologists, and others who have employed local or regional studies to explore national questions. Community histories have transformed our understanding of the conflicts and changes linked to the revolution that began in 1910 and still defines so many debates about life and policy in Mexico. To date, most local studies have focused on central and southern Mexico, communities rooted in the pre-Hispanic past where centuries of agrarian conflict culminated in revolutionary violence after 1910. By the 1930s agrarian reform in these locales had stabilized the state by pacifying rural rebels.

Daniel Nugent offers a local history of the community of Namiquipa, Chihuahua, an area of more recent, more Hispanic settlement in the northern borderlands. The town's history began in the later eighteenth century, when Hispanic settlers were granted lands and local autonomy in exchange for a commitment to serve as an army against the Apaches and others constructed as "*indios bárbaros*" by the colonial state and settler culture. Persistent wars with the region's indigenous inhabitants from the 1770s to the 1870s kept life difficult and insecure for Namiquipans. These conflicts ensured that the armed settlers would remain essential allies of the colonial and national states, guaranteeing their lands and local self-rule.

From the 1880s, however, railroads and the defeat of the Apaches began to undo Namiquipan's autonomy. Their lands became valuable and their military services were no longer valued. Emerging entrepreneurs collaborated with the state around 1900 in attacking Namiquipan's self-rule and grabbing their lands. Not surprisingly, many Namiquipans joined Pancho Villa in revolutionary insurrection after 1910, fighting in the core of Villa's armies when those troops were the most powerful force in revolutionary Mexico.

Yet Villismo faded quickly in Namiquipa after 1916, when a local militia set up by the Pershing Expedition claimed power. Then, in the 1920s, Namiquipa's lands were confirmed as vast *ejido* holdings by the postrevolutionary state. Yet during subsequent decades, the members of the community continued to see that state as an intrusive, even oppressive force. In the late twentieth century, Namiquipans have sought the status of small private-property holders, aiming to

free themselves from state powers that limit their lives and economic activities even while guaranteeing their access to substantial lands.

Nugent ably narrates this history of borderlands agrarianism. A few questions are not fully answered. How did a community of revolutionary Villistas come so quickly to be ruled by a militia linked to the gringos? Why in the 1920s were local leaders so ready to collaborate with powerholders based in the state and national capitals? And just when and how did Namiquipan links to the state that granted them vast landholdings turn into vehement opposition? Is there perhaps a history of local factions with differing ties to competing external powers not fully delineated in the interviews that provide so much illumination to this study?

Nugent nevertheless makes a powerful case that Namiquipans insistently developed and adapted their own understandings and agendas when dealing with the state and national society. They have always had a hand in their own history. He emphasizes that the independent, armed cultivator has long defined the ideal of the community, fighting together against "barbaric Indians," Porfirian capitalists, and the post-revolutionary state. But has the vision of Namiquipans always been singular? Have alternative ideals never claimed a place—if not predominance—within the community?

Perhaps the most revealing aspect of this book is its account of the transformation of a community of revolutionary Villistas, favored beneficiaries of agrarian reform, into advocates of private property and opponents of the late-twentieth-century Mexican state. Nugent emphasizes that this is the most recent formulation of a persistent demand for local autonomy. He insists that there is no move toward bourgeois values in the emphasis on private property and the resistance to state intervention. That surely reflects the perceptions of the Namiquipans he knows so well. An observer might ask, however, if the emerging demand for private property among Namiquipans might lead to alliances with Mexican or Chihuahuan capitalists against the state. And such an alliance might eventually privilege some members of the community—perhaps those with more substantial agribusiness operations—over others still struggling to scrape a living from the land.

In sum, this is an important, provocative book that offers new insights and raises important issues for continuing discussion. Nugent has provided a fine analysis of Namiquipa in Mexican history.

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DANA MARKIEWICZ. *The Mexican Revolution and the Limits of Agrarian Reform, 1915–1946*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 1993. Pp. viii, 215. \$37.50.

The revision of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution in 1991 that permitted the rental and sale as well as

the investment of private capital in the ultimate revolutionary agrarian institution, the *ejido*, has spurred a plethora of reevaluations of this controversial land-tenure unit. Dana Markiewicz's research began long before this, but her harsh critique of the Mexican revolutionary regimen's agrarian reform policies from a Trotskyite perspective cogently presents one side of this debate.

Although Mexico's agrarian reform program was one of the most extensive ever carried out, it was implemented under capitalism. Therefore its impact, she argues, was more negative than positive; it always favored private property over collectivized land-tenure units, and it was instrumental in the institutionalization of the ruling elite. Because reform did not alter the basic contradictions of capitalism, Markiewicz contends that it contributed to neither balanced economic development nor a more prosperous economic sector. The *ejido* was never meant to be a noncapitalist, egalitarian, democratic, patriotic "way out" for Mexico, as the official ideology has always claimed, but rather it was an instrument used by the ruling bourgeoisie to regain political control after the demise of the peasant armies.

This monograph has three parts that are based on a political periodization of the Mexican Revolution: 1910–34, 1934–40, 1940–46. Part 1 traces the inability of Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa's peasant armies to present a viable alternative to the Bonapartist *carrancista* one. According to Markiewicz, the *carrancistas* resurrected the *ejido* as a tool of military pacification to impose dictatorship and to secure the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. The regimes of Álvaro Obregón and Plutarco E. Calles were extensions of a post-Porfirian *carrancismo* where land reform was an expedient program to quiet the rural masses. In part 2 the author contends that President Lázaro Cárdenas's success in increasing *ejidal* control of cropland to 47 percent does not compensate for his refusal to dismantle the capitalist economy and his insistence on institutionalizing the one-party authoritarian political system.

Her analysis of Manuel Ávila Camacho's administration in part 3 is clearly the most original part of this monograph. Markiewicz gained access to the personal papers of the agronomist, Marte R. Gómez, an activist in the reform process from 1913, when he joined the *zapatista* Agrarian Commission of the South. He served in the administrations of Obregón and Calles before becoming minister of agriculture under President Ávila Camacho. In a sense Gómez's political career is symbolic of the failure of the reformist wing of the revolutionary leadership to create a "new" productive agricultural sector in the face of the continual opposition of the landowning class. The author elucidates the multifaceted nature of Ávila Camacho's agrarian policies, where Gómez played a balancing act, trying to appease the competing demands of collective *ejidatarios* on the one hand and the large landowners on the other. Her excellent

chapter on the legal history of the *amparo* and of the inaffectability of small private property shows the determination of large landowners to use all legal methods to obstruct the expropriation provisions of Article 27.

Markiewicz's interpretation of the Mexican Revolution is not really novel, for it restates a class analysis that sadly rejects the impact of agrarian populism on rural change and bitterly attacks the Left's decision to cooperate with the *cardenista* experiment. If we cast aside some of her rhetoric, however, we find a clear and useful synthesis of a large body of statistical material and agrarian legislation on agrarian reform. As scholars begin to investigate the 1940s, her pioneering work on Gómez will prove to be of great importance.

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DAVID E. LOREY. *The University System and Economic Development in Mexico since 1929*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 260. \$39.50.

Mexico's National University often has the image of a bustling center of political activism where radical professors and students express their judgments on national and international issues, while study in the liberal arts and professional programs slips into the background. David E. Lorey refocuses this perception with a well-documented examination of what Mexican universities have accomplished in terms of graduation rates, budgets, faculty salaries, and, in general, responses to the demands placed on higher education by the economy, the government, and society. Although Lorey's study begins with 1929, when the National University gained its autonomy, his best coverage is on the period after 1940, when the statistical bases for much of his analysis are more comprehensive.

For a relatively brief text, this book has a great deal to say. Lorey contends that the university system responded well to two different sets of demands: the general public's call for a broad range of opportunities in higher education and the economy's shifting demands for skilled professionals. The universities responded effectively in the boom period of the 1940s and 1950s by turning out graduates trained for positions in expanding private-sector industries and public-sector bureaucracies. When the boom waned in the 1960s, the university system adjusted to the reduction in the number of professional openings by becoming a training ground for *egresados*, students who left the university before the completion of their degrees to accept more plentiful lower-level jobs. Throughout these adjustments the university system maintained a relatively open admissions policy, thereby supplying opportunities for upward social mobility for the sons and daughters of the lower classes. This opportunity was a statistically significant reality, however, only in the 1940s and 1950s. With

the passing of the boom, *egresados* seemed to accept an improvement in their "social status" resulting from a few years of matriculation at a university rather than the financially more meaningful "upward mobility" found in the increasingly scarce, higher-paying professional positions.

Lorey finds the much discussed "university crisis" of the 1980s to be overstated. Instead of a precipitous decline in quality, Lorey sees fairly steady per-student expenditures in higher education, a similarly consistent student-faculty ratio, and an increase in the number of full-time faculty. His conclusion is straightforward: "The data developed and analyzed here indicate unambiguously that a 'crisis' in quality has not occurred" (p. 113).

Lorey's observations on two important issues will stimulate further discussion. In a brief (six-page) analysis of the movement of women into business administration and engineering, areas traditionally dominated by men, Lorey suggests that "the infamous Mexican machismo is not a determinant cultural trait but rather flows from environment" (p. 156). This generalization can be evaluated through an examination of Anna Macías's *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940* (1982) and Shirlene Soto's *Emergence of the Modern Mexican Woman* (1990). And in the concluding chapter Lorey sees the decline in openings for university-trained professionals in the 1960s as a major cause of the unrest that led to the bloody confrontation at Tlatelolco in 1968. This point can be explored further by consulting Donald Mabry's *The Mexican University and the State* (1982) and Roderick Camp's *Intellectuals and the State in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (1985).

In sum, Lorey has given us a sharply focused, innovative study that provides bold generalizations on several important issues.

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JOANNE RAPPAPORT. *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 245. Cloth \$41.95, paper \$15.95.

Disciplinary blurring repeatedly has brought anthropology and history into conjunction over the past decade or so, but seldom with such grace as in Joanne Rappaport's ethnographic study of the native histories and historians of the Colombian district of Cumbe. Having taken anthropology's historical turn, Rappaport eschews the now-suspect ethnohistorical motive of writing for others a history they are supposed to lack. Without using the term, Rappaport moves ethnohistory in the direction it ought to have taken, toward the study of other peoples' own ways of doing history. That ethnohistory has not generally done so is indicative, perhaps, of the cross-disciplinary sway of history's adoration of the golden document.

Finding the title of this book on a computer index,

one might conclude that Rappaport has done what might be expected of an anthropologist: thrown down the tablets to make oral tradition into historical source. But a glance at the cover photograph tells a different story: a native scribe and historian peruse the contents of a local archive. We are here in the presence of a society in which an indigenous elite not only reads but also collects, writes, and interprets its own documents. A more romanticizing ethnographer might have disparaged this literate minority as "acculturated" and sought out the unadulterated mythical consciousness farther up the mountain. Rappaport, however, does not flinch, and chooses instead to treat the inhabitants of the southwest Colombian district of Cumbal as historians in their own right.

Here we get not only Cumbal accounts of a Cumbal past but also a privileged glimpse into the process by which they construe it. Along the way, the reader of this engagingly written and concise study is treated to an extraordinarily rich, ethnographically contextualized account of the interplay among several distinct genres of historical memory, from written document to oral narrative, and from ritual act to dramatic performance.

As Rappaport carefully points out, Cumbales, who trace their group identity and land rights to the pre-Columbian native lord named Cumbe, face special difficulties in their efforts to claim or reclaim the status of Indian in order to affirm legal rights to *resguardo* lands. Descendants of the Pasto, they have lost their aboriginal language as well as distinctive costume, and are therefore at pains to reclaim historical rights from "de-Indianized" mestizos who have usurped former reservation lands. Creative engagement with legal documents by a literate Cumbal minority, which is taken up in oral, ritual, and dramatic discourse by the community at large, is thus essential not only to form collective identity but to establish legal claims as well. Rappaport's masterful treatment of the resultant sway of legal language in oral narrative brings to mind Roberto Gonzalez Echevarría's *Myth and Archive* (1990). Just as impressive is the nuanced account of the local variants of historical memory among the sub-districts of Cumbal.

I was puzzled by the virtual absence of the kind of myth texts found elsewhere in the Andean literature. Surely students of indigenous memory must acknowledge the impact of the written word, as Rappaport argues, but literacy and the Spanish language have made greater inroads in Cumbal than elsewhere. In keeping with an apparent Cumbal devaluation of *cuentos* (fabulous tales of impossible deeds), as opposed to more reliable *historias* (factual narratives of human activity), the reader should not expect to find any of the former here. A different distinction, often giving greater credibility to tales of the founding deeds of gods and animals, can be found among Quechua and Aymara speakers. Certain ancient Greeks would likely agree with Cumbal memorialists that only accounts of past human activity constitute

history, as opposed to the fabulous content of myth. Must we then refuse historical consciousness to Quechua or Aymara-speaking Andeans for whom foundational acts were performed by the sun, mountains, and foxes? It is unfortunate that modernist Cumbal natives did not force Rappaport to confront such questions.

In spite of this quibble, this is an admirable work. Especially impressive is Rappaport's exploration of the relationship between orality and literacy, memory and history. Theoretical discussion is sharply drawn and relatively jargon-free, always tied to interpretation of evidence. This cross-disciplinary book will fascinate anthropologists, historians, and students of cultural studies and subaltern discourse.

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DESMOND GREGORY. *Brute New World: The Rediscovery of Latin America in the Early Nineteenth Century*. New York: British Academic. 1992. Pp. xi, 226. \$59.50.

Disappointment is the theme, and also the effect, of Desmond Gregory's ominously titled study. English mercenaries, miners, and merchants made little money during the early years of Latin American independence. Teachers and travelers, too, found more obstacles than opportunities. In fact, almost every one of the reports perused and presented in this book is about disappointments with the New World. The geographical titles of five chapters follow more or less the colonial divisions into viceroyalties, the sixth chapter being about Brazil. And the space of each chapter is filled by complaints of disgruntled Englishmen, with an occasional quote from like-minded North Americans, complaints about the inhospitable, insalubrious, unstable, and stunted lands it was their misfortune to light on. Lord Ponsonby, for instance, had officially eulogized the River Plate region to the English authorities; but privately he so loathed it that in 1826 he wrote to another lord: that "I should hang myself if I could find a tree tall enough to swing on" (p. 21).

Coily and critically, Gregory reports a conversation between General Antonio José de Sucre and one of these Anglophone optimists (and opportunists), Edmund Temple, who was lured to Potosí in 1825 by Alexander von Humboldt's gilded accounts of mining there. The new enterprise seemed reckless to Sucre: "He thought the English gentlemen involved must have been reading the history of El Dorado with more credulity than it deserved if they thought precious metals could be obtained without any labour or expense" (pp. 83-84). This comment frames many of the projects that Englishmen launched and lost, failures that they reckoned with in the compensatory pastime of writing. Humboldt's name also frames those projects, and this book. It appears on the first page and in the conclusion as the signature of a

dreamer, or a liar. One after another, English adventurers read his works and set out for easy money, conquests, and converts. And when they found conflict instead, the fault was hardly ever their own. It is true that soldiers were enlisted in patriot armies with false promises, and it is also true that unstable regimes were sorry hosts for English enterprise, and just as bad that secular education was alternately defended and dismissed in warring countries where anticlericalism was more a project than a program.

But, Gregory wisely asks in his conclusion, how representative were these accounts and whose fault were the disappointments? The writers reviewed here seem to have been willfully naive. And despite the sometimes supercilious whining, many Englishmen did, in fact, succeed in the Americas. They were not always (although often enough they were) lords and capitalists. Privateers and farmers were working profitably, not writing. Nevertheless, Gregory's conclusion continues with a summary of the complaints that fill the book, a book that is consequently rather airless. Gregory's own ironic distance from his primary texts is an indirect invitation to take another distance, from him. Why does he limit himself to Anglophone informants in this "rediscovery" of Latin America? Given the conditions of poverty, strife, instability, and intolerance that echo from one chapter to the next, perhaps there would have been no substantial differences between English books and French or German books, but why is this not a relevant question to ask? And perhaps more relevant is the question of Latin American informants themselves. The project of rediscovery was certainly not limited to foreigners during the dynamic years of civil war and nation formation. How, for example, did Argentine exiles in Chile describe the life there? Certainly there are interesting records, and they might have contrasted tellingly with English versions. In short, the very trap of narrow vision and cultural insularity that Gregory locates in many of his sources surfaces uncomfortably in his own presentation of them.

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ENRIQUE TANDETER. *Coercion and Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosí, 1692–1826*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 332. \$50.00.

In the field of colonial Latin American economic studies, Enrique Tandeter's research on the Andean economy is widely admired and frequently cited. This book, a translation of *Coacción y Mercado* (1992), represents a synthesis of this research during the past two decades. Although he focuses on the mining economy of eighteenth-century Potosí, colonial Peru's legendary silver camp, Tandeter analyzes that economy in the larger context of the colonial and imperial economic systems.

The main theme in this book is the recovery of Potosian mining after more than a century of decline

in the first half of the eighteenth century, and then its collapse during the second half. Tandeter devotes chapters to production trends, credit arrangements, labor institutions, and mining reforms. His extensive archival research brings to light new documentation not only on mining operations but also on royal blunders at Potosí. The chapters on labor—who the workers were, where they came from, how they were paid, and why they stayed—form the core of the book. Some of his findings, such as the economic benefits of using draft labor over free labor, have appeared in earlier essays. In this volume, however, the dynamics of the labor component is more fully explicated because Tandeter analyzes it as a part of the general mining history of eighteenth-century Potosí.

As important as the formal work structure was to production in Potosí, it was not the only consideration. Weekend scavengers (*kajchas*) assumed an increasingly larger role in the Potosian mining industry. *Kajchas* comprised both *mitayos* and *mingas* (draft and free workers respectively). They tried to supplement their income by scouring unattended mines from Saturdays to Mondays for ore that was then refined in *trapiches*, "small, rudimentary installations for refining ore by hand" (p. 85). *Kajchas* were defended by some and vilified by others. A report in 1762 estimated that more than 4,000 *kajchas* and 200 *trapiches* operated in Potosí. Although substantial quantities of ore were said to be mined and processed by *kajchas* in *trapiches*, (about 38 percent around 1760), the actual volume will probably never be documented. What is easier to document and becomes a crucial ingredient in Tandeter's analysis of the collapse of mining in late-colonial Potosí was the destruction of the interiors of the mines as the *kajchas* cut ore out of the pillars and supports and weakened the tunnels and shafts almost beyond repair.

On the question of production of silver Tandeter's analysis is less satisfactory. Long-term and short-term trends for the eighteenth century could be pinpointed and analyzed more precisely if annual rather than decennial data were used. Such information might provide a richer background in which to explore issues related to labor needs, the emergence of the *kajcha*, royal inquiries into mining conditions, and investment decisions. Tandeter has legitimate reservations about the reliability of silver-production data. In particular he questions whether it accurately reflects the start of recovery in eighteenth-century Potosí. Although the silver curve does not turn upward until the 1730s, Tandeter argues that the recovery may have begun one or two decades earlier. This is based on the observation by Tandeter (and others) that because considerable silver escaped taxation, the source for the published silver series, the silver reported as taxed may have underestimated the silver actually produced by as much as 40 percent. We can only speculate as to how the silver curve would appear if we had the untaxed silver. It is possible that although yearly figures would be different, the shape

of the curve may not change much. Periods of growth or contraction could remain much as they now appear. Thus, to argue that output from the first quarter of the eighteenth century would be higher, if we knew the volume of untaxed silver, is to ignore that its relationship to the rest of the curve may not change significantly if we could account for all untaxed silver during the colonial period.

Tandeter acknowledges the importance of the 1730s to Potosí's recovery. Reductions in silver taxes and mercury prices acted as a strong stimulus on production for the next half century. Tandeter pushes Potosí's resurgence back to the first decade of the eighteenth century in light of what he perceives as a rise in commercial activity, mainly with French traders along the Pacific, and consequently a rise in demand for silver to pay for it. The idea of a nexus between Andean mineral production and European commercial activity permits Tandeter to broaden his analytical framework to embrace or at least to suggest a world-system model. The statistical evidence for such a nexus remains to be found, although the model deserves further consideration.

This book is a major contribution in the growing field of mining history in Spanish America. In the final chapter Tandeter draws some interesting comparisons between Peruvian and Mexican mining, especially with respect to labor. In his view the system of *kajcheo* may have economically liberated the Andean worker to a greater extent than was true with the Mexican mine worker. Whether or not scholars are prepared to accept this conclusion yet, we cannot escape the fact that Tandeter has written an impressive history that challenges us to rethink some important eighteenth-century economic questions.

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PAUL GOOTENBERG. *Imagining Development: Economic Ideas in Peru's "Fictitious Prosperity" of Guano, 1840–1880*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 243. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$20.00.

"The spirit is strong, but the flesh is weak!" This, in essence, is Paul Gootenberg's conclusion about the relationship between economic thought and policy making during Peru's spectacular boom-and-bust cycle based on guano, the closest nineteenth-century equivalent to certain countries' oil bonanza of the 1970s. The core of this book consists of two long chapters on the alternative visions of Peruvian economic development proposed by a handful of businessmen, middle-class professionals, and politicians between 1860 and the mid-1870s, when the predicted failure of the country's free-trade, consumption-oriented economy based on guano revenues became devastating reality. The early chapters of the book retell the story of Gootenberg's previous monograph on commercial policy and state formation in post-

independence Peru: the rise and fall of a nationalist anti-free-trade coalition, a final protectionist offensive for artisans' interests simultaneously with an early infant-industry argument seeking to channel the mounting guano revenues for a more productive domestic economy; and the defeat of these nationalist social interests and "imaginings" by an emerging radical free-trade coalition in 1851–52 (*Between Silver and Guano* [1989]). In that study this statist exclusionary liberalism appeared to be the long-term destiny of the guano era, the selfish joining of emerging export oligarchs with a cash-dispensing state.

In the present work Gootenberg suggests that, as early as 1860, less than a decade after the turn to destructive import-oriented liberalism, key members of Peru's coastal elite, founders of the *civilista* oligarchy such as Manuel Pardo and Luis Benjamín Cisneros, developed a "counter-discourse," albeit within liberalism. It stressed production rather than consumption, decentralized industrialization for simple mass-market commodities, an efficient state, and, above all, railroad construction. By the 1870s such ideas had developed into a full-blown economic nationalism, with calls for industrial protection. This shifting climate of opinion was tied to the growing sense of crisis and doom paralleling the downward spiral of the guano economy. By the 1870s artisans and immigrant "micro-industrialists" who were benefiting from the export crisis once again added a popular voice to the economic "imaginings" of the 1860s. In fact, Gootenberg sees the *civilismo* of Pardo as a developmentalist populism, seeking a stable economic base for national integration. The populist *civilistas'* efforts were blocked by the cyclical, catch-up nature of economic policies during the guano age and the rise of strong elite interests, such as those of the sugar growers, who insisted on a minimalist state.

Gootenberg presents these ideas with his customary brilliance and penchant for evocative, if at times opaque, phrases. He wishes to let the imagined and bright alternative futures of Peru come to life. He suggests that perhaps the very frustrations of the real-life economic development of the country have fostered the perceived richness of alternative social and economic thought, down to the present century. Yet one wonders whether the author does not exaggerate the strength of these texts as counter-discourse. Pardo did, after all, represent the guano contractors and was the owner of a large sugar estate. The railroads were built, certain taxes reimposed, and tariffs raised. The *civilistas* can hardly be excused for whatever disasters that occurred during the guano era. That Lima's artisans defended him against a military coup does not speak to the *civilistas'* longer-term urban popularity, rather exhausted by the late 1870s. Gootenberg still defines "the other Peru" rather narrowly from Lima's middle and lower classes. We learn that the Andean peasant world, which he considers to have been little affected by the changes of the guano age (p. 133), only became a concern of

Limeño discourse again during the 1880s. Yet the peasant rebellions of 1866–68, which Gootenberg finds bizarre (p. 135), reflected the social, cultural, and fiscal redefinitions engendered by the guano elite (and were written about copiously in the Lima press).

In sum, this book opens fascinating views of alternative Peruvian development paths. But despite Goo-

tenberg's admirable grasp of nineteenth-century Limeño publications, one sometimes wonders how important these texts really were in defining Peru's public debates in the waning years of the guano era.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

NORMAN BRYSON *et al.*, editors. *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Wesleyan University Press. 1994. Pp. xxix, 429. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$19.95.

GRISELDA POLLOCK, Feminism/Foucault—Surveillance/Sexuality. LISA TICKNER, Men's Work? Masculinity and Modernism. JOHN TAGG, The Discontinuous City: Picturing and the Discursive Field. KEITH MOXEY, Hieronymus Bosch and the "World Upside Down": The Case of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. THOMAS CROW, Observations on Style and History in French Painting of the Male Nude, 1785–1794. WHITNEY DAVIS, The Renunciation of Reaction in Girodet's *Sleep of Endymion*. WOLFGANG KEMP, The Theater of Revolution: A New Interpretation of Jacques-Louis David's *Tennis Court Oath*. NORMAN BRYSON, Géricault and "Masculinity." ERNST VAN ALPHEN, Strategies of Identification. KAJA SILVERMAN, Fassbinder and Lacan: A Reconsideration of Gaze, Look, and Image. CONSTANCE PENLEY, Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Study of Popular Culture. ANDREW ROSS, The Ecology of Images. MICHAEL ANN HOLLY, Wölfflin and the Imagining of the Baroque. MIEKE BAL, Dead Flesh, or the Smell of Painting. DAVID SUMMERS, Form and Gender.

MARY HUFFORD, editor. *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*. (A Publication of the American Folklore Society, New Series.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press, for the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. 1994. Pp. 264. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.

MARY HUFFORD, Introduction: Rethinking the Cultural Mission. CLARENCE MONDALE, Conserving a Problematic Past. JAMES F. ABRAMS, Lost Frames of Reference: Sightings of History and Memory in Pennsylvania's Documentary Landscape. ALAN S. DOWNER, JR., *et al.*, Traditional History and Alternative Conceptions of the Past. DOUGLAS DENATALE, Federal and Neighborhood Notions of Place: Conflicts of Interest in Lowell, Massachusetts. SETHA M. LOW, Cultural Conservation of Place. ROGER D. ABRAHAMS, Powerful Promises of Regeneration or Living Well with History. ERVE CHAMBERS, Thailand's Tourism Paradox: Identity and Na-

tionalism as Factors in Tourism Development. STUART A. MARKS, Managerial Ecology and Lineage Husbandry: Environmental Dilemmas in Zambia's Luangwa Valley. BENITA J. HOWELL, Linking Cultural and Natural Conservation in National Park Service Policies and Programs. ERIKA BRADY, "The River's Like Our Back Yard": Tourism and Cultural Identity in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. DALE ROSENGARTEN, "Sweetgrass Is Gold": Natural Resources, Conservation Policy, and African-American Basketry. ROBERT CANTWELL, Conjuring Culture: Ideology and Magic in the Festival of American Folklife. J. SANFORD RIKOON *et al.*, Cultural Conservation and the Family Farm Movement: Integrating Vision and Actions. LAURIE KAY SOMMERS *et al.*, Folklife Assessment in the Michigan Low-Level Radioactive Waste Siting Process. STEVEN J. ZEITLIN, Conserving Our Cities' Endangered Spaces. SHALOM STAUB, Cultural Conservation and Economic Recovery Planning: The Pennsylvania Heritage Parks Program. ARCHIE GREEN, Afterword: Raven, Mallard, and Spotted Owl—Totems for Coalition.

THOMAS L. HASKELL and RICHARD F. TEICHGRAEBER III, editors. *The Culture of the Market: Historical Essays*. (Murphy Institute Studies in Political Economy.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 524. \$49.95.

THOMAS L. HASKELL and RICHARD F. TEICHGRAEBER III, Introduction: The Culture of the Market. JONATHAN DEWALD, The Ruling Class in the Marketplace: Nobles and Money in Early Modern France. CHANDRA MUKERJI, Territorial Gardens: The Control of Land in Seventeenth-Century French Formal Gardens. MARGARET C. JACOB, Money, Equality, Fraternity: Freemasonry and the Social Order in Eighteenth-Century Europe. MARTIN J. WIENER, Market Culture, Reckless Passion, and the Victorian Reconstruction of Punishment. JOYCE APPLEBY, New Cultural Heroes in the Early National Period. RICHARD B. LATNER, Preserving "The Natural Equality of Rank and Influence": Liberalism, Republicanism, and Equality of Condition in Jacksonian Politics. JEAN-CHRISTOPHE AGNEW, Banking on Language: The Currency of Alexander Bryan Johnson. MARILYN R. BROWN, An Entrepreneur in Spite of Himself: Edgar Degas and the Market. RICHARD F. TEICHGRAEBER III, "A Yankee Diogenes": Thoreau and the Market. WILLIAM M. REDDY, Need and Honor in Balzac's *Père Goriot*: Reflections on a Vision of Laissez-faire Society. HOWARD BRICK, The Reformist Dimension of Talcott Parsons's Early Social Theory. WILFRED M. MCCLAY, The Strange Career of *The Lonely Crowd*: Or, The Antinomies of Autonomy. THOMAS L. HASKELL, Persons as

Uncaused Causes: John Stuart Mill, the Spirit of Capitalism, and the "Invention" of Formalism.

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GILBERT HERDT, Introduction: Third Sexes and Third Genders. KATHRYN M. RINGROSE, Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium. RANDOLPH TRUMBACH, London's Sapphists: From Three Sexes to Four Genders in the Making of Modern Culture. THEO VAN DER MEER, Sodomy and the Pursuit of a Third Sex in the Early Modern Period. GERT HEKMA, "A Female Soul in a Male Body": Sexual Inversion as Gender Inversion in Nineteenth-Century Sexology. RENÉ GRÉMAUX, Woman Becomes Man in the Balkans. NIKO BESNIER, Polynesian Gender Liminality through Time and Space. WILL ROSCOE, How to Become a Berdache: Toward a Unified Analysis of Gender Diversity. SERENA NANDA, Hijras: An Alternative Sex and Gender Role in India. GILBERT HERDT, Mistaken Sex: Culture, Biology, and the Third Sex in New Guinea. ANNE BOLIN, Transcending and Transgendering: Male-to-Female Transsexuals, Dichotomy and Diversity.

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ANN-LOUISE SHAPIRO, History and Feminist Theory: Or, Talking Back to the Beadle. BONNIE G. SMITH, Historiography, Objectivity, and the Case of the Abusive Widow. JUDITH M. BENNETT, Medieval Women, Modern Women: Across the Great Divide. CAROLYN STEEDMAN, *La théorie qui n'en est pas une*; Or, Why Clio Doesn't Care. REGINA MORANTZ-SANCHEZ, Feminist Theory and Historical Practice: Rereading Elizabeth Blackwell. MARILYN A. KATZ, Ideology and "The Status of Women" in Ancient Greece. AVA BARON, On Looking at Men: Masculinity and the Making of a Gendered Working-Class History. SYLVIA SCHAFER, When the Child Is the Father of the Man: Work, Sexual Difference, and the Guardian-State in Third Republic France. NELL IRVIN PAINTER, Three Southern Women and Freud: A Non-Exceptionalist Approach to Race, Class, and Gender in the Slave South. VRON WARE, Moments of Danger: Race, Gender, and Memories of Empire. MRINALINI SINHA, Gender in the Critiques of Colonialism and Nationalism: Locating the "Indian Woman." JENNIFER TERRY, Theorizing Deviant Historiography.

MANFRED GAILUS and HEINRICH VOLKMANN, editors. *Der Kampf um das tägliche Brot: Nahrungsmangel, Versorgungspolitik und Protest 1770–1990*. (Schriften des Zentralinstituts für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung der Freien Universität Berlin, number 74.) Opladen: Westdeutscher. 1994. Pp. 477.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Because I was "in the field" over the past year conducting research, I missed Robert J. Jakeman's basically fair-minded review of my *Segregated Skies: All-Black Combat Squadrons of World War II* in your December 1993 issue [*AHR*, 98, no. 5, pp. 1700–01]. Jakeman rightly criticizes the "cumbersome system of endnotes keyed to page numbers and phrases within the text." I can only plead that this was the system imposed by my publisher. This failing also applies to the "numerous aerial engagements [that] contain virtually no documentation." For the record, these quotations are either from official unit records or personal interviews with pilots. Likewise, the reason for the title page publisher's disclaimer noted by the sharp-eyed Jakeman escapes me and was not in the page proofs: "The description of otherwise undocumented personal incidents and the recollections of episodes and persons are entirely the author's." To reiterate, *all* incidents and recollections in the book are documented.

Jakeman also questioned my enemy credits for the all-black squadrons (552 versus just over 100). A closer reading of the text would clear this up: the larger figure includes those enemy aircraft destroyed on the ground. Another contradiction imagined by Jakeman lies in the introductory statement that the all-black squadrons "never lost a bomber *to enemy aircraft*" (emphasis added) versus the text's terming the loss of such bombers "very small." Again, a close

reading would show that several escorted bombers were indeed lost but to enemy antiaircraft fire.

STANLEY SANDLER
Spring Lake, North Carolina

Robert J. Jakeman does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

Edwin J. Perkins reviewed my book *The Origins of Jeffersonian Commercial Policy and Diplomacy* (*AHR*, 99 [October 1994]: 1387) without reading it carefully. How could anyone who read my book claim I do not consult or cite "virtually all" economists and economic historians? Is it possible that Perkins did not recognize the names of Stuart Bruchey, E. James Ferguson, Paul McCusker, Russell Menard, Curtis Nettels, Douglass North, and Jacob Price, to name a few, when he supposedly read pages 2, 70, 79, 123, 173, 174, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 194, 200, 205, 206, 207, 208, 211, 213, 220–21, 224, etc.? I am equally puzzled by his charge that I "never" mention Adam Smith. I specifically address Smith in my notes: in the context of the theory of *doux commerce* on page 186 and in relation to Hamilton's Report on Manufactures on page 218. I do not discuss Smith in the body of the text because his philosophy, as scholars from Vernon Louis Parrington to John E. Crowley have pointed out, was not very central to revolutionary America. In sum, careless misrepresentations characterize Perkins' review.

DORON BEN-ATAR
Yale University

EDWIN J. PERKINS REPLIES:

This author is hypersensitive to mild criticism. Readers should note that Doron Ben-Atar does not claim that I failed to describe accurately the contents of his book or that I overlooked or misconstrued his interpretive framework—the usual complaints in angry letters to the editor. Nor did I advise readers to dismiss the book as inconsequential or unimportant. Meanwhile, I stand by my assertion that the author

slighted the work of contemporary economists and modern economic historians.

I have reviewed over fifty volumes for history journals over two decades and have read every word of the main text of all of these books from start to finish—so it is rather unsettling to be accused of gross negligence. I must confess, however, that over the years I probably missed a few critical lines in the accompanying endnotes and footnotes—and that seems to have happened in this instance. Eighteen of the

twenty-two citations that the author claims that I overlooked were in the endnotes, which constituted 30 percent of the entire book. Adam Smith should have been discussed, in my view, because Jefferson spent five years during the 1780s in France, where the economist's ideas were frequently debated in intellectual circles.

EDWIN J. PERKINS
University of Southern California

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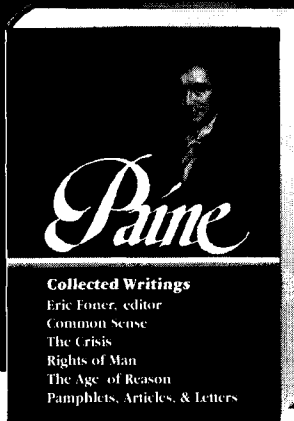
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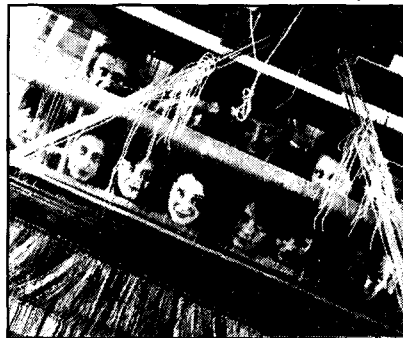
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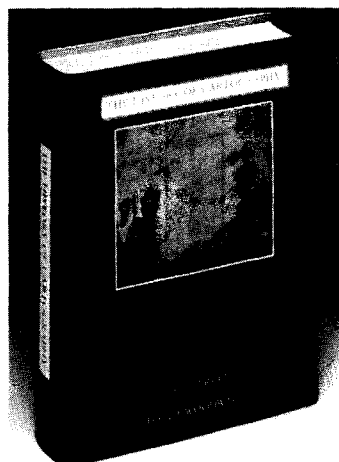
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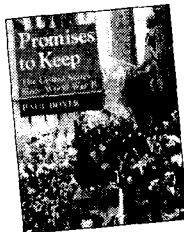
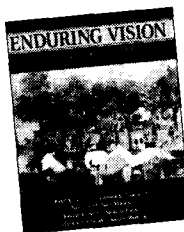
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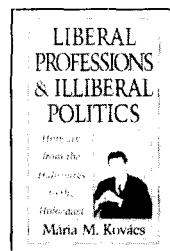
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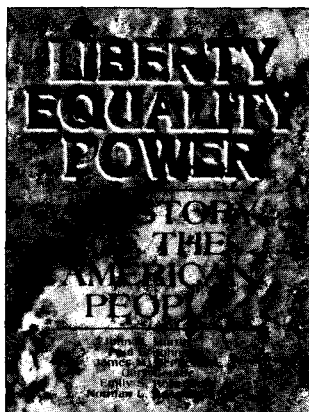
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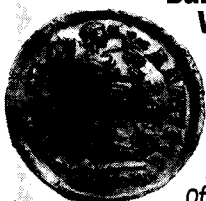
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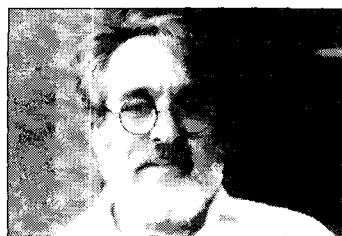
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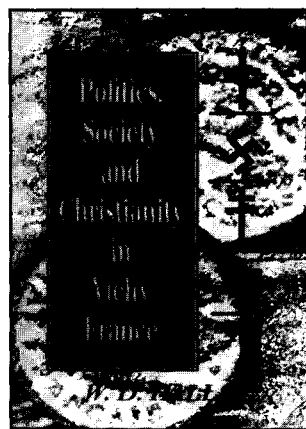
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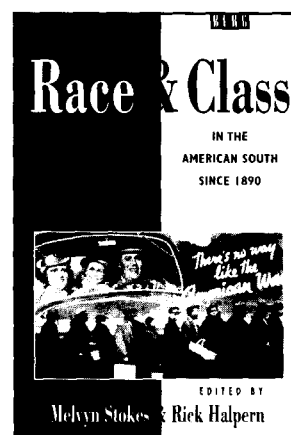
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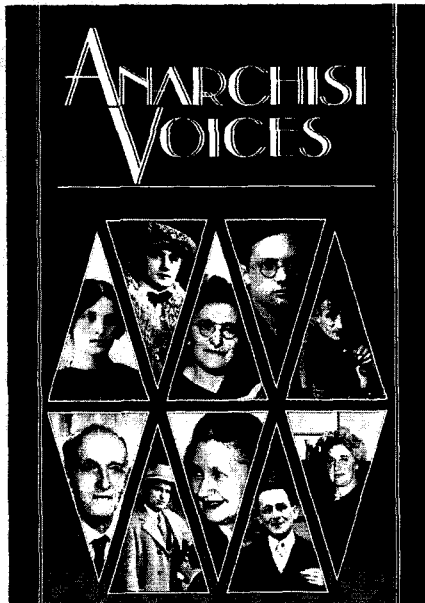
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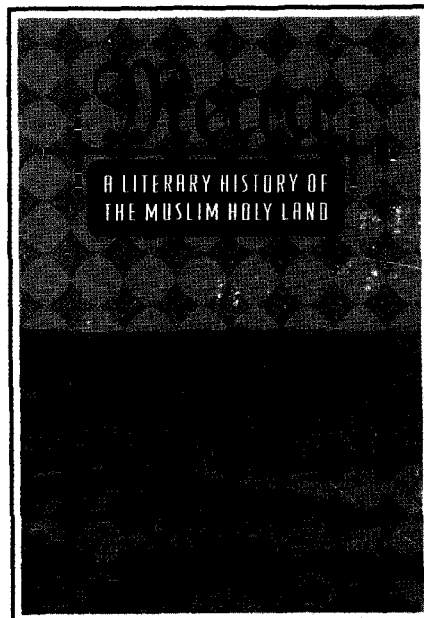
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